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# HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., D.C.L.

Author of the 'History of Europe from the Commencement of the French  
Revolution in 1789, to the Battle of Waterloo,' &c. &c.

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# HISTORY OF EUROPE.

## CHAPTER LIII.

### THE CHINESE WAR OF 1841-42.

1. It is observed by an American reviewer of the History of Europe during the French Revolution, that so vast was the extent of the British empire during that memorable contest, and so multiplied its relations in all parts of the earth, that there is no country, except China, with which its annalist did not find himself brought in contact, and of which he did not find it necessary to give some account. The next quarter of a century saw this exception removed. Great Britain, at the close of that period, came into collision with the Chinese empire; the ancient civilisation and immovable institutions of Asia were brought into fierce hostility with the rising power and expansive forces of Europe. This occurred, too, at a time of all others the least favourable to the European side of the contest; for the military strength of Great Britain, when it broke out, had been reduced to an unparalleled state of weakness from the effects of a long external peace and recent democratic revolution; and the warlike resources of India were simultaneously engaged in a desperate strife within the Himalaya snows, where a disaster of unprecedented magnitude was about to ensue. Yet to all these difficulties England rose superior, and the most glorious pacification she ever brought about in

the East, concluded a double war deeply checkered in the outset with serious disaster. The account of this contest is not the least memorable part of contemporary history, or the least honourable to the arms and the constancy of Great Britain.

2. Situated in the eastern extremity of Asia, on the verge of the Pacific Ocean, CHINA has, from the earliest ages to which authentic history reaches, preserved the same manners, habits, institutions, and national character. On this account it is an object of singular interest and importance to the philosophic observer. Of enormous extent, peopled by an almost fabulous multitude of inhabitants, its history extending back to the most remote antiquity, conquered repeatedly by the savage hordes which have so often from the table-land of Tartary descended to devastate and subdue the finest realms of Asia, it has still remained the same from the first settlement of the country by mankind. In no other country or part of the world, except perhaps in Japan, has a similar phenomenon been exhibited. So vast is the territory which the Chinese inhabit, so enormous their numbers, that foreign conquest, how decisive or desolating soever, produces no lasting effect upon their govern-

ment, institutions, or national character. The conquerors are lost in the multitude of the conquered, and after a few generations are, except in war, almost undistinguishable from them.

3. The dimensions of China are such, that they can scarcely be conceived, even by the most creative imagination. Its length, from Kashgar on the south, to the mouth of the Amoor on the north, is 1350 leagues, and its greatest breadth, from the Sainansk Mountains to the Isle of Hainan, 850 leagues. Its sea-coasts are 2000 leagues in length. The superficial surface embraced in these limits may be roughly estimated at 670,000 square leagues, or above 5,000,000 square miles, being a little less than a tenth of the whole habitable globe, and nearly fifty times the area of the British Islands. This includes Chinese Tartary, which is much more thinly inhabited than China proper, and of much greater extent. The latter, however, contains 195,000 square leagues, or 1,800,000 square miles, being nearly double the whole of Hindostan, and about twelve times the area of France. This comparatively small portion of the country is inhabited, according to the census taken in 1825, by 367,000,000 of people, being a full third of the human race. The numbers given to Lord Macartney in 1795 were 333,000,000. These passed for long as gross exaggerations, and Balbi estimated the inhabitants at only 170,000,000. The more intimate acquaintance with China, however, which has resulted from the recent war with the British, and their establishment at Hong-Kong, has led to the conclusion that the earlier accounts were not exaggerated, and that the empire now really contains 360,000,000 of souls.

4. The national revenues of China are by no means on a scale proportioned either to the immensity of its surface, or the magnitude of its population. They amount in all to £37,000,000, of which about two-thirds is paid in grain, and the remainder in money. The former constitutes, as in all Oriental states, the

real rent of land, and the principal source of national income. The grain received is stored up by the Government collectors in huge magazines in each province, as a resource against the oft-recurring evils of famine. The quantity thus preserved in the public storehouse of each province, is accurately fixed, and always maintained according to the number and probable necessities of its inhabitants; and the entire quantity reaches the enormous and almost incredible amount of 2,802,798 tons. The real value of the revenue is not to be estimated, however, merely by the number of pounds sterling in British currency which it forms. The worth of money, and general poverty of the working classes, are also to be taken into account; and if these are considered, the national income may be estimated as equal to at least £120,000,000 annually in this country.

5. The military establishment amounts to 1,232,000 soldiers for China proper, besides 95,000 irregulars for Chinese Tartary; and of these immense forces, it is calculated that 900,000 men may be reckoned on as effective. The naval armament carries 32,000 guns, scattered over 9500 vessels bearing the imperial flag—a state of things which proves that the war vessels consist almost entirely of junks or gunboats. These troops, so far as they are composed of the Chinese proper, are, for the most part, a mere local militia, miserably deficient both in discipline and the military virtues; and they almost always have taken to flight when attacked by any body, however inconsiderable in proportion, of European troops. But the case is very different with the descendants of the Tartar conquerors, who have placed a sovereign on the throne, and for centuries have governed the country over its whole extent. They have lost none of the courage or innate virtues of their ancestors; and in the war which ensued with England at this time, some of their chiefs exhibited, in the northern provinces, extraordinary intrepidity and devotion.

6. The great cities of China were

long celebrated all over the world for their immense population; but the authentic accounts which have recently been obtained take much from the supposed prodigy. None of them approach to the population of London, which now (1864) exceeds 2,700,000. Peking, the capital of the empire, contains only 1,700,000 souls; Canton, 845,000; Nankin, the ancient capital, 514,000. It cannot be said that these numbers are very great in a country containing 360,000,000 of inhabitants. This is probably owing to the want, as in all Asia, of any class of landed proprietors in the European sense of the word, and the scanty nature of its foreign commerce. China is essentially an agricultural country, and its principal wealth is drawn, and its immense population supported, from the resources of the soil.

7. The territory of even China proper being of such enormous extent, no general or uniform character can be assigned to its surface any more than could be done to the whole of Europe. In so far as any general description can be applied to it, the country consists of a series of basins formed by the ramifications of different chains of mountains, breaking off from the great central mass which forms the kingdom of Thibet, and the eastern ranges of which extend far into China. The great basins which these chains form are four in number, and they are all traversed by the great rivers which flow eastward from the Thibet mountains into the Pacific Ocean. The southernmost of these basins lies to the south of the Nan-Ling chain; the second is bounded by that chain on the south, and the mountains of Peling on the north; the third extends from the latter mountains to the chain of Yan; and the fourth lies to the north of the last-mentioned chain, and includes the city of Peking. These ranges of mountains are, for the most part, of great elevation, and their summits are covered with perpetual snow, which, in the south of China, implies a height of 12,000 feet above the sea. They are, like the Himalaya and the Caucasus, of inestimable importance, by

providing in their icy caverns perennial supplies of water by which irrigation may be afforded to the plains which adjoin the rivers flowing from them in their progress towards the sea. The greatest and most important plains of China are those which lie between the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, and the Yang-tze-kiang, or Blue River. These two great rivers rise near each other in the mountains of Thibet, but separate before they emerge from the hills, and embrace the richest agricultural districts of the empire, and from whence the chief supplies of food for its inhabitants are drawn. They are both above a thousand leagues, or 2600 miles, in length; and some of their tributary streams are larger than the Rhine or the Danube. In addition to these magnificent natural canals, there are, especially in the northern provinces of China, great numbers of lakes formed by chains of mountains intercepting the rivers in their course to the sea, some of which are of vast extent, being 80 or 90 leagues in circumference, and of great service to the inhabitants, both as furnishing the means of internal communication, and as affording inexhaustible supplies of fish.

8. The Chinese have turned to good account the supplies of water which their snow-fed rivers afford them, by conducting it into an infinite number of canals, which serve the double purpose of promoting internal communication, and furnishing the means of irrigation indispensable, especially in the southern provinces, to agricultural production. As in Lombardy, the large canals which draw off the water from the rivers are conducted into innumerable little rills, which are preserved with the utmost care, and carry the fertilising stream into every garden and field of the level country. But, in addition to this, there are several great canals intersecting the territory in different directions, which serve the purposes of internal commerce, and compensate, in some degree, the enormous distances which separate one part of the empire from the other. The most important of these internal arteries is that called the Imperial

Canal, which is 600 leagues in length, and connects Pekin with the southern provinces of the empire. It was begun in the year 1181 of the Christian era, and finished in the end of the thirteenth century. It is 90 feet broad over the greater part of its extent, is edged by cut stones, and so great a number of persons are employed, either in the canal itself or the irrigation connected with it, that its sides are generally lined with rows of houses, continuous like the streets of a town. At every league locks are established, connected with large tanks to let off the superfluous water in the rainy season, and store it up for the use of the adjoining fields. This canal, which may be called the great artery of the empire, is indispensable to Pekin and the northern provinces, by furnishing the means of transporting the tribute paid in kind from the great grain provinces in the south to the capital, and supplying it with the means of subsistence.

9. The vast extent of China, and the circumstance of its being bounded on the one side by the warm ocean, and on the other by the frozen mountains of Thibet, have rendered the climate and average temperature of its different provinces extremely various. In its eastern provinces the heats of summer are tempered by the balmy breezes of the Pacific; in the western, they are chilled by the cold winds which sweep down from the snows of Tartary. In the south the sugar-cane, cotton-plant, and all the productions of the tropics, are to be found in abundance; in those a little to the north the tea-plant grows in profusion, which has become in a manner a necessary of life in Great Britain and some parts of Europe. In the central provinces vast crops of rice and wheat furnish food to the immense population of the country; while in the north barley and oats are to be found, and all the cereal productions of northern Europe. The indifference of the Chinese people and their Government to foreign commerce is mainly to be ascribed to this cause. Their empire forms a world within itself, containing nearly all the productions of all climates; the foreign com-

merce of other nations is to them a home-trade, and no external disaster seriously affects either their wealth or subsistence so long as their internal communication continues uninterrupted.

10. To the same cause is to be ascribed the indifference of the Imperial Government of Pekin, in the general case, to the concerns of their distant provinces, or the quarrels in which they may be involved, and the ample powers, amounting almost to independence, which the viceroys over them enjoy. The concerns or disputes of the remote governors excite little attention in the Imperial Cabinet, so long as they remit their portion of the revenue regularly, which, being for the most part paid in kind, is not liable to be affected in any considerable degree by a stoppage or diminution of foreign commerce. The viceroys at Canton, Shanghai, or the other great ports of the empire, are rather independent sovereigns paying a tribute, than the lieutenants of a vigorous and efficient central government. So thoroughly centralised, however, is the machine of society, and so entirely dependent, as elsewhere in the East, on the Imperial Government, that this independence exists only so long as the appointed tribute is regularly paid, or no great disaster forcibly arrests the attention of Government. If the revenue fails, or an external calamity rouses the anxiety of the Emperor, the viceroy or mandarin is recalled, and ere long the bastinado or the bowstring may remind him of the precarious tenure by which his authority, great as it was, had been held.

11. Agriculture being the main resource of China, and the means not only, as in other countries, of furnishing food for the inhabitants, but of paying the revenue to the Government, the whole energies of the people are directed to this one object. Incredible is the industry exerted, the pains bestowed, to fertilise and increase the produce of the soil. Not only is a greater proportion than in any other state of equal extent under cultivation, but what is devoted to



crops is worked with an unparalleled amount of attention and diligence. Tanks are cut out of the rocks on the summit of mountains, to collect the water which gathers on those humid heights, from whence the fertilising stream is conducted to the slopes beneath, which are shaped into terraces. If there is a river at their foot, its water is conveyed to the top by means of portable machinery. The summits, if sterile and barren, are planted with pine-trees, so that every part may be made to contribute something to the use of man. They have even in some provinces contrived to render the lakes productive of more than fish, by planting and cultivating in them aquatic plants having tubercles something like the carrot (*Sagittaria tuberosa*), capable of forming human food.

12. Little attention is paid to the rearing of animals, and very few of them are employed in the labours of cultivation. Everything almost is done by the human hand, and the greater part of the crops which are raised are for human subsistence. Among any other people this state of things would lead to a want of manure and a deterioration of produce, which would ere long prove fatal to agriculture; but this is prevented among the Chinese by the diligence with which they collect, and the economy with which they distribute, the whole human refuse, which is returned chiefly in a liquid form to the fields. No difficulty is experienced by them in disposing of the sewerage of cities, or the drainage of houses. It is all collected in tanks, and applied, with surprising effect, through watering-pans to the roots of plants, as is sometimes done in our gardens. Farms are small, seldom exceeding eight or ten acres, generally only three or four, and the occupants all live in detached houses on their little possessions. Thus the general aspect of the country, both in its level and mountainous regions, is that of a vast garden; and it is this mode of cultivation which explains how the immense population is fed.

13. Like all other Oriental states, the Chinese have no landed proprietors

in the European sense of the word—that is, owners of considerable tracts of land interposed between the Emperor and the cultivators of the soil. In China, as in Hindostan and over the whole East, the sovereign is the real landed proprietor. The land-tax, generally from a third to a half of the produce, is the real rent of the soil; and the limit of each cultivator's possession is what he can cultivate himself, with the aid of his family or domestic servants. This state of things, which covers the earth with a crowd of indigent cultivators, earning a subsistence and nothing more from the soil, and leaves no authority or influence but in the holders of political office or the possession of mercantile wealth, is the grand characteristic of Asiatic society, and the principal feature which distinguishes it from that of modern Europe. No government is practicable in such a state of society but an absolute despotism, communicating its orders through equally despotic satraps, mandarins, or governors of cities and provinces.

14. The power of the Emperor is unlimited so far as the constitution itself is concerned. No checks or restraint of any sort are provided against his authority—his will is law, his act the ministration of God Almighty in the government of the earth. The same unlimited power which the Emperor possesses is enjoyed by the mandarins, or provincial governors, within their respective jurisdictions. No one thinks of disputing, none is courageous enough to resist, their authority. When one of these functionaries appears in the streets, he is preceded by a hundred executioners, who announce his approach by loud howlings, which freeze every heart with terror. If any one neglects to range himself by the wall to let the procession pass, he is instantly beset by the officers, who leave him half dead on the street with strokes of bamboo canes. Justice is administered by these functionaries gratuitously, and without the aid of attorneys or legal assistants of any kind. It is sufficiently summary in civil cases; the judgment is pronounced

on the first hearing, and the defendant receives the bastinado if he does not instantly satisfy the judgment. In criminal cases the punishment is still more severe, and too often consists of cruel tortures. It cannot be inflicted, however, until the sentence has been confirmed by superior tribunals, and, in cases inferring death, by the sanction of the Emperor himself. The mandarins, in their turn, are subjected to a despotism fully as rigorous as that with which they are intrusted over others; and if delinquency or malversation is established against any of their number, by what appears to the Emperor to be sufficient evidence, he is instantly dispossessed, his fortune confiscated, and he himself bastinadoed with as little mercy as he had shown to the meanest of his former subjects.

15. In every country, however, even the most despotic, there is, practically speaking, some check upon the oppression of Government, when it rises to such a height as to have become unbearable, and to affect the persons or property of considerable numbers of the people. This last remedy is not wanting in China. It is true the laws recognise no limitation whatever on the will of the Emperor, and he may do whatever he pleases; but necessity compels him to have a council to share with him the labours and responsibility of Government; and they are permitted to tender their advice in council, which, when the sovereign is a man of sense and candour, is often done with freedom and effect. The mandarins also, though at an awful distance below, are permitted to make representations on the working of particular enactments or decrees, which are sometimes attended to, especially if they tend to an augmentation or additional facilities in the collection of the revenue. A certain restriction upon misgovernment arises from the custom, which has passed into a consuetudinary usage, of choosing the mandarins and public functionaries only from the lettered or highly-educated classes. They do not form a privileged class like the high castes in India or the feudal aristocracies of Europe, but are a body

chosen by competition and open examination from all the other classes of society. Thus the career, whether of civil or military employment, is open to all, and it is the knowledge of this which renders the people so patient under the despotism which prevails. Every one hopes that he himself, or his son, may become one of the despotic governors. Finally, there exists the *ultimum remedium* of insurrection, when tyranny has become unbearable, which, although threatened with the severest penalties by the laws, and utterly adverse to the feelings and habits of the people, does sometimes come into operation, and takes effect in rebellions fearful to contemplate, from the oceans of blood shed, and the unbounded cruelty exercised and suffering endured on both sides.

16. It is usually supposed that the Chinese are all Buddhists, or followers of the religion which soon after the Christian era had spread from Thibet over the adjoining regions of Asia. But although they are the most numerous, they are not the only religious persuasion which prevails in China. The whole inhabitants in remote ages were worshippers of the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the ocean, and some of the most striking visible objects of nature. This primitive worship was succeeded by a more philosophic system, which was divided into the followers of Confucius, whose principles had some resemblance to those of the Stoics, and the adherents of *Laokiun* or *Tao-tse*, which are more analogous to those of Epicurus. But neither of these systems, the growth of a civilised age, and the offspring of contemplative minds, was adapted to the wants of the great body of men, who, as in other countries, are chiefly influenced by their passions and imagination. The majority of the people accordingly eagerly embraced the religion of Fo, the disciples of which entered China from Thibet about the year 65 of the Christian era. This faith recognises the unity of the Supreme Being; but that sublime tenet is accompanied by innumerable superstitions and worship of inferior deities,

which bespeak the pusillanimous and crouching spirit of the Oriental servitude. The priests of this faith are extremely numerous; they are said in the whole empire to exceed a million. This immense body live entirely, like the mendicant friars in Europe, on voluntary charity, and, like them, they conceal, under a humble guise and squalid exterior, the pride of unbounded influence and the desire for sensual gratification. All the three religions live in perfect harmony with each other, are equally tolerated by the State, and each is considered by the others as alike true, and leading to salvation. Hence the Chinese proverb, "The three religions in reality are only one."

17. To those who consider universal education and reading, coupled with the general use of printing, as an infallible security against the abuses of despotism, the example of China is in an especial manner worthy of attention. There is no country in which learning has so long prevailed, or been so generally diffused. At a period long anterior to the literary celebrity even of the Greeks and Romans, the Chinese were far advanced in several branches of knowledge, and institutions to bring it home to the great body of the people were generally established. A collection was begun, in the last century, of their "chosen works," and it soon reached 180,000 volumes. Encyclopædias, popular libraries, and general collections, have been established among them from time immemorial; and nowhere does the possession of education so immediately and exclusively tend to elevation and success in life. The use of gunpowder, the compass, and the art of printing, were common in China long before they were known in Europe. In the year 932 of our era, before the Norman Conquest, a beautiful edition of the best Chinese authors was printed at Peking for the use of the students at the imperial college. Artesian wells, balloons, artificial fireworks of the finest description, have been familiar to them from time immemorial. Education and the power of reading and

writing are diffused to an extent scarcely known in any country of Europe; and the multitudes of the lettered class who have not been able to pass the examinations for public offices, spread themselves over every province, town, and village, and earn a livelihood by teaching the young, which alone opens to all the career of success in life. Yet, with all this, China is the most despotic country in the world, and the one in which the absolute authority of the Emperor and his inferior functionaries is most universally and willingly obeyed, and in which the spirit of the people seems most thoroughly and irrecoverably broken by a long course of servitude. Lord Elgin, who so ably conducted the negotiations with China, said, "Competitive examinations have failed in China, *even though supplemented by decapitations.*" The reason is, that these popular examinations open the door which leads to official greatness and power to *all*, and thus all support despotism, because all have the hope of profiting by it.

18. Commercial intercourse with this singular people, on the part of any of the European nations, was necessarily, for a long time, subject to very considerable risks, from the peculiar habits of the inhabitants, their jealousy of foreigners, and the immense extent of the empire, which rendered any foreign trade, how considerable soever in the eyes of European powers, an object of comparative indifference to a government resting on such vast territorial possessions. As long as the trade remained in the hands of the East India Company, however, the traffic was carried on with prudence and circumspection; it was conducted by a few persons, who became acquainted with the native character, and, by seasonable *douceurs*, allayed the jealousies or restrained the complaints of the local authorities. Thus any considerable collision was prevented, and if any disputes did occur, they were in general soothed by a bribe to the mandarins, or the concession, on the part of the Company's

agents, of the point in dispute. But although this mode of carrying on the business prevented a rupture, and was extremely advantageous to the East India Company so far as their commercial interests were concerned, yet it was eminently prejudicial to the national character with the inhabitants and government of the country. It naturally gave rise to the belief, which soon became universal in the Celestial Empire, that Great Britain was a country wholly set upon mercantile profit, destitute alike of public spirit and the means of enforcing any national object, and the traders of which would submit to any indignity, provided they were allowed to retain possession of their lucrative traffic.

19. It was in part foreseen, what the event soon more than verified, that when the Chinese trade was thrown open, in pursuance of the Act of 1833, there would be a great increase in the commercial intercourse with China, and therefore an augmented risk of collisions with the inhabitants or official persons of that empire. The bill opening the trade accordingly contained a clause authorising the appointment of certain superintendents of the trade to Canton, where alone it was permitted by former custom, and conferring on them considerable power over all engaged in the trade. Lord Napier was the first commissioner appointed, and he arrived at Macao on the 15th July 1834, from whence he proceeded to Canton, where he arrived on the 25th of the same month. According to custom, the *Andromache*, a vessel of war on board of which he had come, anchored below the *Bocca Tigris*, being the principal fortified pass on the river leading to Canton. From thence he proceeded in a cutter to the neighbourhood of Canton, where he sent a holograph letter to the governor of the town, announcing his arrival, and requesting permission to enter the city. This, however, was peremptorily refused on a variety of frivolous grounds, and the viceroy declined to recognise Lord Napier's diplomatic character. At the same time the Hong-Kong merchants,

seeing he had not come in the supplicatory attitude to which they had been accustomed, threatened to stop the trade. Shortly after, Lord Napier, in his residence outside Canton at Whampoa, was subjected to a variety of petty annoyances, descriptive of the determination of the Chinese authorities to drive him from the neighbourhood of the city. His baggage was broken open, though the keys were at hand; his supply of provisions cut off, and his residence surrounded by soldiers. At the same time the viceroy refused to sanction any transactions involving British property subsequent to the 16th August. Under these circumstances Lord Napier, who was a sailor, and possessed all the spirited feelings of his profession, requested the officers of the *Andromache* and *Imogene* to furnish him with a guard of marines, and to bring their vessels to anchor at Whampoa for the protection of the merchant vessels there assembled. To do this they required to pass the *Bocca Tigris*, the passage of which had been hitherto forbidden to vessels of war; and this brought on the first collision between Great Britain and the Chinese empire.

20. Early on the morning of the 7th September the two frigates passed the batteries of the *Bocca Tigris*, working up against a northerly wind. The guns all opened upon them, but they were so ill-directed that only one man was hurt by a splinter, and a few ropes shot away. The wind having then failed, and there being no steam-tugs in the squadron, they were obliged to anchor below Tiger Island, a little farther up the river. On the 9th they weighed anchor, and proudly passed within pistol-shot of the batteries, which they speedily laid in ruins, though with the loss of two killed and several wounded. Adverse winds again retarded their progress till the 11th, when they a second time set sail, and anchored off Whampoa in a situation to protect the merchant vessels, which, to the number of forty-six, were there assembled. Upon this the viceroy at Canton agreed to reopen the trade, provided the British commissioner

withdrew from Whampoa to Macao. Lord Napier, to avoid coming to extremities, agreed to this; but he fell a victim soon after to the climate, and was succeeded by Mr Davis as chief superintendent.

21. After Lord Napier's death, and a brief interregnum during which the government was conducted by Mr Davis with great prudence, Sir George Robinson became chief superintendent, and was assisted by Captain Elliot as a second commissioner. Sir George conducted the administration intrusted to him during 1835 and 1836 with much judgment, and no collision between the two nations occurred during this period. But a foundation was laid of a very serious difference at a future time, in the great increase which took place in the smuggling trade in opium, not only in the river of Canton, but all along the coast as far as Chusan. The Chinese Government, partly alarmed at the immense quantities of this dangerous and intoxicating drug which were introduced, and also displeased at being deprived of the import duties which would be paid on the introduction of the same article by the regular trader, passed several severe edicts against the contraband trade, which Sir George regularly transmitted to the Foreign Office, with an urgent request for instructions how to act. These, however, as usual in cases of difficulty, were never furnished. The truth is that vast pecuniary interests were involved in the continuance of the contraband traffic; and Government, aware of this, and fearful of bringing on a collision which might injure them if they took any decided step in the matter, thought it best to do nothing, and leave the commissioners to act as they deemed expedient, and on their own responsibility. Colossal fortunes were in course of being made by the English merchants engaged in the trade; and the export of it from India became so prodigious that the East India Company enjoyed a revenue from the monopoly of that article of £4,000,000 a-year. Both Mr Davis and Sir George Robinson, however, warned the Government

in the most emphatic terms of the impending danger; but the latter declined taking any steps to abate it.

22. The more rigid enforcing of the edicts against the smuggling in opium, by the Chinese Government, led not only to an extension of it to Chusan, but also, what was far more dangerous, to its being conducted, not as heretofore in Chinese junks, but in British boats by British seamen, in the river of Canton itself, as far up as Whampoa. The demand for the intoxicating drug was so great among the Chinese, and the profits arising from its contraband introduction to the English merchants engaged in the traffic so immense, that their combined action overcame all obstacles. Captain Elliot, in November 1837, represented the extreme danger of this state of things, when British seamen were daily engaged in the open violation of the Chinese laws; but Lord Palmerston declined to interfere. Sensible, however, that this anomalous condition of affairs could not long endure without an open collision between the two countries, the Cabinet took some steps to be prepared for the danger, and sent Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland in the *Wellesley*, 74, with the brig *Algerine*, into the Chinese waters, and they arrived in the Canton river on 12th July 1838. Sir Frederick in vain endeavoured to open a pacific communication with the viceroy at Canton: the letters he sent were returned unopened; and a British man-of-war boat, having passed the *Bocca Tigris*, was fired upon by the batteries. For this insult, however, an adequate apology was tendered and accepted. Soon after, a quantity of opium, the property of a British trader, was seized in Canton by the Chinese officers, the vessel which brought it ordered out of the river, and the native merchant who was the owner of the vessel subjected to a severe and degrading punishment.

23. The Chinese Government at length resolved to take effectual measures to stop this contraband traffic, which they regarded as not less derogatory to the majesty of the empire

than injurious to the health and morals of their subjects. In January 1839, a new viceroy, named Lin, was appointed for Canton, and he came there in the middle of March following. His arrival was immediately signalled by the most vigorous measures. He demanded that the whole opium in the factories should instantly be delivered up to him, and a bond taken from every merchant that they would never again attempt to introduce it; and in the event of any such being thereafter brought, it should be confiscated, and the importer put to death. Should the foreigners fail to comply with these requisitions, they were to be forthwith overwhelmed by numbers and destroyed. Mr Dent, one of the most respectable English merchants, was required to attend before the tribunal of Lin, in Canton, to answer some charges against him, Lin thus claiming a direct jurisdiction over the foreign factories. At the same time, these establishments were rigorously blockaded by a large body of troops, and all supplies from every quarter cut off. Under these circumstances, Captain Elliot required all the opium then in Canton to be delivered up to the Chinese authorities; and in pursuance of it, 20,283 chests of that article, worth about £1,000,000, were, on 3d April, given over to the persons authorised by Lin to receive it. Meanwhile every effort was made to get the blockaded merchants to surrender and subscribe the bond required of them; but this demand was evaded. This imprisonment and blockade continued till 4th May, when, all the opium having been delivered, the merchants were allowed to depart, and Captain Elliot withdrew the last, on the 25th, under an edict from the governor never again to return. Such was "the course of violence and spoliation," which, in Captain Elliot's words, "had broken up the foundations of this great trade, perhaps for ever."

24. The feelings of exasperation produced on both sides by these violent proceedings, were increased in August following by an affray which took place between some English sail-

ors and Chinese villagers, in which one of the latter was unfortunately killed. A demand was immediately made to have the homicide given up, which was of course refused. This was followed by an edict, prohibiting the Chinese to furnish provisions to the British, and soon after (August 20) a British schooner, the *Black Joke*, was boarded by some Chinese junks, several Lascars on board cut down and thrown overboard, and Mr Moss, a young Englishman, cruelly wounded. Towards the end of the year, Lin, in conjunction with Tang, the Viceroy of Wantung, issued an edict against the importation of any English goods, though transhipped on board the vessels of any other nation; requiring a bond to be entered into by the masters of such foreign vessel, to the effect that he had no British effects on board, under the penalty of confiscation if any such were discovered. So much distressed were the British merchants by these proceedings, that Captain Elliot condescended so far as to petition Lin for a restoration of the commerce in the mean time, in terms little calculated to convey an impression of the dignity of the British empire.\* But to this it was replied, that till the murderer of the Chinese was given up there could be no intercourse between the two nations, and the port would remain closed. A certain amount of commerce, however, was afterwards permitted below the *Bocca Tigris*, when it was again interrupted in consequence of the captain of a British merchant vessel, Mr Warner, having signed the bond required by Lin, and passed the *Bocca Tigris* in order to unload his cargo at Whampoa. This concession made the Chinese authori-

\* "England having already enjoyed commercial intercourse with the heavenly dynasty for about 200 years, all that I now beg at this time is the continuance of our former legal commerce as of old, and that everything be done in respectful submission to the statutes of the great pure dynasty, while at the same time the laws of my native country be not opposed, thus causing that both may exist and remain together."—Captain ELLIOT to Commissioner LIN, September 4, 1840; *Ann. Reg.* 1840, 243.

ties rise in their demands, and it was then insisted that the captains of all vessels should sign the bond in the same manner as Warner had done. The British refused, and this led to the first commencement of serious hostilities.

25. The British forces in the river of Canton consisted of the *Volage* and *Hyacinth* frigates, which were anchored about a mile below the first battery; the Chinese squadron consisted of twenty-nine vessels of various sizes, including several fire-ships. After a fruitless correspondence, in which Lin peremptorily demanded that the man who had killed the Chinese should be given up, the flotilla weighed anchor, and, on the 28th October, approached the English frigates, which had assumed a position, at the request of the Chinese, a little further down, but still covering the merchant vessels. As the Chinese flotilla, however, continued to advance, and appeared determined to pass inside the ships of war, so as to be able to carry into effect their threats of destroying the merchant vessels, Captain Elliot, about noon, gave the signal to engage. Then, for the first time in their long annals, the Chinese were brought into serious collision with the Europeans, and felt the force of an English broadside. The ships bore away ahead in close order, having the wind on the starboard beam. In this way, under easy sail, they ran down the Chinese line, pouring in a quick and well-sustained fire. The wind being a side one, they were able to veer about and run along the line from its other extremity, with their port broadsides bearing on the enemy. The Chinese returned the fire for some time with vigour; but their guns, ill directed, did little mischief, and were no match for the British artillery. In less than an hour one war-junk blew up within pistol-shot of the *Volage*, three were sunk, and several water-logged. The Chinese admiral, who had personally displayed much courage, upon this withdrew in great disorder to his former anchorage, and the English, in obedience to their orders not to act on the offensive, suffered

them to retire unmolested. Shortly after, the *Volage* made sail for Macao, to protect the British merchant vessels that were embarking cargoes there, and the *Hyacinth* remained in the river of Canton.

26. It soon appeared how ill-judged it was to have stopped midway in the career of victory, and how incapable the Asiatics are of appreciating moderation or yielding to any other argument but force. Two hundred years of submissive policy at Canton, dictated to preserve the profits of trade at any hazard to national reputation, had engendered the idea that the British would submit to any indignity rather than incur the risk of losing their lucrative commerce, and it had become indispensable to make a vigorous effort to undeceive the Chinese. In the outset of the altercation the British Government were obliged to temporise, for they were in Europe on the verge of a war with France, and in the East involved in a desperate strife with the Affghans. But now circumstances had changed; the treaty of July 1840 had coerced French ambition in the Levant; and the first and deceitful success of the British in Central Asia had permitted a considerable part of the forces destined for its invasion to return to Hindostan. A powerful armament accordingly was fitted out and despatched to the Chinese waters, consisting of the *Wellesley*, 74, and several lesser vessels and brigs, which, with those already there, formed a respectable squadron of one line-of-battle ship, two frigates, five brigs, and two armed steamers, with several troop-ships having some military on board. So little were the Chinese aware of the quality of the new adversaries with whom they had to deal, that, hearing of the arrival of a large vessel on the coast, the Governor of Canton issued a proclamation, offering a reward of 20,000 Spanish dollars "to whomsoever might capture an English great ship carrying 80 guns, and deliver the same to the Government, and 5000 dollars for every mandarin or officer slain." Several attempts to burn the British squadron

were afterwards made by means of fire-ships, though happily without effect, the danger having been averted by the vigilance of the boats of the fleet. But, meanwhile, an expedition was prepared against Chusan, a valuable and important island lying off the east coast, and the chief of a group of lesser isles bearing the same name, which, after a show of resistance, was abandoned to the British. Then, for the first time in history, was the British flag hoisted on a Chinese town.

27. This success to a certain degree opened the eyes of the Chinese to the dangers of the contest into which they had so unnecessarily plunged; and Lin was in consequence recalled, and a new governor, named Koshen, sent to Canton, who declared that he had full power to treat for the settlement of all the questions in dispute. Negotiations were opened accordingly by Captain Elliot at Macao. It was soon evident, however, that the Chinese were only negotiating to gain time. "We must adopt other methods," said Koshen, in a letter to the Emperor, "which will be easy, as they have opened negotiations." In the midst of the most pacific professions, a secret edict came to the knowledge of the British, detailing the means of destroying every British vessel and subject, which were all doomed to destruction. At the same time it was learned that every preparation had been made for barring passage up the river by sinking vessels laden with stones in one channel, and strengthening the batteries on the sides. Hostilities were immediately resumed, and on the 7th January 1841 an attack was made on the forts of Bocca Tigris, which were soon laid in ruins; and a body of marines having landed, two of them were stormed, and the British flag hoisted on the ramparts. No less than 173 heavy guns were taken on this occasion; and preparations having been made to renew the attack next day on the principal fort of Anunghoy, which was the chief defence remaining to Canton, Koshen feigned submission, and Captain Elliot agreed to an armis-

tice on conditions eminently favourable to the British. These were—that the island of Hong-Kong, situated some way down the river, should be ceded to the British; six millions of dollars (£1,500,000) paid as an indemnity to the merchants whose opium had been confiscated, of which 1,000,000 was to be paid at once; and trade opened on equal terms with the Chinese, and to be commenced at Canton on the 2d February following.

28. This treaty proved the ruin of the governor who had negotiated it. So entirely had the Court of Peking been kept in the dark by their agents in Canton as to the real state of affairs, that, at the very time it was concluded, the Emperor sent an order to his viceroy, "to send the heads of the rebellious barbarians to the capital in baskets;" and Koshen, in terror for his life, wrote to Peking, on the conclusion of the treaty, representing it as entirely favourable to the Chinese, and the result of abject submission on the part of the British. No sooner, however, did the real nature of the treaty become known to the Government at Peking, and in particular that money was to be paid, than they issued a violent manifesto against Koshen, who was deprived of his office, and his property, which was enormous, confiscated to the imperial treasury. The British Government, on their part, were hardly less dissatisfied with the treaty, both for its containing the cession of the fine island of Chusan—having stipulated nothing about the opium trade, the ostensible cause of the war, and stopped the British in the career of victory, when its real object—the taming the insufferable arrogance of the Chinese authorities—had not been attained. In pursuance of these views, Captain Elliot was recalled by the home Government, and Sir Henry Pottinger appointed plenipotentiary in his stead. In the mean time, however, Hong-Kong had been formally taken possession of by the British troops, and orders had been despatched to Chusan to restore that island to the Chinese authorities.

29. When such was the temper of



the Governments on both sides, it was not likely that the suspension of hostilities could be of very long duration; it soon, accordingly, came to an end. On 19th February a hostile shot was fired by north Quang-tong batteries on the Canton river at a boat of the *Nemesis*; and the squadron under the command of Sir Gordon Bremer immediately advanced to avenge the insult by forcing the Bocca Tigris. On the 26th, the fleet was formed into two divisions: the first, under Sir H. Fleming Senhouse, consisting of the *Blenheim*, 74, with the *Melville* and *Queen* steamers, with four rocket-boats, proceeded to attack Anunghoy; while the second, under Sir G. Bremer in person, laid themselves alongside of the batteries on the south-west and north-west of Wang-tong. Both attacks proved entirely successful; in less than an hour the batteries of Wang-tong were silenced, and a body of troops, under Major Pratt of the 26th Cameronians, having landed, the fort, with the whole island, was captured, with 1300 Chinese soldiers, without the loss of a man. At the same time the Anunghoy batteries were silenced by the steady, well-directed fire of the *Blenheim*, *Melville*, and *Queen*; and Sir H. Senhouse having landed at the head of a body of marines, the whole batteries on that side also were stormed, and the British colours hoisted on the forts, with the loss only of five killed and wounded. Next day the light squadron of the fleet proceeded farther up the river, and commenced a fire upon a mass of forty-nine junks, which, with an old East Indiaman, were stationed to bar the passage near Whampoa. After a smart fire of an hour, the junks and batteries were silenced; and the marines, with a body of seamen, being landed, the Chinese, 2000 in number, were driven out of the works, with the loss of 300 slain. Pursuing their success, the British light vessels approached Howqua Fort, and the batteries beyond it, the last defence of Canton; the fort was found abandoned, and preparations were making for attacking the batteries, when

the Chinese again made offers of accommodation. Captain Elliot a second time fell into the snare, and a suspension of hostilities with these arrogant barbarians was agreed to, when all the external defences of their city had been captured, and decisive success was within his power.

30. It was foreseen at the time, by the naval and military commanders of the expedition, that this "forbearance would be misunderstood, and that a further punishment must be resorted to before this perfidious and arrogant Government is brought to reason." The event proved that Sir G. Bremer's anticipations were too well founded. On 17th March, a flag of truce sent by Captain Elliot was again fired upon by the Chinese, and, in consequence, the light squadron, under Captain Herbert, advanced next day to the fort and batteries, which it soon silenced, burnt or sunk the whole flotilla assembled under its walls; and moving up within sight of Canton, hoisted the union-jack on the walls of the British Factory, while the guns of the squadron commanded the whole approaches by water to the city. Upon this the Chinese governor again had recourse to the artifice of negotiation, and again the British plenipotentiary was deceived. On the 20th March, a circular by Captain Elliot announced to the British merchants that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed to, and, in consequence, trade was partially resumed during the next six weeks. Fortunately the British commanders were more alive to the method of carrying on war with Asiatics. Sir G. Bremer repaired to Calcutta to explain to the Government there the necessity of sending reinforcements, which was promptly done; and in the interval, a hero destined to future fame, Major-General SIR H. GOUGH, arrived, and took the command of the land forces. Meanwhile four imperial edicts were issued, breathing the most fierce defiance to the English. "They are," said the Emperor, "like dogs and sheep in their dispositions. It is difficult for heaven and earth to bear any longer with the English; and both gods and

men are indignant at their conduct." By the same decree, Koshen, for having consented to an armistice, was ordered to be delivered over to the board of punishment; and as the hostile preparations of the Chinese continued unabated, and the constant arrival of hardy Tartar soldiers from the north was every day rendering them more formidable, while an attack by fire-rafts had already been made, on the 21st, on the merchant vessels, it was resolved to anticipate their hostile movements, and make an immediate attack upon Canton.

31. Canton at this time was garrisoned by about 20,000 men, including a great many Tartar soldiers, who had inherited all the courage and daring which had so often rendered them formidable to the greatest empires of Europe and Asia. It was surrounded by brick walls from twenty to thirty feet high, flanked by massy projecting towers, lined by a plentiful array of heavy artillery. The attempt to reduce by force such a city so defended, was a serious undertaking; but Sir H. Gough, having obtained considerable reinforcements from India, resolved, with his characteristic daring, to make the attempt. For this purpose he determined to land the troops, and attack the city on the north face, where it was probable an assault would not be expected. The walls in that quarter run over a range of low heights, and are flanked by four strong forts on the summit of the ridge, the approach to which lies through a level marshy country, in some places slightly undulated, and closely intersected by a network of canals and streams for irrigation. While the main assault, with the bulk of the land forces, was to be directed against these forts, the attention of the enemy was to be distracted by an attack on the factories, which had been again ceded to the Chinese, and the whole river defences.

32. Seen from a distance, the fortifications of these Chinese cities seem very formidable, and scarcely capable of being carried by a *coup-de-main*. But a nearer approach generally takes much from the terrors of the under-

taking. The armed crowd at the top cannot withstand a well-directed fire; the ramparts, which have weak parapets, are speedily thinned when the shot begins to fall; and as there is always a landing-place at their foot, and generally a few boats or rafts to be got, it is no difficult matter for a few brave men to push themselves across the ditch, and, by means of scaling-ladders, reach the summit. This done, the victory is gained: the defenders of the rampart speedily take to flight. So it proved on the present occasion. A well-directed fire of rockets and shells was kept up on the two western forts; and the 49th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, and the 18th, under Major-General Barrett, by a sudden rush crossed the ditch, scaled the ramparts, and won both the eastern forts. The western forts were at the same time stormed by a brigade of seamen. The posts thus carried looked down on Canton within 100 paces, and several attempts were in consequence made to dislodge the British by side-attacks from an intrenched camp situated at a little distance. These, however, were all repulsed, though not without loss, by the 49th, who were exposed in flank to a heavy fire from the city wall. The troops remained in possession of the external forts they had won that night, which was spent in bringing up guns to aid in the assault of the city itself, ordered for the following morning. It was prevented from taking place, however, by a flag of truce, which at ten o'clock was hoisted on the walls.

33. The terms proposed by the Chinese, and acceded to by Captain Elliot, were: 1. That the Imperial troops, other than those of the province, should quit the city within six days, and remove to a distance of sixty miles; 2. That 6,000,000 dollars should be paid in one week for the use of the Crown of England, of which 1,000,000 were to be forthcoming before the evening of the following day; 3. That the British troops should retain their present position, but the ships of war retire below the Bocca Tigris, and the troops withdraw as soon as the whole was paid; 4. Indemnity to be paid in a

week for the burning of the Factories. Thus did the British plenipotentiary, with the defences of Canton in his possession, and the city itself at his mercy, agree to terms nearly identical with those to which the Chinese had formerly agreed before the Fort Anunghoy had ever been passed—an instance of moderation in success, which might have been praiseworthy in Europe, but was to the last degree injudicious in the East, where obedience is never yielded but to force, and moderation is never ascribed except to terror. The bad effects of this concession were soon apparent. Before the ink of this treaty was well dry, a dispute arose with the Chinese, in consequence of some of the camp-followers of the British army having injured some tombs in the vicinity of Canton. A mob of several thousand persons immediately assembled in a menacing manner in the rear of the British position; and it was only by threatening instantly to recommence hostilities if the assemblage was not dispersed that the mob withdrew within the walls, and tranquillity was restored. But the consequences of this hostile popular demonstration going unpunished were extremely pernicious. They fostered the idea among the Canton rabble that the "outer barbarians" were, after all, not invincible; that their successes heretofore had been owing to the timidity of the Chinese rulers, not their own want of courage or prowess; and to the effects of this ignorant delusion a long series of subsequent insolent acts and aggressions, which led to a renewal of the war in 1857, are in a great measure to be ascribed.

34. The British Government disapproved, as well they might, of this pacification. Captain Elliot was recalled, and Sir H. Pottinger was despatched to succeed him. The troops were largely reinforced; and in the end of August a formidable expedition, consisting of the Wellesley and Blenheim ships of the line, with the Blonde and Druid frigates, a number of sloops and armed steamers, with twenty-one transports, stood to the northwards, with a view to operations

against parts of the country nearer the seat of the Imperial power. The first point against which operations were directed was Amoy, a considerable town strongly fortified, situated to the north of Hong-Kong. A battery, several hundred yards in length, and crowded with seventy-six guns, had been erected to defend the harbour. On the whole walls of the city were mounted 500 guns, and on the strength of these, and their granite fortifications, the place was deemed impregnable. So it proved to the attack on the sea side. Though the fire of the ships was poured in with the utmost vigour, not one breach was made, and the rampart was uninjured. But Sir H. Gough landed the Royal Irish, with himself at their head, on the flank of the battery furthest from the town, and, rapidly forming on the beach, advanced to the walls. These were quickly escaladed, with very little resistance on the part of the Chinese; and the summit of the great battery having been gained, the walls were cleared, and the city taken. In this action the cowardice of the Chinese troops stood forth in strange contrast to the resolution of their Tartar officers; for while the former fled at the first onset, after discharging a few muskets and arrows, two of the latter killed themselves, the one at the head of his men when they ran away, the other by walking into the sea when the place was taken. At the same time the island of Koolangtoo, situated opposite the harbour, and entirely commanding it, was carried by the 26th Regiment and a body of marines, though defended by fifty guns. The town was abandoned after its capture, as, being of great extent, it would have required a larger garrison than could be spared. But the island of Koolangtoo was garrisoned by 500 men, and the Druid frigate and Py-lades sloop left there, which effectually blockaded the harbour, and from which the city might be bombarded at pleasure.

35. Chusan was the next object of attack. This island had been restored to the Chinese authorities under the

first convention concluded by Captain Elliot, and on this occasion the resistance was much more resolute than it had been on the former. Extensive works had been erected to guard the harbour of Chusan and the town of Tinghae, in addition to its old walls. Nothing, however, could withstand the assault of the British soldiers and marines. The fleet entered the Chusan group of islands on the 21st September; and on the 1st October, having completed their reconnoitring, the attack was made. The Chinese had erected a sea-wall along the shore, armed with heavy cannon; but this was easily overcome by landing the troops at its extremity, storming the work there, and driving the Chinese along the rampart. This done, they pushed on to the hill above the city on the west; and the walls having been surmounted by escalade, the town fell a second time into their possession, and they retained it for five years, to the unbounded satisfaction of the inhabitants, who still look back to it as the happiest period they had ever known. The island had been considered as very unhealthy during the first occupation, and nearly half of the force left there had perished by disease; but this was chiefly owing to the excessive indulgence of the troops in ardent spirits, and inattention to the water which the soldiers drank, which was of the worst description. On this occasion perfect discipline was maintained: the men were kept to regular habits; and the consequence was, that the island proved as salubrious as it was fertile and commodious for the purposes either of war or commerce.

36. Having secured this important acquisition, and left such a garrison in it as defied all the efforts of the Chinese for its expulsion, the expedition proceeded still farther north to Chinghae, a strong fortress commanding the entrance of the Tahee river. Here they arrived on the 7th October; and the two line-of-battle ships were towed, in a perfect calm, into their positions, under the guns of the citadel and the eastern part of the city walls. At the same time the military force,

about 2200 strong, landed on the opposite side of the river, and attacked the Chinese intrenched camp, which was guarded by 5000 soldiers, who were quickly put to the rout, and the camp taken, with very little loss to the victors. The wall of the citadel was shortly after breached by the fire of the Wellesley and Blenheim, and a large part of it came down with a tremendous crash. Not an instant was now lost in landing the seamen and marines, under the command of Captain Herbert of the Blenheim, on the beach beneath the ruined rampart; and the troops, having surmounted the rocks and stones, rushed up the breach, and in a few moments the summit was won. At the same time the citadel gate was blown open by a powder-bag; and the Chinese having fled in dismay, the pass was won, and the union-jack hoisted on the ramparts of the fort. The inner wall of the town, twenty-six feet high, was immediately after scaled by the seamen and marines; and ere long this strong fortress, completely commanding the entrance of the river, and deemed impregnable, was entirely in the hands of the British land and sea forces. The governor, Yukien, who had boasted to the Emperor he would send him the heads of the "outer barbarians," was seized with such dismay at his defeat, that next day he destroyed himself by poison.

37. The capture of Ningpo, a large city fifteen miles up the river, containing 300,000 souls, the walls of which are five miles in circumference, was next effected, with very little resistance. Having provided for the safety of Chinghae, Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker proceeded with the remainder of the forces, consisting of 750 bayonets, with the Sappers and Artillery, against that city, which it was expected would offer an obstinate resistance. It proved, however, just the reverse. The troops having been landed near the gates, the walls on either side were speedily carried by escalade; and the Chinese themselves removed the obstructions at the entrance, and admitted the 18th,

the band of which soon played "God save the Queen" on the ramparts. The inhabitants received the victorious troops, by whom the strictest discipline was observed, in the kindest manner. Their wishes were openly expressed to be taken under the protection of the British, and liberated from the oppression of their Tartar governors.

38. The advanced period of the year, and the approach of the autumnal storms, rendered farther operations by the combined land and sea forces impossible, and the British remained in quiet possession of their conquests. Encouraged by the accounts which they received during the winter of the small number of the forces, the Chinese secretly assembled a body of 14,000 men in the neighbourhood of Ningpo, and at daylight of March 10, 1842, attacked the city. They were allowed to get over the walls and into the marketplace, in the centre of the town, with scarcely any opposition; but when there, they were attacked by the British with artillery and the bayonet, and driven out with the loss of 250 killed. On the evening of the same day an attack on the gates of Chinghae was also repulsed with great loss. After these checks the Chinese altered their plan of operations, and endeavoured to make the position of the British untenable by obstructing their supply of provisions; and for this purpose they stationed a body of 4000 men at Tse-kee, eleven miles to the westward of Ningpo. This force was attacked by Sir H. Gough on the 15th; and after a smart action, in which the Chinese displayed more courage than they had yet done during the war, they were again defeated, with the loss of 900 men. The troops who fought on this occasion were Tartars, composed of the élite of the Imperial army, and embracing 500 of the Guard. They were a fine muscular body of men, very different from the effeminate hordes the British had hitherto encountered, and bespoke the descendants of the ancient conquerors of the empire.

39. Chapoo was the next object of attack—a considerable town still farther to the north, the principal mart for the trade with Japan, and situated at the mouth of the great river Tshentang. The fleet and army appeared off it on the 17th May, having previously, in order to concentrate the troops, evacuated Ningpo. The recent defeats they had experienced on land had opened the eyes of the Chinese to the quality of the enemy with whom they had to deal, and they had made extraordinary efforts for the defence of the place. When the ships approached it, the works and hills to the east of the town seemed covered with soldiers, who were 10,000 strong, a third of the number being Tartars. The Cornwallis, Blonde, and Modeste, however, anchored abreast of the principal batteries, upon which they opened a heavy fire, which was very feebly returned; and when the attention of the enemy was fixed on that side, the troops under Gough disembarked on the east of the town, and assailed the heights in two columns, one moving against the front, the other turning the flank of the Chinese position. Both attacks were successful, and the troops, driving the enemy before them, soon formed a junction with the naval brigade, which had landed at the west side of the same range of heights in the rear; and the two, united, advanced against the city. Its walls were speedily carried by escalade, the Chinese troops flying in all directions. A body of 300 Tartars on the heights, however, threw themselves into an old temple, where they defended themselves with desperate resolution, till the building fell from the bursting of shells within its walls, which crushed them all except forty, who were extricated alive. The astonishment of the survivors was great when, instead of being put to death as they expected, they were dismissed with praises and rewards for their distinguished valour.

40. These repeated successes, which were all gained in one way, by landing a body of troops in the rear of the towns, and assailing them in a quarter

where they were not expected, had a powerful effect in impressing the Chinese Government with a respect for the British arms. In a military point of view, however, they were of no greater importance than the desultory attacks of the Baltic sea-kings, in former days, had been on the British Islands. But a decisive operation was now in contemplation, which would at once strike at the heart of the enemy's power, and, by threatening the supplies of the capital, ere long compel submission. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that the great river Yang-tze-Kiang descends from the mountains in the west of the empire, and runs in an easterly direction along its whole breadth, till it falls into the sea near Woosung. In this way it intersects at right angles the great canal of China, which, as already mentioned, forms the principal artery by which the capital is supplied with the necessaries of life, and which runs from south to north. The point where the canal crossed the river was Chin-Kiang-foo, which, from its importance, was strongly fortified. The entrances of the river from the sea were protected by immense works, and no less than 253 guns were mounted on the batteries commanding the straits. So confident were the Chinese that these works were impregnable, and that any fleet which attempted to force them would rush upon its own destruction, that they permitted, without firing, a close reconnoissance, on the evening of the 14th June, by the two commanders-in-chief, and even cheered loudly the boats sent in the same night to lay buoys to guide the vessels in the positions they were to take up for the attack.

41. They were not long, however, in discovering their mistake. At day-break on the morning of the 16th, the ships weighed anchor, and took up their stations opposite to the batteries. The cannonade immediately began, and was kept up with great spirit for some time. By degrees the enemy's fire slackened, and at the end of two hours the marines were landed in boats, under cover of the ships' guns,

and by a sudden rush they carried the whole batteries before the land troops could be brought up in support, with a loss of only two killed and twenty-five wounded. This great success opened the mouth of the Yang-tze-Kiang, and it was followed next day by the advance of the light vessels of the squadron up the Woosung river. A battery of fifty-five guns was abandoned as they approached, and on the day following two more batteries, mounting forty-eight guns, were taken, after receiving two broadsides; and the ships approached the great city of Shanghai, which was occupied without resistance. In these two days were taken no less than 364 pieces of cannon, of which seventy-six were brass guns of heavy calibre, and of exquisite workmanship. On several of these were cast, in Chinese characters, the words, "Tamer and subduer of the barbarians."

42. Great was the astonishment of the Imperial Government when they learned that the entrance of the great river had been forced, Shanghai occupied, and all their stupendous batteries carried, with little delay, and scarcely any loss to the "outer barbarians." A commissioner, named Elipoo, was despatched from Peking on the usual mission to stop the invaders' progress by feigned submission and elusory negotiations. The terms proposed, however, were justly deemed inadmissible by the British commanders; and as they had now become aware of the artifices of their opponents, they resolved to pursue their operations without intermission, and strike at the heart of the enemy's power before they had time to recover from their consternation. Accordingly, on the 6th July, the fleet weighed from its anchorage off Woosung, and made sail up the Yang-tze-Kiang for Chin-Kiang-foo. It consisted of seventy-five sail, of which fifteen were vessels of war, and ten armed steamers, with fifty transports, having on board 9000 land troops, and made a magnificent show as it advanced up the great river, not deigning to fire a shot at the numerous towns and villages which lay along

its banks. A few broadsides knocked to pieces the batteries at Suysan, where alone resistance was offered; and on the 28th, the whole fleet anchored before Chin-Kiang-foo.

43. This city, the walls of which were in excellent repair, stands within half a mile of the river, its northern and eastern faces upon a range of steep hills, its southern and western on low ground, with the imperial canal, which flows past its walls, serving as a wet-ditch to the fortifications on the two latter faces. Sir Hugh Gough resolved instantly to storm it, and for this purpose the troops, early in the morning, were landed in three brigades, consisting in all of about 4500 effective men. The first, under Lord Saltoun, was destined to attack the enemy's intrenched camp, on the slope of some hills to the south-west of the city; the second, under General Bartley, to force an entrance at the west gate; and the third, under General Schoedde, to escalate the walls at the northern angle. All the three attacks proved successful; but the resistance of the garrison, which was directed by a renowned chief, Haeling, was most obstinate, and great slaughter ensued before the place was carried. Lord Saltoun's brigade speedily carried the intrenched camp, driving the enemy before him; and General Bartley's advanced guard blew open the western gate by the explosion of powder-bags, and the column rushed in. It was found, however, that this did not lead into the city, but only into an outwork of considerable size, which, though important, was not of itself decisive of the assault. But meanwhile General Schoedde's men had escalated the ramparts at the north angle, and, after clearing the whole walls to the westward, had with great difficulty made themselves masters of the inner gate, leading from the outwork which had been carried to the interior of the city. The Tartars here fought desperately; the heat was so overpowering that several of the soldiers on both sides died under sun-strokes, and a sort of forced truce took place till six in the evening. Then the two columns, uniting together,

pushed forward into the streets, and the place was at length carried after a bloody contest of two hours' duration. The Tartars fought to the last, with a courage worthy of their race and their fame; and their heroic commander, Haeling, finding the day irrecoverably lost, retired to his own house, to which he deliberately set fire, consuming himself and his family in the flames. Several of his leading officers did the same; and in every garden which the soldiers entered were found wells nearly choked with the bodies of women and children, who had been slain and thrown in by their own husbands and fathers.

44. This victory was in reality decisive of the fate of the war, because, by giving the British the command of the great canal, it enabled them at pleasure to cut off the supplies of grain to the capital. But still further to improve their advantages, the British commanders, without the delay of a day, continued their advance up the great river, and on the 9th August cast anchor before NANKIN. This great town, the ancient capital and second city in the empire, containing 514,000 inhabitants, is strongly fortified. The Tartar city, which is separated by strong fortifications from the Chinese, forms a sort of citadel, the approach to which is by paved roads running through deep morasses, and commanded by the guns of the place. Not deterred by these formidable appearances, Sir H. Gough no sooner arrived before the city than he made preparations for storming it, and the troops were in the act of getting into the boats with a view to that undertaking, when hostilities were suspended by a request from Sir H. Pottinger, as he was in terms of pacification with the Chinese Government.

45. Never was a more marked contrast exhibited than appeared in the demeanour of the Chinese plenipotentiaries on the present, to what it had been on every prior occasion. All was now civility and condescension to the British commissioner; and although in their despatches to the Emperor the Chinese envoys still spoke of the

"outer barbarians" with hatred and contempt, yet in their intercourse with them they evinced that studied politeness which the Asiatics know so well how to assume when circumstances render it necessary. After some difficulty, especially as to the money payment, which was first stated at 30,000,000 dollars, the terms were agreed on as follows:—1. The payment by the Chinese of 21,000,000 dollars at stipulated periods, to run over a period of three years. 2. The cession in perpetuity of the island of Hong-Kong in the Canton river to the British Government. 3. The opening of a right to trade under a tariff of moderate amount, and on a footing of perfect equality, at the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, Foo-Choo, and Ningpo. 4. The island of Chusan to be held by the British till the last of the money payments had been made, and then restored to the Chinese. On these conditions, a formal treaty of peace was signed by Sir H. Pottinger and the Chinese plenipotentiaries on the 29th August. It is remarkable that the opium trade, the original cause of discord, was never once mentioned in this treaty; a clear proof either that it was the ostensible, not the real, cause of the war, or that the question itself was involved in such difficulties that, by mutual consent, it was passed over in silence.

46. Begun as all other wars in which the empire at this period was engaged, without any adequate preparation or information as to the enemy whom they were to attack, the Chinese war was protracted for double the period,

and cost more than twice the sum at which, if commenced with a sufficient force and vigorously followed up, it might have been brought to a successful termination. Twice over the civil commissioner interfered, and prevented the defences of Canton from being carried, when about to fall into our hands; and as the contest at this period was more a local than a national one, it is probable that such a decisive success in the outset would at once have brought about a pacification. But if this, the inherent weakness of a popular community, mainly governed by commercial considerations, blasted the efforts of Great Britain in the outset, there never was a more glorious proof afforded of the strength of such a community in the end than the issue of the same contest exhibited. Roused at length to the necessity of putting forth her giant strength, Great Britain, under the vigorous direction of LORD ELLENBOROUGH, with the right hand revenged, by a triumphant advance, our Affghanistan disaster, while with the left she carried the war into the heart of China, and dictated a glorious peace under the walls of the ancient capital of the empire. The expedition up the great river, and the storming of the fortress which commanded the crossing of the imperial canal with its waters, was conceived and executed with an ability and vigour worthy of Napoleon himself. The successful attainment of this object with such limited means, at the very moment when an arduous contest was going on in the heart of Asia, forms one of the most glorious eras in the history of Great Britain.



## CHAPTER LIV.

## THE SECOND EXPEDITION INTO AFFGHANISTAN.

1. IN truth the contest in central Asia was of such magnitude as might well absorb the whole resources of a powerful state, and involved in such peril as seemed instantly to threaten its dissolution. The disastrous tidings of the entire destruction of the army which had retired from Cabul, had spread far and wide throughout India, and for the first time awakened the Council at Calcutta to a sense of the enormous risk they had incurred in pushing forward a column unsupported so far into a hostile country, and the danger of immediate overthrow to our Indian Empire from its destruction. The East India Company had from the very outset disapproved of the expedition to Affghanistan, and advised either the abandonment of the country, or a large augmentation of the military force in it. The Indian treasury was exhausted by the enormous expenses with which the war had been attended, which had already exceeded £10,000,000; and now that the principal army in the occupation of the country had been destroyed, it was more than doubtful whether the two lesser ones which remained at Candahar and Jellalabad would not speedily share the same fate. In that case it might with confidence be anticipated that a general revolt of the native powers in the entire peninsula would take place, and Mohammedan ambition again endeavour to regain its lost dominion over the whole of Hindostan.\*

\* As the history of the Affghanistan war is now to be resumed, the Author thinks it right to say that the chief authority relied on, where others are not quoted, is Mr Kaye's graphic and admirable narrative of that memorable contest. He is uniformly referred to, in the library edition, when this is done,

2. Overwhelmed as he was with this terrible calamity, Lord Auckland did his utmost to stem the torrent of disaster which had burst upon the empire under his direction. The first thing to be done was to collect a force at Peshawur, both to stop any incursion which the victorious Affghans might make from the Khyber Pass into the northern provinces of India, and to form the nucleus of a new army, which might advance to bring off the garrisons left in Jellalabad and Candahar, if they should prove able to hold out till succour could reach them. The only forces at hand for this purpose were four regiments of native infantry, which were hurried, under Brigadier Wild, across the Punjab when the disasters were beginning, and reached Peshawur on the 28th December 1841. But though there was a small body of artillerymen in this force, there were no guns; and a few pieces of ordnance, which the Sikhs, with great difficulty, were persuaded to lend them, proved so crazy that, the moment it was attempted to put them in motion, they went to pieces. Forces of other kinds, however, gradually came up, and on the 4th January a second brigade, consisting of 3034 effective men, crossed the Sutlej and took the route for Peshawur. Fortunately for the interests of Great

as was also in the former part of the narrative, at the end of each paragraph. The passages on which the text is founded are, however, not in general inserted as quotations with inverted commas, because they are almost all so much abridged, the Author being obliged, in three chapters, to condense the matter of two large volumes. But he is the first to acknowledge his great obligations to that accurate and fascinating work, which will always form the groundwork of subsequent histories on the subject.

Britain in the East, the choice of the Commander-in-Chief, after some difficulty, fell upon Major-General POLLOCK, then commandant of Agra, to direct this force, one of the most illustrious of the many illustrious men who have founded or preserved our empire in the East.

3. Instructed in the rudiments of the military art at Woolwich Academy, young Pollock entered the Company's service as a lieutenant of artillery in 1803, that stirring period when Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley were prosecuting the war against fearful odds on the side of the Mahrattas. He was present at the storming of Dieg in 1803, and in the terrible siege of Bhurtpore in 1805. In the pursuit of Holkar in the close of the same year, he again distinguished himself by his courage and activity. He was engaged in the Nepaul war as commander of the artillery under General Wood; and having been made brigade-major for his services on that occasion, he was appointed to command the Bengal Artillery in the Burmese war, and for his services in that arduous contest he received the honour of C.B. He was afterwards obliged to revisit England for the recovery of his health; but having returned to India, he was selected by Sir Jasper Nicolls, the Commander-in-Chief, to take the command of the troops proceeding to Peshawur, and directed to join them with the utmost expedition. His appointment gave universal satisfaction. Quiet in manner, unobtrusive in disposition, correct in conduct, he concealed under these modest qualities a moral courage which nothing could shake, a fertility in resources which rose superior to every difficulty. Called to the arduous task of organising a new army at Peshawur, and avenging our disasters in Affghanistan, with troops few in number, and whose *morale* had been grievously shaken by the disasters which had occurred, he executed it with the most distinguished ability, the most unshaken firmness. To him, jointly with General Nott, who was in command at Candahar, and General Sale, who yet held Jellalabad, history

must award the glory of having saved, in its most dangerous crisis, the British empire in the East.

4. If ever two men stood, in respect of character, in decided contrast to each other, it was Pollock and NOTT. The latter General, who, when the catastrophe occurred, was in command of the forces at Candahar, was as fiery and irritable as the former was mild though resolute. Possessed of distinguished military abilities, he from the first clearly perceived the dangers with which the advance to Cabul was threatened, and expressed his opinion in no measured terms to the Government on the subject. He received, in consequence, the reward which so often attends the communication to persons in authority of truth at variance with their preconceived opinions. He was disliked at headquarters, coldly regarded by the Governor-General, for a time superseded in his command, and only restored when the necessities of the campaign made it impossible to dispense with his abilities. Though sagacious and far-seeing as to future danger, and urgent to make preparations against it while it might yet be averted, no man faced peril more gallantly when it was present, or exerted the resources of an intrepid mind more energetically to ward it off. When the treaty at Cabul was concluded, which stipulated for the removal of the British troops from the whole of Affghanistan, he refused to abide by it as soon as he learned that the Affghans, instead of observing, were daily violating its conditions in the most essential particulars, and maintained his ground till the advance of Pollock again enabled him to resume the offensive. Ardent in character, fearless in language, intrepid in action, his whole mind, like that of Nelson, was wrapped up in the honour and glory of his country; while, like Collingwood, his heart at the same time expanded in the amenities and affections of domestic life. His character is fully displayed in his published correspondence—a work which, like the Wellington Despatches, will remain an enduring monument of the patriotism and lofty

feelings which at that period inspired the officers of the British army.

5. Opinions were much divided in the Supreme Council at Calcutta, as to the course to be hereafter pursued in regard to Affghanistan. Some, among whom was Sir Jasper Nicolls, urged the expediency of withdrawing altogether, without further effort, behind the Indus. They represented that the great diminution which would thus be effected in the space to be occupied by, and expenditure required for the army, would so strengthen our military position as to enable the British forces summarily to chastise any native power which might attempt to take advantage of the consternation produced by the Affghanistan disaster to insult our dominions. On the other hand, any attempt to renew our invasion of that savage region would so scatter our forces, and embarrass our finances, as to render it difficult to put down any combination of native powers in Hindostan against us. The only wise course, therefore, seemed to be, after providing for the safe retreat of the forces still left in Affghanistan, to retire behind the Indus. On the other hand, it was strongly urged by Mr Clerk, the Governor-General's agent on the north-western frontier, that the greatest danger at such a crisis was to be found in inactivity; that the British dominion in India being mainly founded on opinion, the prestige of its arms must be restored, or it would speedily perish; that it was not enough to withdraw our garrisons from Jellalabad and Candahar—it was necessary, by pushing forward reinforcements to these points, to enable Sale and Nott to chastise the enemy on the theatre of his recent victories, and then withdraw with dignity and unsullied honour from Affghanistan. Sometimes the Governor-General seemed inclined to pursue the bolder, sometimes the more timid policy; but meanwhile forces were directed with all possible expedition to Peshawur, in order, at all events, to attempt the extrication of Sale and the garrison of Jellalabad from their hazardous situation.

6. The situation of things, mean-

while, at Calcutta, and over all India, was gloomy in the extreme. It has been thus eloquently described by an eyewitness: "There was not in that great palaced city, or in any one of the smaller stations or cantonments in India, an Englishman whose heart did not beat, and whose hand did not tremble, for the fate of the Cabul force when he opened the letters and papers which brought him intelligence from beyond the frontier. No one who dwelt in any part of India during the early months of 1842 will ever forget the anxious faces and thick voices with which tidings were sought, questions and opinions asked and interchanged, hopes and fears expressed, rumours sifted, probabilities weighed, and how, as the tragedy deepened in solemn interest, even the most timid and desponding felt that the ascertained reality far exceeded in misery and horror all that their excited imaginations had darkly foretold. There was a weight in the social atmosphere as of dense superincumbent thunder-clouds. The festivities of the cold season were arrested—gaiety and hospitality were not. There were few families in the country which did not look on with apprehension for the fate of some beloved relation or friend; while unconnected men, in whom the national overlaid the personal feeling in this conjuncture, sighed over the tarnished reputation of their country, and burned to avenge the insults that had been heaped upon it."\*

7. When such were the feelings and apprehensions of the European inhabitants of the country, it may readily be believed how deep was the impression made upon, how vehement the agitation among, the native part of the population. Among the Mohammedan princes in particular, and their descendants, who, till the coming of the English, had long been the rulers of the country, the excitement was peculiarly strong. The time seemed to many of them to have come when a great disaster had shaken the British power to its foundation, and when by a vigorous united effort the yoke of the

\* KAYE.

stranger might be thrown off, and the thrones and power which they formerly enjoyed be restored to them. The rajahs began to make preparations; secret messages were interchanged between them. It was well known that the question had come to this—not whether Affghanistan was to be reoccupied, but whether India was to be preserved. Again, as on occasion of Monson's retreat in 1804, it was ascertained that a secret understanding to take advantage of our distresses existed among a large part at least of the native chiefs, and any fresh disaster would occasion a general outbreak from the Himalaya snows to Cape Comorin.

8. The crisis, however, in the first instance, was to be met by the troops at Peshawur; and the native portion of that force was in the worst possible state to encounter it. There were four regiments of infantry there, in great part composed of young soldiers, and all in the most demoralised state. The Sikhs, among whom they had for long been living, had inspired them with that dread of the Affghan with which they themselves and all the inhabitants of Hindostan had long been inspired. The total destruction of the noble army which the British had lately led into the country increased these feelings of alarm, and induced the troops to anticipate nothing but death if they ventured within the terrific pass. It was evident that nothing was to be expected from the Sikh soldiers. Their feelings of jealousy towards the stranger, scarcely suppressed, left no hope of any cordial co-operation, and, on the contrary, begat a well-founded apprehension that they might any day rise in arms against us, and entirely cut off the communications of the army which was engaged in such a desperate enterprise in front. Meanwhile, Akbar Khan and the Affghan chiefs did their utmost to induce the Afreedis, who inhabited the rugged jaws of the Khyber, to close the pass against the British, and with such success that it was evident any attempt to force it would be strenuously resisted. Nevertheless, the distressed condition of the garrison at Jellalabad, which was much strait-

ened for provisions, made it indispensable, without delay, to make a forward movement, even with the small force in hand, in order if possible to extricate them from their perilous situation.

9. This enterprise was attempted on the 15th January with two sepoy regiments, with which Brigadier Wild attempted to reach and strongly garrison the fort of Ali-Musjid, which lies at the entrance of the pass, about twenty-five miles above Peshawur. This fort, which is situated on a conical rock within the Khyber, has always been regarded as the key of the pass, and it was garrisoned by a small native force in the British interest, which had withstood alike the seductions and the arms of the Afreedis. Being now hard pressed for provisions, two regiments, with a large convoy of bullocks, were sent to reinforce them; but though they were able to reach the fortress with little opposition, only fifty bullocks arrived along with the troops. Two other regiments of sepoys, sent up to assist them a few days after, refused to follow their officers when they came into action, and fled disgracefully; the Sikh soldiers openly mutinied, and declined to enter the pass: the Sikh guns broke down, and one of them had to be abandoned to the Affghans. The force fell back to Jumrood. Meanwhile the two other regiments occupied Ali-Musjid; but the convoy, on which they depended for food, had been unable to penetrate, except to a small extent; and although Captain Thomas of the 64th Native Infantry volunteered to hold it with 150 men, for whom there were provisions, not a man would remain with him. Thus, on the 23d, it became necessary to abandon the post, and the whole four sepoy regiments returned, not without hard fighting in the hills, to Peshawur.

10. It was now evident that there was no hope of forcing the pass till the arrival of Pollock's brigade, which was hurrying up through the Punjab. It consisted of three regiments, one of which was European, and three guns, with a few cavalry. Such, how-

ever, had been the depressing effect of defeat and inactivity on the health of the troops, that the entire force, after Pollock's arrival on the 5th February, hardly exceeded what Wild alone had commanded a few weeks before. The hospitals were full of sick; the troops still on duty were to the last degree depressed and disheartened; and such was the disaffection which prevailed, that not only were the regiments which had been defeated averse to enter the Khyber themselves, but they sent emissaries to the new regiments which came up, to endeavour to persuade them also to refuse to advance. So general was the demoralisation, that even some officers declared it would be better to sacrifice Sale's brigade than risk the loss of 12,000 men in the attempt to rescue it. In these circumstances it was utterly impossible to make an immediate advance towards Jellalabad; and the first duty of the general in command was to use his utmost efforts to restore the health, confirm the loyalty, and reanimate the spirits of his soldiers. For this task, happily for his country, Pollock was pre-eminently qualified. His mild manner and kind acts won the heart of the sepoys; by incessant vigilance he restored their health, and by an equable, cheerful demeanour, he succeeded at length in reviving their spirits. Sale and M'Gregor at Jellalabad kept incessantly urging him to move forward; but, well aware that a premature attempt would prove ineffectual and lead to their ruin, he stood firm, magnanimously sacrificing to a sense of public duty the desire most dear to a soldier, that of instantly hastening to the relief of a comrade in distress.

11. But although left in this manner to their own resources, the garrison of Jellalabad found, in their own indomitable fortitude and perseverance, and the courage and capacity of their leaders, means of defence, which, in the circumstances, would otherwise have seemed unattainable. Sale had reached Jellalabad, from Gundamuck, on the 13th November. When he first found himself reduced to his own forces after the Cabul disaster, he had just

2500 men, of whom, in the middle of February, only 2273 were effective: of these, 838 were sepoys.\* The place, though nominally a fortress, had in reality very little means of defence. The ramparts were on all sides in a ruinous state, in some actually fallen down; yawning breaches, in many places, would admit a company of foot-soldiers abreast; the ditch, in others, was so filled up that a half-troop might trot in in line. With indefatigable vigour and perseverance, Sale, aided by his gifted engineer Broadfoot, set himself to work, the moment he got possession in November, to repair the fortifications. With such success were his exertions attended, that, before the end of January, the breaches and ruined places in the walls were all repaired, a ditch ten feet deep, and fourteen broad, everywhere cleared out round the works, and the whole buildings within point-blank range of the works levelled. They were thus secure against a *coup-de-main* or siege operations from any Asiatic army without cannon; but this afforded no safeguard against the approaches of famine, which were seriously to be apprehended, as, on the 19th February, they had only provisions for the men for seventy, for the horses for twenty-five days. Forage and food in abundance were to be had in the neighbouring villages, but they were of no use to the besieged, as they had neither money to buy them, nor cavalry to forage in presence of Akbar Khan, who, with a large body of horse, now lay within a few miles distant. The garrison, however, were in good heart, and confidently looked forward to being delivered by Pollock; and their courage received an additional stimulus by the heroic conduct of Lady Sale, who, before be-

\* Sale was ordered by General Elphinstone, on the breaking out of the insurrection, to return instantly from Gundamuck to his assistance; but he refused, on the ground that he had neither carriage, provisions, or ammunition, would have to abandon his sick, and would consequently be rather an encumbrance than a support to the Cabul garrison. He marched on Jellalabad, where he would establish a point to which Elphinstone might retire, and restore a link in the communication with India.

ing made prisoner by the Affghans, wrote to her husband to allow no consideration of her danger to interfere with his performing his duty, and defending the place to the last extremity.

12. But at the very time when this brave garrison were, with reason, congratulating themselves on the security which their indefatigable efforts had gained for them, a terrible calamity, which threatened to render them all unavailing, ensued. On the 19th February, at the very moment when Sale and M'Gregor were writing to Pollock, urging his early advance to their relief, an earthquake of fearful severity was felt at Jellalabad. The shocks were so violent that the ramparts suddenly yawned, and in many places were thrown down, and great part of the buildings in the town fell with a sudden and awful crash. In the first moments of alarm, the garrison instinctively ran to arms, thinking that a mine had been sprung, and that an immediate assault might be expected. Fortunately most of them, from doing so, got out of the buildings safe; but Colonel Monteith, the field-officer of the day, was overwhelmed by the fall of his house, and dug, happily unhurt, out of the ruins, buried up to the neck in rubbish. No less than a hundred shocks succeeded the first great one, which tended still to extend the devastation, and, while they continued, rendered impossible all attempts to arrest the mischief.

13. Many governors, in the circumstances in which he was now placed, with his fortifications in a great measure ruined, and a superior and victorious enemy in the vicinity, would have deemed the post no longer tenable, and made the best of his way down to Peshawur. Not so Sale, Broadfoot, and their heroic followers. What they did has been recounted in the simple words of the latter. "No time," says Captain Broadfoot, "was lost. The shocks had scarcely ceased when the whole garrison was told off in working parties; and *before night* the breaches were scarped, the rubbish below cleared out, and the ditches be-

low them dug out, while the great one on the Peshawur side was surrounded by a new gabion parapet. Another parapet was erected on the remains of the north-west bastion, with embrasures allowing the guns to flank the approach to the ruined gate; while that gate itself was rendered inaccessible by a trench in front of it; and in every bastion round the place a temporary parapet was raised. From the following day all the troops off duty were continually at work; and such was their energy and perseverance, that, by the end of the month, the parapets were entirely restored, or the curtains filled in where restoration was impracticable, and every battery re-established. The breaches had been built up, with the rampart doubled in thickness, and the whole of the gates retrenched."

14. The spirits of the garrison after this were much raised by the receipt of Lord Auckland's proclamation, declaring that the misfortune that had occurred afforded only a fresh opportunity for displaying the power and resources of the British empire. They now looked forward confidently to being relieved. It was long, however, before the succour came. Meanwhile, such was the respect with which the garrison of Jellalabad had inspired the blockading force, that though Akbar Khan, with a body of 7000 men, lay in the close vicinity, and more than once actually approached the walls, he never ventured to engage the British who went out to meet him, and the blockade was kept up at a distance only. But still the position of the garrison was extremely precarious, and becoming more so every day. Provisions were growing very scarce. By the middle of March the men were put on short rations, the draught-cattle, camels, and artillery-horses began to be killed, and Sale's applications to Pollock for relief became daily more urgent. Still the terrors and mutinous temper of the sepoys was such that no advance was practicable till the European troops arrived. At length the numerous obstacles which had opposed their advance were removed.

The English dragoons (3d) and horse-artillery reached the camp at Peshawur on the 29th March, and next day Pollock gave orders to commence the march towards Jellalabad. The 33d, however—Wellington's old regiment—which was anxiously expected, did not come up for some days afterwards, and the march of the whole force did not begin till the 5th of April.

15. Taught by the disastrous issue of the former attack, Pollock had skillfully arranged his plan of operations, and fully explained it to his commanding officers. The assaulting force was divided into three columns—the first to follow the direct road from Peshawur up the pass at the bottom of the defile, the two others to scale the rugged eminences on either side, and turn the enemy's works in the valley below by their flanks. Every preparation had been made by the enemy to resist the attack. The road at the bottom was barred by a stout barricade, composed of felled trees and large stones, which ran right across the pass from the one precipice to the other; and the heights on either side, which consisted of lofty bare crags, terminating in sharp peaks, were apparently inaccessible from below. Wherever men could find a footing the cliffs were covered by strong bodies of mountaineers, second to none in Asia in the skill with which they used their long jezails or matchlocks. This was the first time in the annals of the world that the forcing of this terrible defile had been attempted by main force. Timour himself, at the head of 200,000 men, had recoiled from its terrors, and purchased a passage through by a large payment to the Afredi tribes which held its sides; and Nadir Shah, the great Persian conqueror, a century before the British advance, had done the same.

16. Before commencing his arduous undertaking, Pollock addressed a noble proclamation to his troops, in which, without disguising the dangers of the enterprise, he appealed to their feelings of honour cheerfully to undertake it. One great object was to bring

down to the lowest point the baggage of the army. The general set a good example by reducing his own baggage-cattle to one camel and two mules. The spirit of the troops had been much elevated by the arrival of so many reinforcements, especially the European cavalry and artillery; and having completed his arrangements, the general visited all his commanding officers the evening before, to see that they thoroughly understood the duties assigned to them respectively on the following day. Finding that they fully comprehended them, and that all things were in readiness, the signal to march was given at three in the morning of the 5th. Silently and steadily the soldiers moved over the plain towards the mountains, which rose like an awful barrier before them when the twilight began to dawn. Before, however, they reached the foot of the rocks the enemy were aware of their approach, and every eminence where footing could be found was covered with their musketeers. The Affghans were so confident in the strength of their position, that they made no attempt to obstruct the advance of the British till they were already at the entrance of the pass. The assault then began with the two wings destined to carry the heights on either side, and that on the left, under Colonel Moseley, was soon closely engaged with the enemy. In spite of the extremely steep and rugged nature of the ascent, they made sensible progress, and were to be seen springing from rock to rock, and emerging out of thickets, but still advancing up the heights. The right column, under Colonel Taylor, advanced up the steep ascent with equal determination, but the precipices near the top were so high as to be absolutely inaccessible; and Pollock, seeing this, detached the grenadiers of the 9th and a body of sepoys to their assistance; but they too were stopped by the rocks at the summit, and suffered severely by stones hurled down upon them. At length Taylor, by a circuitous path, reached the top, and the heights on either side being now won, the Affghans, who found themselves exposed to a severe

dropping fire from above, gradually withdrew from the pass.

17. Seldom was a victory more seasonable, or attended with more important results. The forcing of the Khyber Pass resounded through all Asia, and went far to obliterate the impression produced by the Affghanistan disaster. The sepoys in particular, whose spirit had been thoroughly subdued by that catastrophe, now felt that their character was regained, and that they were capable again to enter on the career of victory. The Sikhs, recently so dubious, suddenly became all civility, and offered to garrison Ali-Musjid as soon as it was taken, and keep open all communications in the rear. This fort was evacuated in the night by the Affghans, and no farther opposition was made to the advance. On the 9th the advanced guard reached Lundu-khana, at the northern extremity of the defile, and on the 14th the whole troops, with the immense convoy they were conducting, was clear of the pass. On the morning of the 16th the advanced guard came in sight of Jellalabad. The sight filled the garrison with the most enthusiastic joy: the soldiers thronged the walls; the bands of every regiment went out to meet the conquerors, striking up "God save the Queen" and "Oh but ye've been lang o' coming" as they passed by; and cheers which made the very welkin ring resounded through the air, as, in proud array and with erect heads, they entered the gates of the fortress.

18. If the garrison of Jellalabad had good cause to welcome these conquerors of the Khyber with these military honours, they in their turn had as good reason to salute the garrison with equal distinction, for never had a defence been conducted with more fortitude and constancy. Great as were the efforts made by Pollock to disengage them, the aid would have come too late had it not been for their own indomitable spirit and resolution. On the 1st April, when almost at the last extremity for provisions, they made a sortie, and carried off, in the very teeth of the enemy's covering parties,

five hundred sheep and goats. This supply was of inestimable importance, for it gave them the means of subsistence till the probable period of their relief. Some days after, reports were spread by the blockading force of a great disaster sustained by Pollock in attempting to force the Khyber Pass; and on the 6th their whole guns fired a royal salute in honour of the supposed victory. In these circumstances, a council of war in the garrison decided that nothing could save them but a sudden irruption, which might drive the enemy to a distance, and enable them to aid Pollock's advance, and sweep the country to some distance for additional supplies. It was resolved, accordingly, to make a general sally, which was fixed for daybreak on the morning of the 7th.

19. Sale divided his troops into three columns: the centre, consisting of the 13th, Queen's, 500 strong, was under the command of Colonel Dennie; the left, of the same strength, composed of sepoys of the 35th, was under the orders of Colonel Monteith; and the right, consisting of one company of the 13th, one of the 35th, and some sappers, was led by CAPTAIN HAVELOCK, an officer destined to future fame. A few guns and horsemen accompanied the sally, which was made by the Cabul and Peshawur gates at daybreak on the morning of the 7th. Akbar Khan had drawn up his troops, 6000 strong, in order of battle to defend his camp—his right resting on a fort, his left on the Cabul river, and some ruined works, recently repaired, in his front, being filled with Ghilzye marksmen. The attack on the enemy's left was led by Havelock at the head of the skirmishers of the 13th, who forced their way, in spite of a stout resistance, through the ruined works, and then, pushing on, assailed the main line. Meanwhile Dennie, while nobly leading the central column to attack a fort which covered their position, received a ball in the breast, of which he soon after expired. The assault of the fort being found impracticable, the 13th passed on and threw themselves



against the centre of the hostile line ; while at the same time Monteith forced back their right. Sale now directed a general assault upon the Affghan camp. The artillery advanced at the gallop, and directed a heavy fire on the enemy's centre, while the infantry pressed forward in splendid style to complete their victory. The attacks all proved successful. Two of the columns penetrated the line near the same point ; while the third, in spite of a heavy fire from three guns under cover, and repeated charges from the horse, drove the forces opposed to them headlong into the river. By seven in the morning the victory was complete. The enemy was driven off in great disorder towards Lughman, their camp captured, all the tents burnt, the blockade raised, and two cavalry standards taken, with four guns which had been captured from the British during the Cabul retreat. This recovery gave unbounded joy to the troops ; but the victory, important as it was, was dearly purchased by the loss of Colonel Dennie, one of the brightest ornaments of the British army.

20. These glorious successes diffused universal joy in India, the more so as they immediately succeeded such a long series of disasters. To none did they give more satisfaction than to the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, who had arrived at Calcutta on the 28th February, and immediately with a firm hand assumed the direction of affairs. Honours and distinctions were worthily bestowed, in great but not undeserved profusion, on the troops who, by their constancy and valour, had won such glorious triumphs, and done so much to restore the lustre of the British arms in the East ; and the men all received a gratuity of six months' batta. Lord Ellenborough stated, in an animated proclamation on the subject, issued on the 21st April : "The *illustrious garrison*, which, by its constancy in enduring privation, and by its valour in action, has already obtained for itself the sympathy and respect of every true soldier, has now, sallying forth from its walls under the command of its gallant leader,

Major-General Sir R. Sale, thoroughly beaten in open field an enemy more than three times its number, taken the standards of their boasted cavalry, destroyed their camp, and recaptured four guns which, under circumstances which can never again occur, had during the last winter fallen into their hands. The Governor-General cordially congratulates the army upon the return of victory to its ranks. He is convinced that there, as in all former times, it will be found, while, as at Jellalabad, the European and native troops, mutually supporting each other, and evincing equal discipline and valour, are led into action by officers in whom they justly confide."

21. EDWARD LAW, EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH, who now succeeded to the government of India in the most critical and arduous period of its history, was born on 8th September 1790. The grandson of Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, the author of many remarkable works on science and religion, he was the son of the still more celebrated barrister, who was so well known under the title of Lord Ellenborough. The future Governor-General of India inherited all the talents, both forensic and of action, of his father and grandfather. A powerful speaker, and ever listened to with respect in the House of Lords, he possessed the still rarer and more valuable qualities of courage in council and determination in conduct. Never were those qualities more imperatively required than when he was called to the direction of Indian affairs. His predecessor's career had been distinguished by a rashness in forming designs, and a vacillation when the dangers predicted from them arose, which had brought the British empire in the East to the verge of ruin. Lord Ellenborough was as much distinguished by caution and foresight in forming his plans, as by constancy and vigour in carrying them into execution. Intrepid and far-seeing, he calmly contemplated danger when yet distant, and made anxious preparations to resist it when it should arrive, and was equally instant and vigorous when the moment for action came.

22. Had Lord Ellenborough united to these great and commanding qualities the prudence in language and knowledge of mankind, which are not less indispensable to any durable tenure of power by a statesman, he might long have retained the reins in India, and produced beneficial effects as great as the outset of his career was fortunate and glorious. But, unfortunately, he was distinguished at the same time by that occasional warmth and impetuosity of language which is so often the accompaniment of powerful intellect and strong internal conviction. A few casual expressions were eagerly seized on by a powerful party, both at home and in India, to run down the new Governor-General; and the "wild elephant" became a byword, as the "ignorant impatience of taxation" of Lord Castlereagh had been. This powerful party was the East India Directors and their numerous *civil* servants in both hemispheres, and the secret of their ceaseless hostility to Lord Ellenborough was as follows.

23. The peculiar circumstances of the East India Company had, from the earliest period when their territorial sovereignty commenced, induced them to keep their military commanders in a constant state of subordination to their civil officials. From this subjection of military to civil authority, even in conducting the operations of war, there had arisen various disputes between the two classes of the Company's officers, which had often marred their brightest conquests, and more than once brought the British empire in the East to the verge of ruin. Lord Wellesley, whose powerful and ardent mind was very much akin to Lord Ellenborough's, inclined strongly to the military side; and that veteran statesman had, on the eve of Lord Ellenborough's departure for India, written to him a very remarkable letter, strongly recommending, in war at least, the placing the civil as well as military authority in the hands of the commanders of the armies, subject, of course, to the general control of the supreme government at Calcutta. In pursuance of this advice, which entirely coincided

with his own ideas, Lord Ellenborough, as soon as he arrived in India, vested the entire political as well as military power of their respective provinces in Pollock and Nott. This change excited no small consternation at Calcutta and Leadenhall Street, and contributed in some degree to the early recall of Lord Ellenborough.

24. When Lord Ellenborough landed at Calcutta in the end of February, he came with a strong conviction that the vindication of the honour of our arms in Affghanistan was a point of paramount importance, upon which the existence of our Indian empire was essentially dependent. One of his first acts, accordingly, was to issue a proclamation on the subject, in which the intention to do this was distinctly and manfully asserted; and the intention afterwards to withdraw from Affghanistan rested on its true ground—viz., the unpopularity of the King, whom in an evil hour we had been induced to put upon the throne. But how strong soever this conviction may have been, it necessarily underwent, in process of time, a considerable modification. The failure of Wild's attempt to penetrate the Khyber, the fall of Ghuznee, and repulse of General England in an attempt, to be immediately noticed, to get through the Kojuk Pass with a brigade coming from Scinde to reinforce Nott's forces at Candahar, necessarily imposed caution, and suggested the painful doubt whether more serious risk might not be run by a second campaign in Affghanistan than advantage gained, and whether our entire dominion in India might not be lost in the effort to re-establish its military renown. It was the disasters sustained on the side of Candahar which first suggested this doubt, and they were of a kind to awaken the most painful reflections.

25. Candahar, Khelat-i-Ghilzye, and Ghuznee, were the chief strongholds in the possession of the English in Western Affghanistan, and their communications to the rear were all with Scinde through the Bolan and Kojuk passes, not with the Punjab through the Khyber. The first was perfectly

safe. It was in the hands of General Nott, who had a large force under his command, though among them was only one British regiment. But he was alike without the means of transport or money to purchase it; so that though he could hold his own, he could not be relied on for any effective aid to the other stations. Nott had strenuously opposed and fearlessly pointed out the extreme dangers of the advance into Afghanistan, and the reckless diminution of the force by which it was to be held; but now that the disaster had come, he was equally resolute, like a good soldier, to hold his post, and not withdraw from the country till the captives were delivered, and the honour of the British arms avenged. The order despatched from Cabul for the evacuation of Candahar did not arrive, by some accident, for two months after it had been written; and when it did come, as the violation of the treaty by the Affghans in every respect was notorious, Nott refused to comply with it till the pleasure of the Governor-General was taken on the subject.

26. The disaster at Cabul, as might have been expected, produced great excitement in Candahar and the whole of Western Afghanistan. The Douranee tribes were all in commotion when the intelligence arrived of the insurrection; and so threatening did affairs appear at that time, that when, in November 1841, in obedience to positive orders, Nott sent M'Laren with three regiments towards the capital, he said to the commanding officer, "The despatch of this brigade to Cabul is not my doing. I am compelled to defer to superior authority; but, in my own private opinion, I am sending you all to destruction."\* No sooner was the retreat of this brigade known than symptoms of insurrection appeared in every part of the province, and Mahommed Atta Khan,

who had been sent from Cabul specially to stimulate and organise it, soon gave it consistency and unity. Major Rawlinson exerted himself with vigour, and with partial success at first, to arrest the movement; but when the extent of the Afghanistan disaster became fully known, it could no longer be restrained. Insurrections broke out in several places at once, and several detached parties of the British were cut off, one of which, under Captain Woodburn, after heroically defending itself for two days in a small fort, was, in the beginning of November, destroyed almost to a man. A considerable convoy, under Lieutenant Golding, which was to escort some treasure from Candahar to Ghirisk, was treacherously assailed, on the 27th December, by a party of Affghan horse in our service and forming part of the escort, the treasure plundered, and officers cut down. The principal force of the enemy was stationed at Delhi, about forty miles from Candahar, under Atta Mahommed, whither the disaffected from all quarters, and even that city itself, were daily joining him. Rawlinson was clear to send a brigade to attack him, while Nott was equally decided that it would be unwise to hazard a force in the depth of winter at so considerable a distance, for the object of dispersing 1000 or 1500 men. But ere long the point was decided by the approach of the Affghan chief so near to Candahar that it became absolutely necessary to attack him.

27. The Affghan force, being swelled by reinforcements from all quarters to 9000 men, took post on the river Urgundaub, five miles to the westward of Candahar, in such a position as to cut off all foraging parties or supplies from that quarter to the city. Thither Nott advanced to attack him on the 12th January, with five regiments of infantry, a few of the Shah's cavalry, and sixteen guns. The success of the British was so rapid that it could hardly be called a battle. The infantry advanced in columns of battalions, with the artillery in their intervals, the fire of which told with such effect upon the unwieldy masses of the ene-

\* "M'Laren's brigade, on getting to their second march beyond Khat-i-Ghulzye, encountered a fall of snow, which destroyed many of their commissariat cattle, and induced the commanding officer to abandon the enterprise in despair."—Nott's *Memoirs*, i. 260, 266.

my that in less than half an hour they broke and fled. A village where Atta Mahommed tried to make a stand was carried by storm, and the cavalry and horse-artillery pushing on, the Affghan force again broke and fled in wild confusion, some in one direction, some in another. This victory was the more important that it was the first success gained since the Cabul disaster, and secured ample supplies of forage for some time to the horses, which was much wanted. Rawlinson was on the field, and acted as Nott's aide-de-camp.

28. Although Nott's military position was much improved by this achievement, yet it was still full of difficulty, and future disaster was looming in the distance. The Dou-ranees were still in strength in the neighbourhood, although the excessive severity of the weather, and the snow, which lay on the ground for six weeks, rendered operations in the field impossible. The cold was intense, fuel extremely scarce, medicines almost wholly exhausted; and though food for the soldiers was not wanting, the provender for cattle was so scanty that the horses could scarcely draw, and the sheep were so lean that they were scarcely worth killing. Money Nott had none, and thus he found himself at the distance of two thousand miles from the seat of government, in the midst of a hostile country, surrounded by enemies, and unable, from want of the means of transport, to render any aid to the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzye, now closely blockaded, and reduced to great straits from want of provisions. Impressed with these considerations, Nott wrote repeatedly, in the most urgent terms, for reinforcements, without which all attempts to resume offensive operations were out of the question. But, though fully alive to the necessities of his situation, Government were so hard pressed at this time with similar requisitions from Pollock for the relief of the Jellalabad garrison, that they were for long unable to comply with his request. February and March passed without

any succour being received; and Nott and Rawlinson became convinced that vigorous measures were indispensable to save themselves from destruction. Accordingly, between the 3d and the 7th March, they expelled the citizens whose fidelity they suspected, about 6000 in number, with all the humanity which circumstances would admit, from the city; and having thus secured, as he thought, his rear, Nott, on the 7th March, set out with the 40th Queen's regiment, four sepoy regiments, all his cavalry, and sixteen guns, to attack the enemy. A sepoy regiment, and two of the Shah's, were left behind with Rawlinson to guard the city during the absence of the principal force, and all its gates were walled up, except the Herat and half of the Shikarpoor ones.

29. It was now proved that, however rude and barbarous in some respects, the Affghan chiefs were by no means deficient in genius for war. As Nott advanced with his imposing force, the Affghans retired across the Turnak and Urghundaub rivers, keeping carefully out of the range of the British guns. On the 9th, however, the light companies of the 40th, with those of the 16th Native Infantry, got within range, and speedily drove the enemy from the heights which they occupied on each side of the valley, where the main body of their force, chiefly cavalry, was drawn up. But they retired when the heights were forced, and all attempts to bring them to a general action failed. But meanwhile Meerza Ahmed, the Affghan general, was playing a deep and able game, which brought Candahar into the greatest possible jeopardy. While the army in the field was retiring before Nott, and drawing him farther and farther from the city, a large part of it doubled about, recrossed the Urghundaub, and returned by unseen paths to the neighbourhood of the city, which was soon beset by a large and hourly-increasing force. Rawlinson immediately despatched repeated messengers to Nott to inform him of the danger, and that he was hourly threatened with an attack. They ar-

rived too late, however, to enable Nott to return; and meanwhile the Affghan marksmen were swarming up close to the walls, and at eight o'clock on the night of the 10th, when it was quite dark, they commenced an attack.

30. The forces in Candahar, consisting of three weak native battalions, were wholly inadequate to manning the long circuit of its walls; and the risk was serious that the enemy, though they had no artillery, would get in, either by escalade or by forcing one of the two gates. Huge bags of grain were piled up inside the Herat gate, against which the principal attack was directed, and as many infantry as could be collected, with two guns, were placed so as to command the entrance. Hardly were these preparations made, when the enemy advanced in dense masses, and with loud cries, up to the gate. The musketry rang fiercely on both sides—for the assailants fired incessantly at the line of defenders on the top of the walls, who, on their side, replied with fearful effect on the crowded bands below. During the din of this strife the Affghans piled up faggots on the outside, which soon burnt up fiercely, and the gate, which was of wood, took fire and fell outwards.\* With loud shouts the Affghans rushed in, and eight or ten of the most daring of them were seen waving their scimitars on the top of the pile, but they were soon all shot down. Their fate, and the rapid fire kept up from the walls, deterred the assailants, who at length, after a contest of four hours' duration, drew off. A similar onset took place at the Shikarpoor gate, and was repelled in a similar manner; and a division at the Cabul gate was repulsed without difficulty. By midnight the enemy drew off at all points in the deepest dejection, having lost 1000 men in this fruitless assault.†

\* The storming-party were all Ghazees.

† A very curious incident conspired with the courage and decision of the brave commanders and their garrison to save Candahar on this occasion. "The enemy's plan was

31. Nott re-entered the city which had been the theatre of this glorious exploit on the 12th March. This repulse sensibly improved his situation; and it was increased by a fresh advantage he gained on the Urghundaub on the 24th; but still his position was extremely precarious, and he urged Government, in the strongest terms, to send him the reinforcements now become indispensable for his existence, as well as the ultimate fate of the war. Lord Ellenborough and Mr Clerk, the political agent in the Punjab, strenuously exerted themselves to second his representations, and at length powerful reinforcements were prepared in that province to proceed to his relief. These were formed into three divisions: the first, under General England, commanding in Scinde, 1200 strong, with 2000 camels laden with supplies, headed the convoy; the second, of equal strength, with 2000 camels, under the command of Major Simmons, came next; the third, under Major Reid, 1100 strong, with 2600 camels, brought up the rear. The three divisions were to proceed at a considerable distance from each other—and the first division under England in person reached Quettah, having surmounted the Bolan Pass, on the 16th March, but with the loss of 300 of his camels in getting through that arduous defile.

32. England, with the leading column to have fired the gates at once, and made a simultaneous attack on them, and that this was not carried into effect was the result of a fortunate accident. Mr Phillips, quartermaster of the 40th, who had been left behind sick, was intrusted with the charge of the Citadel gate. Before fastening it for the evening, something fortunately induced him to look outside, and on opening it he saw two or three faggots laid against it. Immediately it occurred to him that they could have been placed there for no good purpose, and he brought them inside. But for this, the gate, of which he had charge, would in all probability have been fired, and an equally spirited attack made on it, as on the Herat gate, in which event I cannot doubt for a moment that the city of Candahar would have fallen, and the enemy have become possessed of all our stores and ammunition, besides two 18-pounders."—NEILL'S *Narrative*, p. 244.

umn of the convoy, moved forward on the 26th to the southern entrance of the Kojuk Pass, which lay between Quettah and Candahar. The Affghans were posted at the entrance of a defile leading to the village of Hykulzie. Rawlinson had earnestly pressed Nott to send some troops to the northern extremity of the pass, to aid in getting England, with his convoy, through. Nott, however, did not deem himself in sufficient strength to do so, and the men were not sent. England, after reconnoitring the enemy's position, resolved on an attack. The horse-artillery under Leslie was ordered to advance, and open on the heights on the left, while the light companies of the 41st British and 20th Bombay Native Infantry ascended the hill on the right. At first they were unopposed; but suddenly, when they were half-way up, the enemy started up from behind coverts, and poured in so close and well-directed a fire, that Major Apthorp of the Native Infantry was desperately wounded, and Captain May of the 41st fell dead. Upon this the whole column fell back in disorder, with the loss of 100 out of 500 assailants. The British soon rallied, and prayed to be allowed to return to the charge, and Colonel Stacy volunteered with 100 men to storm the heights; but England despaired of success, and ordered a retreat, which was continued to Quettah. He seems to have lost all confidence in the native troops, and to have conceived an exaggerated opinion of the strength of the enemy.

33. It generally happens in the affairs of nations, as in those of individuals, that misfortunes do not come single. Simultaneously with the intelligence of England's repulse, came also the stunning news of the fall of Ghuznee. This important fortress, commanding the road from Candahar to Cabul, is situated 7500 feet above the sea, or about the height of the Convent of the Great St Bernard in Switzerland. First invested on the 20th November, when the insurrection broke out in Cabul, it had been closely blockaded ever since the 7th

December. The garrison consisted entirely of sepoys, ill-qualified to bear the rigours of winter in those elevated regions, and was so weak in numbers as to be barely adequate, even when in health, to man the walls. The consequence was that a conspiracy was successfully got up in the town to admit the enemy, which was done on the 16th December, by means of a mine secretly run under the walls. The British garrison were now compelled to take refuge in the citadel, which they held with great constancy during the long and dreary months of winter, when the thermometer was generally below zero. To add to their sufferings, fuel became so scarce that the portion allotted to each man was only two pounds a-day, and the whole, including the officers, were, from the middle of January, put on half rations. Still they struggled on till the beginning of March, when the remnants, emaciated and frost-bitten, agreed to capitulate, on condition of being conducted to Peshawur with their arms, and fifty rounds of ammunition to each man. Want of water reduced them to this dire alternative; but it soon appeared that the Affghans had no intention from the first of observing the capitulation. Instead of being sent to Peshawur, the troops were shut up in a few houses in Ghuznee, where they were soon surrounded by a ferocious crowd, calling aloud for their blood if they did not at once surrender. The British officers, seeing escape impossible, laid down their arms, and were conducted to Cabul; but most of the sepoys broke loose, and amidst a heavy fall of snow, set out, without guides, for *Peshawur*, as they thought, and soon perished miserably amidst the severities of that terrible arctic region.

34. More fortunate, or possibly more constant, the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzye still held out gallantly against the enemy. "Situated between Ghuznee and Candahar, about eighty miles from the latter city, this isolated city," says Kaye, "stands at the elevation of 6000 feet above the sea, on a barren eminence, exposed in winter to the bit-

ing winds, and in summer to the driving dust-storm, one of the dreariest and bleakest spots in the whole country of Affghanistan." Its strength, however, was such that it had in former days all but defeated the whole efforts of the Emperor Baber. The garrison consisted of a regiment of the Shah's, 250 sepoys, and 60 English artillery-men and sappers, under Captain Craigie, an officer worthy of the post. The chief enemy with whom, in the first instance, the garrison had to contend, was the cold, which was extreme. There was abundance of wheat, but a great scarcity of fuel, and extreme difficulty in grinding the grain. At length, however, they succeeded in constructing hand-mills. The blockade was kept up during the winter; in spring the besiegers' trenches were pushed up close to the walls, and on 21st May the assault took place. It was made in three columns, each of 2000 men, and they advanced in the most resolute manner, each being provided with thirty scaling-ladders, up which the Affghans swarmed with the utmost impetuosity; while their marksmen, with their long jezails, kept up an incessant fire on the summit of the battlements. But the defence was not less determined. Craigie had infused a portion of his heroic spirit into every officer and man of his garrison; as fast as one was shot down another stepped into his place; and at length, after an obstinate conflict of nine hours' duration, the enemy drew off at all points, leaving the defenders in possession of the ramparts. They continued to hold it with not less constancy, and the British colours still waved on the fortress when it was relieved by a brigade sent under Wymer from Candahar a few days after, who brought away the garrison and blew up the works.

35. Lord Ellenborough has since said in his place in Parliament, during the terrible sepoy revolt of 1857, that when he arrived in India in March 1842, he found the country divided into two parties, one of which strongly urged the necessity, at all hazards, of

advancing to Cabul, and avenging the tarnished honour of our arms in the very place where the disasters had been incurred; while the second as strenuously maintained that to do so would be attended with the utmost possible hazard, and imperil our Indian empire in the pursuit of the vain phantom of military glory. The Governor-General's own disposition and heroic turn of mind strongly inclined him to the first opinion, to which expression was given in the proclamation of 15th March, already noticed, issued from Calcutta shortly after his arrival. But when he went up the country in the succeeding month, and became more thoroughly acquainted with the perils of such an undertaking, he grew more doubtful of the policy of pursuing it. The Government of the East India Company had from the beginning been strongly opposed to the expedition; and circumstances had occurred since he landed in India which had, in still more striking colours, revealed its dangers. The first repulse at the Khyber had been redeemed, it is true, by the subsequent triumph and the deliverance of Jellalabad; but Ghuznee had been lost; Khelat-i-Ghilzye was beleaguered and isolated; Candahar had narrowly escaped being taken; and the great convoy and expedition, collected with so much difficulty in Scinde for the reinforcement of Nott, had been beat back from the entrance of the Kojuk Pass. Impressed with these facts, Lord Ellenborough deemed the risk of a farther advance into Affghanistan too great to be hazarded for all its advantages, and formal orders were sent, on the 19th April, to Pollock and Nott to abandon Jellalabad, Khelat-i-Ghilzye, and Candahar, and retire with their garrisons by the Khyber and Bolan Passes to Peshawur and Scinde.\*

\* "You will perceive from the substance of the letters I enclose, that I adhere absolutely to my original intention of withdrawing the whole army from Affghanistan, and that I have in the most emphatic manner repeated the order formerly given for that withdrawal. I have, however, communicated to Major-General Nott the option of returning by Ghuznee and Cabul instead of Quettah. Some risk I deem it justifiable to incur for the re-

36. The determination to abandon all thoughts of a second advance to Cabul was strengthened by a tragic event which occurred at that period in that capital. On the 5th April, as the king, Shah Soojah, was proceeding in a chair of state to review some troops in the neighbourhood of Cabul, he was assassinated by a discharge of musketry from a body of jezailchees placed in ambush for the purpose. The author of the bloody deed was Soojahool-Dowlah, a son of the old Newab, who had ever been faithful to the British. After some delay, Futteh Jung, the second son of the late king, was proclaimed his successor, and for a brief space enjoyed the phantom of royalty. But it was the phantom only. The heart of the nation was neither with him nor with any of his family, but with Dost Mahommed, a prisoner in the hands of the British in India. This important event made an essential change, in a political point of view, in our relations with Afghanistan. The hated monarch, to place whom on the throne we had made such efforts and sustained such reverses, was no more; the unpopularity of his family was so evident that it was plain no security beyond the Indus could be gained by upholding them; and the British had in their own hands the means of restoring amicable relations with Afghanistan by simply releasing Dost Mahommed, and permitting these wild tribes to resume their hereditary system of intestine war, treachery, and murder.

37. But whatever weight was justly due to these considerations in a political point of view, they were as nothing to those brave men who, on the frontier of

the British empire, were in the face of danger, and therefore prepared to meet its terrors. To their bold and chivalrous hearts everything seemed preferable to sheathing the sword before the disasters which had been sustained were avenged, and the honour of the British arms restored. An immediate advance to Cabul, even if followed by a subsequent withdrawal from the country, was recommended by every consideration of sound policy, not less than military honour. They had no doubts of the result; for they had seen how incapable the Affghans were of resisting the British in the open field. Strongly moved by these considerations, Pollock, Nott, and OUTRAM made the most energetic remonstrances against a retreat before victory had been again chained to the British standards; \* and the voice of the press,

\* "With regard to our withdrawal at the present moment, I fear it would have the very worst effect. It would be construed into a defeat, and our character as a powerful nation would be entirely lost in this part of the world. It is true the garrison of Jellalabad has been saved, which it would not have been had not a force been sent for its relief. But the relief of that garrison is only one object; there still remain others which we cannot disregard: I allude to the release of the prisoners."—GENERAL POLLOCK to the Secretary to the Government, May 13, 1842; KAYE, ii. 465.

"As this is not a time to mince matters, no sooner did I see the orders of Government to General Pollock to withdraw the Jellalabad garrison and retire into India under any circumstances, except the Sikhs turning against us (which, by the by, that measure would have brought about most probably), than I wrote in the most earnest manner I was capable of, pointing out that our bitterest foe could not have devised a more injurious measure, whether viewed politically or in a military light, but expressing my trust that Pollock would act on the responsibility vested in him to prevent so ruinous a step. My mind is now set at rest by General Pollock's determination, now gleaned from your letters. I honour the General, therefore; and should he be allowed to carry out his views, we shall have mainly to thank him, not only for retrieving our honour in Afghanistan, but for saving India to us, the loss of which would ultimately result from disgracefully succumbing to the Affghans. Nothing is easier than to retrieve our honour in Afghanistan previously to finally withdrawing, should the Government so determine; and I pray God, Lord Ellenborough may at once see the damnable consequences of shirking the undertaking, and order accordingly; otherwise the

covery of the guns and the prisoners, and with the view of exhibiting the triumphant march of a British army over the ground on which it once suffered defeat; but I consider the preservation of the army in Afghanistan essential to the preservation of our army in India; and however the world might applaud or forgive me, I should never forgive myself if I exposed that army to any material and serious danger for the possible accomplishment of any object now to be attained in Afghanistan."—LORD ELLENBOROUGH to the Secret Committee, Allahabad, 16th August 1842, No. 29; *Ann. Reg.* 1842, p. 443.



and the great majority of the British in India, strongly supported the same views. With such effect were these representations attended, that Lord Ellenborough first agreed (June 1) to a prolonged stay of our troops in Jelalabad and Candahar, and at length (July 4) gave his consent to an advance to Ghuznee and Cabul, previous to the evacuation of the country, if the military commanders were of opinion that such a measure might be hazarded with a reasonable prospect of success. He accompanied this permission, however, with the observation, that if they decided for the bolder course and failed, they must recollect that there was no longer a reserve to fall back upon, and that defeat would be irreparable ruin to the British empire in the East. Warned of this danger, and charged with this responsibility, Pollock and Nott unhesitatingly and joyfully undertook the perilous mission; and to their moral courage, joined to that of the Governor-General, the triumphs which shed such lustre over the conclusion of the war, and re-established the British reputation in the East, are mainly to be ascribed.\*

disaster at Cabul will be but the commencement of our misfortunes."—MAJOR OUTRAM TO SIR RICHMOND SHAKESPEARE, March 15, 1842; KAYE, ii. 432, note.

"Had not the Government bound me hand and foot, I should now have been in Cabul, without asking the aid of Pollock. The game was in our hands, and we would not play it. Pollock ought to have marched sharply upon Cabul; had he done so, not a shot would have been fired. Mark me, my children: had I been in his place, with that beautiful army, I would have struck such a blow that the whole world would have resounded with it. I am ordered to do nothing. Well, our nation is disgraced. How strange that Englishmen should be so paralysed! I am ordered away, though, with my beautiful regiments, I could plant the British banner on the banks of the Caspian."—GENERAL NOTT to his Daughters, July 5, 1842; *Correspondence*, ii. 65.

\* "Nothing has induced me to change my first opinion, that the measure recommended by considerations of military and political prudence is to bring back the armies now in Afghanistan, at the earliest period at which their retirement can be effected consistently with the health and efficiency of the troops, into positions where they may have easy and certain communications with India; and to this extent the instructions you have received remain unaltered. But the improved condi-

38. Before this bold resolution could be carried into effect, various circumstances had occurred which had materially changed for the better the position of both the British armies in Afghanistan. Pressed by reiterated

tion of your army, with sufficient means of carriage for so large a force as it is necessary to move in Afghanistan, induce me now to leave to your option the time by which you will withdraw your troops from that country. I must desire, however, that in forming a decision upon this most important question, you will attend to the following considerations:—In the direction of Quetta and Sukkur there is no enemy to oppose you. At such places occupied by detachments you will find provisions, and probably as you descend the passes you will have increased means of carriage. This operation is one admitting of no doubt as to its success. If you determine upon moving upon Ghuznee, Cabul, and Jelalabad, you will require for the transport of provisions a much larger amount of carriage, and you will be practically without communications from the time of your leaving Candahar, dependent entirely upon the courage of your army for the opening of a communication by an ultimate junction with General Pollock.

"Now, if everything depended upon the courage of your army and your own ability in conducting it, should I have any doubt as to the success of the operation? But whether you would be able to procure provisions for your troops during the whole march, and forage for your animals, may be a matter of reasonable doubt. Yet upon this your success will turn. You must remember that it was not the superior courage of the Afghans, but want and the inclemency of the season, which led to the destruction of the army at Cabul; and you must feel, as I do, that the loss of another army, from whatever cause it might arise, might be fatal to our Government in India.

"I do not undervalue the aid which our Government in India would receive from the successful execution of a march by your army through Ghuznee and Cabul over the scenes of our late disasters. I know all the effect which it would have upon the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of enemies in Asia, of our countrymen, and of all foreign nations in Europe. It is an object of just ambition, which no one would rejoice more than myself to see effected. But I see that failure in the attempt is certain and irretrievable ruin; and I would endeavour to inspire you with the necessary caution, and make you feel that, great as are the objects to be attained by success, the risk is great also.

"If you should be enabled by a *coup-de-main* to get possession of Ghuznee and Cabul, you will act as you see fit, and leave decisive proofs of the power of the British army, without impeaching its humanity. You will bring away from the tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuznee his club which hangs over it, and you will

requests from Nott, and reinforced, by the indefatigable zeal and activity of Major Outram, with an additional supply of animals of transport, General England had again set out from Quettah at the head of 2500 men, including the 40th Queen's, and a large convoy of provisions; and this time he met with better success than on the former occasion. Keeping his troops as much as possible together and well in hand, he approached the southern entrance of the Kojuk Pass on the 28th April. The Affghans, encouraged by their late success, were posted at Hykulzie on the ground which had been the scene of their former victory, and, confident of success, calmly awaited the approach of the British troops. But they soon found that they had different adversaries to deal with from the sepoys whom they had last encountered. The British ascended the hills on each side of the pass under a heavy fire; and when within a hundred yards, delivered a volley, and rushed forward with levelled bayonets. The enemy broke and fled, abandoning all their defences, and scrambling in haste up the hills on the right and left. This was soon followed by a successful attack, by a brigade under Colonel Wymer, detached by Nott from Candahar, on the heights

bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the temple of Somnauth. These will be fresh trophies of your successful march."—LORD ELLENBOROUGH to GENERAL NOTT, July 4, 1842; *Corresp.*, ii. 82-84. (A copy of this letter was sent to General Pollock, and formed his instructions also.)

Nott replied: "Having well considered the subject of your Lordship's letter of the 4th instant, having looked at the difficulties in every point of view, and reflected on the advantages which would attend a successful accomplishment of such a move, and the moral influence it would have through Asia, I have come to the determination to retire a portion of the army under my command via Ghuznee and Cabul. I shall take with me a large but a compact and well-tried force, on which I can rely. Your Lordship may rest assured that all prudence and every military precaution shall be observed. There shall be no unnecessary risk; and if expedient, I will mask Ghuznee, and even Cabul; but should an opportunity offer, I will endeavour to strike a decisive blow for the honour of our arms."—GENERAL NOTT to LORD ELLENBOROUGH, July 26, 1842; *Corresp.*, ii. 86.

which crowned the northern extremity of the pass; and the road being open, the reinforcements and convoy moved forward and entered Candahar on the 10th May.

39. By this reinforcement the troops there were raised to nearly 12,000 men, a force equal to that with which Pollock held Jellalabad. Each of these armies was adequate, taken separately, to defeat any force which the Affghans could oppose to them; and what was of still greater importance, they were at length, by the efforts of Mr Clerk in the Punjab, and Major Outram in Scinde, adequately provided with the requisite draught animals, indispensable to a march through these inhospitable regions. The spirit of both armies was exalted, the gloomy presentiments arising from the disasters of the preceding winter had been entirely dissipated by recent victories, and the whole troops, British as well as native, were burning with desire to avenge their comrades treacherously slaughtered in defiance of a capitulation, restore the tarnished honour of their arms, and deliver the captives. The health of the men had greatly improved; and the approach of the cool months presented the most favourable time for military operations. Everything, therefore, favoured an advance, by which the lustre of the British arms and the prestige of the British power might be restored; and happily both armies were composed of men, and headed by generals, worthy of undertaking the glorious task.

40. Pollock turned to good account the delay necessarily incurred in getting up the supplies and baggage animals. An expedition was resolved on into the Shinwarree Valley, not far from Jellalabad, the inhabitants of which had been peculiarly active in their attacks on the British during their retreat, and still held in their possession one of the guns taken on that calamitous occasion. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Brigadier Monteith, who had so much distinguished himself in the successful sortie from Jellalabad in the beginning of April. He set out in the

middle of June, and on the 20th moved upon Goolai, which, on restitution of the captured gun and treasure being refused, was burnt to the ground. Proceeding in this manner up the valley for some days, the gun and part of the treasures were given up. But as the Shinwarries had always been a refractory set, and had taken an active part in the destruction of the force retreating from Cabul, it was thought necessary to let them feel what the power of Britain was, to punish even in that wild and sequestered district. Proceeding up the glen, Monteith set fire to all the hill-forts it contained, the seats of the licentious soldiery who had violated the capitulation. Some resistance was attempted on the 26th July at Mazeena, but was speedily overcome. Monteith returned to Jellalabad on the 3d August loaded with provisions and stores of all kinds, having completely accomplished the objects of the expedition, which were to punish the most guilty of the Afghanistan tribes, and spread a dread of British power in the farthest recesses of its secluded mountains. It is always a matter of regret when vengeance is taken on an entire district by military execution on its inhabitants, for it is scarce possible then to separate the innocent from the guilty. But in this instance the punishment fell on the really guilty and treacherous parties; and if their innocent families also suffered, that is no more than was proclaimed as the destiny of man three thousand years ago, amidst the thunders of Mount Sinai.

41. All things being at length in readiness, and the cool healthy weather having set in, Pollock broke up from Jellalabad on the 20th August with 8000 men of all arms.\* This does not seem a large force to have undertaken the conquest of so difficult and warlike a country; but its composition rendered it efficient in the very highest degree. It embraced the 3d English Dragoons, the 31st Queen's, and several of the best native regiments, particularly the 33d, with the whole

\* The remainder of his force remained in garrison at Jellalabad.

of Sale's and Tulloch's brigades, both European and native, with seventeen guns. The advancing columns first came in contact with the enemy on the 24th beyond Gundamuck, at the village of Mammo-khai, where they were strongly posted, crowning the heights on either side. They were speedily carried, Pollock, at the head of a wing of the 9th Queen's, himself forcing the village amidst the cheers of the whole army, which hailed with transport the auspicious commencement of their glorious march. The universal joy was wrought up to the highest pitch by the announcement, which had hitherto been kept a profound secret, that they were marching UPON CABUL, not any intermediate point. With such transport was this intelligence received, that the troops, officers and men, European and native, offered to make any sacrifices to facilitate the advance of the army; while the satisfaction of the General was rendered complete soon after by intelligence that Nott had broken up from Candahar, and was advancing towards the same capital by Ghuznee. The troops remained at Gundamuck till the 7th September, enjoying rest in a cool delightful climate, and confident of success in the adventurous march on which they had entered.\*

42. The march was resumed early on the morning of the 7th September on the road to Cabul. No resistance

\* While lying at Gundamuck, a poor man, apparently of the meanest caste, presented himself at the outposts, and was recognised as Futteh Jung, second son of the late king, Shah Soojah, and who for a few weeks had been placed on the throne after the murder of his father. He had been placed there as a wretched puppet by Akbar Khan, the real ruler of the country, until he had extorted from him all his wealth, which proved to be considerable, and made him sign all papers necessary to transfer authority of every sort to the Wuzeer. Finding himself a real prisoner, though nominally on the throne, the prince resolved to flee; but his design being suspected, he was seized and thrown into prison by Akbar Khan, in the Bala-Hissar, from whence he escaped by cutting a hole in the roof; and after wandering about some weeks in disguise and the utmost misery, and being often fired upon by the Affghans, he at length reached the British camp.—See KAYE, ii. 571, 572.

was experienced till they came, on the 8th, to the entrance of the Jugdulluck Pass, the theatre of such disaster in the retreat.\* On approaching the hills which overhang that defile, it was perceived that they were occupied by large bodies of Ghilzyes, in positions singularly strong and difficult of access, the fire from which commanded the road, while all approach to the enemy from whom it issued seemed impossible. The British artillery opened on them; but the Affghans stood their ground bravely, and their fire was so violent, that all progress through the pass was impossible till the heights were cleared. Upon this Pollock sent forward columns to the right and left, to crown the heights on either side. "Then was seen the decisive superiority of the European over the Asiatic troops, even when every natural advantage lay on the side of the latter. The sharp rattle of the musketry issuing from the rocks and thickets was drowned in the loud cheers of the British as they approached the enemy, and the enthusiastic shouts from below when they saw them break and fly in confusion, closely followed by the British bayonets, and their standards seized by the victors. But though driven from their first ground, the Ghilzyes were not entirely defeated. They took refuge on a rocky height, apparently inaccessible save by a narrow path in the rear. Thither they were, however, followed in hot haste by the assailants. Abbot's and Backhouse's guns kept up a powerful fire on the crowded heights, which did terrible execution, and under cover of it Broadfoot and Wilkin-son again led their men to the assault." "Seldom," said Pollock, in his official despatch, "have soldiers had a more arduous task to perform, and never was an undertaking of the kind surpassed in execution." The Affghans were panic-struck by the impetuosity of the assault, and fled in confusion, leaving their standards in the hands of the British.

43. By this brilliant victory, which was achieved with very little loss, and mainly by the old Jellalabad garrison,

\* See *ante*, chap. xlviii. § 47.

the entrance of the pass was won. But the pass itself, in all its terrific proportions, remained behind, and it required to be surmounted before the troops could emerge into the valley of Cabul. It has thus been described by the eloquent pen of an eyewitness: "Rugged ascents and descents, water-courses, ravines, and narrow valleys, form the constant features of the country from Jugdulluck to the end of the Coord Cabul Pass, a distance of forty miles. The defiles through which the road leads are so narrow and difficult, that no words can convey an idea of them. The Duree Pass, which is three miles long, is extremely narrow, and turns repeatedly as the torrent which roars in its bottom meets impenetrable masses of rock at right angles. Its average width is *about forty yards*, but there are three places in which it is *less than ten feet*, and *one only six*; so that, if an animal fell, the road would be stopped till it could be removed. The almost perpendicular cliffs on either side appear as if threatening destruction, and they rise to the height of several thousand feet."

44. Akbar Khan, now awakened to a sense of the dangers of his situation, had resolved to make his last stand for the defence of his capital in the deep defile of the Coord Cabul. Preparing for the worst, he sent the prisoners and women off to the Hindoo Coosh, and, by advice of his council of chiefs, despatched messengers to the British headquarters offering any terms of submission, so as they would not advance on the capital—a decisive proof of the wisdom of the move thus so long the subject of doubt in the British councils. Meanwhile Pollock had advanced seven miles up the pass without opposition, and reached the valley of Tezeen, a little oval space encircled by lofty and almost impassable mountains. Here the Affghan chief now resolved to attack him, the opening of the valley enabling him to take advantage of his superiority of force. Every height and eminence was occupied by marksmen, and nothing omitted which could enhance the natural difficulties of the position. Ak-

bar Khan, and his most renowned chiefs and best troops, were there, to the number of 16,000 men, rather more than double of the British. Nevertheless, the chief had no confidence in the result. "I know that I have everything to lose; but it is too late to recede; the people would never hear of submission."

45. To rest his men, Pollock halted his whole force for a day at Tezeen. This delay was ascribed by the Affghans to fear, and they advanced to the encounter during the night, and on the morning of the 13th hemmed in the British camp on every side. But they had to deal with men whose courage, always great, had been wrought up to the highest point by the sight of the skeletons of their slaughtered comrades. Attracted by the hope of plunder, the Affghan horse entered the little plain, but they were speedily met by four squadrons of the 3d Dragoons, followed by some native horse and irregular cavalry, who hurled them back with great loss. The columns of foot now ascended the heights on either side; the light companies of the 13th leading on the right, those of the 9th and 31st, headed by Captain Lushington, on the left. The Affghans, confident of victory, poured on them a close and destructive fire, and even advanced with loud shouts to the attack. But without firing a shot the British pressed upward, and when they neared the foe, charged, with loud cheers, with the bayonet. The Affghans broke and fled before the terrible onset, and hurried to still higher and more rugged ground formed by the rocky ridges of the Huft-Kotul, when they rallied and prepared to make a last stand. Here, however, they were speedily attacked by the heroic British, supported by their gallant allies. Sale headed the advanced guard, which emulated its own former deeds; M'Caskill led on another column; Broadfoot with his sappers was again at the head of the stormers; Monteith followed with his brigade; and after a desperate contest, the summits of the Huft-Kotul were won, the Affghan guns and standards were

taken, and, amidst cheers which made the very welkin ring, the British colours were planted on the highest pinnacles of the mountain.

46. After this signal defeat, the Affghans offered no farther resistance to the march of the victorious army, which advanced without opposition through the entire length of the Coord Cabul Pass. But what a spectacle here met their eyes at every step! how calculated to rouse, almost to madness, every feeling of the victorious soldiery! Literally strewn with the skeletons of the thousands who had perished in the massacre of the preceding winter, they could not tread but on the bones of their fallen comrades. Nothing can do justice to the scene but the far-famed and eloquent description by the immortal Roman annalist, of the discovery of the remains of Varus's legions by the army under the command of Germanicus Cæsar: "The desire seized Cæsar of rendering the last funeral-rites to the army and its general; the whole troops being moved with commiseration for their lost relations and friends, the fate of war, and the destiny of man. Having sent forward Cæcina that he might examine the recesses of the woods, and place bridges and mounds on the marshy places, he approached with his troops the places alike sad from the sight and the recollection. First the camp of Varus, of vast dimensions, showed the labours of the hands of three legions; then in the humble ditch on the half-filled-up rampart, the remains of those who had fallen were discovered: in the middle of the plain, the whitening bones, here in heaps, there scattered, showed where they had fled, or made a last stand together. On all sides were seen the fragments of arms, the limbs of horses, human heads nailed to the trees; in the neighbouring groves, the altars of the barbarians, before which they had sacrificed the tribunes and centurions of the first rank. Those who had survived the massacre, and escaped from their bonds, related that here the lieutenant had fallen, there the eagles had

been seized; here Varus was struck by the first wound, there he fell by his own hand; in what assembly of the tribunes Arminius had ordered indignities and tortures to the captives, what insults to the standards and the eagles. Therefore the Roman army, which now approached in the sixth year after the slaughter, committed to the earth the remains of three legions, no one knowing whether he was interring the remains of a friend or a stranger, but all, being animated alike with wrath against the enemy, sad and unconscious, performed the funeral obsequies as to a friend and a blood relation." Thus sad as the Roman legions after the lapse of eighteen centuries, but yet observing in their anger the strictest discipline, the British troops pursued their victorious and now unresisted march over the uninterred bones of their comrades to the capital. On the 15th September the army encamped on the Cabul race-course, and next day ascending the Royal Hill in triumph, they hoisted the British standard on the battlements of the Bala-Hissar amidst a royal salute, followed by "God save the Queen" from the bands of all the regiments, and three enthusiastic cheers from the whole troops.

47. While Pollock was conducting to a glorious issue these important operations in the defiles leading from Jellalabad direct to Cabul, Nott was engaged in corresponding movements, ending in as triumphant a result, on the road converging to the same place from Candahar.\* Having made his election to retire from Candahar by Ghuznee and Cabul, he set about carrying his design into execution in the most regular and systematic manner. On the 7th of August the city was evacuated, Nott taking with him the British regiments and more than half the force; the remainder, composed entirely of natives under England, retiring towards Quettah by the Kojak Pass.† The latter was threatened with

resistance when entering the jaws of that defile; but England, by a rapid advance, after a night-march of twenty-four miles, succeeded in seizing the heights on either side before they were fully occupied by the enemy, and got his column, with its immense convoy of 10,000 beasts of burden, with all the guns and ammunition-waggons, safely through, from whence they proceeded on their march unmolested, and reached Quettah without any loss.

48. Nott experienced no resistance till he left Mookoor, on 28th August, about half-way to Ghuznee, when the enemy was seen occupying some heights which commanded the road, and in the valley beneath horsemen were discerned. Delamain, who commanded the advanced guard, attacked them with his troopers, and cut down twenty; but, pursuing his advantage too far, he got surrounded by large bodies of cavalry, by whom, after a sanguinary fight, he was defeated with considerable loss. Upon learning this disaster, Nott moved out his whole army, 7000 strong; but before they could reach the ground the enemy had retired. A terrible vengeance was taken on a village from which shots had been fired on our troops: the women and children were spared, but a hundred men fell under the avenging bayonets of the European infantry. This was an inauspicious beginning, and inspired some apprehensions even in the intrepid breast of Rawlinson; but it was soon redeemed by a glorious victory.

49. Rendered cautious by this check, Nott marched forward, with his men well in hand, on the succeeding day. The Governor of Ghuznee, Shumshooddeen, with ten thousand men, moved parallel to him on the heights, and at three in the afternoon of the 30th, seeing the opportunity favourable, he descended with all his men to the attack. Nott advanced to meet him with half his force, consisting of the 40th Queen's, two regiments of sepoy, and one irregular, battalions of infantry, with four batteries of artillery, and three cavalry corps. England had four battalions of native infantry, two batteries, and three squadrons of irregular cavalry.—*Nott's Correspondence*, ii. 114.

\* On the 29th May he had, with 1500 men, defeated a body of 8000 Affghans, who had advanced close to Candahar.

† Nott took with him two European, five

poys, all his cavalry, and four guns. The enemy opened a fire from two guns, and that of the infantry was extremely well sustained; but when the British got near, they delivered a volley, and instantly charged, with loud cheers, with the bayonet. The enemy upon this broke and fled, closely pursued by Christie's irregular horse, who sabred the gunners, and captured the guns. The Governor fled towards Ghuznee, but his followers dispersed in utter confusion, leaving tents, magazines, and stores of every description, to the victors. After this success, Nott halted a day, and, resuming his march on the one following, appeared on the 5th September before Ghuznee. The enemy had been strongly reinforced; the ramparts were crowded with armed men, the adjacent heights were strongly occupied by troops, and everything betokened a vigorous struggle. But these appearances were fallacious. Before nightfall, Nott carried the heights occupied by the enemy, in the most gallant style, and drove them headlong into the city. There no preparations for a defence had been made; the hill-tribes began to depart when they saw preparations going on for the construction of batteries; and Shumshooden, despairing of success, withdrew in the night. Next morning the troops entered without resistance, and soon the British flag was seen waving on the fortress.

50. There remained, however, something yet to be done at Ghuznee before the victorious legions proceeded on their march towards Cabul. At the village of Rosa, near Ghuznee, is situated the tomb of Sultan Mahmoud, the Mohammedan conqueror of India, who is said to have carried off the gates of the sepulchre as a trophy from Somnauth in Hindostan, eight hundred years before. Whether this were so or not, this much at least is certain, that they are of high antiquity, and regarded with superstitious veneration, as trophies of the great conqueror, by the inhabitants of the country. In obedience to Lord Ellenborough's orders, the gates were brought away, with as much delicacy and forbearance

as possible, and no profanation of the tomb took place. The Mollahs who had charge of the sepulchre wept bitterly, and prostrated themselves before the shrine when the gates were carried away; but the bulk of the people were too much concerned with present events to be much affected by it. The Mussulman officers in the British army, however, thronged to the tomb with profound devotion.

51. After leaving Ghuznee, the fortifications of which he blew up, Nott continued his march, like Pollock, over the scenes of former disasters. On the 12th he passed Sydeabad, the scene of Woodburn's betrayal and death: on the 14th he attacked the enemy, 12,000 in number, who were strongly posted on heights near Mydan, barring the approach to the capital, and, after a sharp action, the heights in front were carried; but they were subsequently abandoned, as the fatigue of the beasts of burden disabled them from following the troops any farther. Preparations were made for renewing the attack on the following day, but in the night the enemy, having heard of Akbar Khan's defeat at Tezzen, decamped, and took post at Urghundeh, half a day's march nearer the capital. On the heights in front of this place, they were defeated at all points, and fled in confusion towards Cabul, abandoning their tents and baggage. The Mydanees upon this tendered their submission; but they had taken an active part in the insurrection and subsequent massacre, and the British set fire to all their forts. Next day Nott hurried on, without further resistance, to Cabul, only, however, to find it already in the hands of Pollock, who had arrived the day before.

52. Thus did the two British divisions unite in the heart of Afghanistan, and avenge, on the theatre on which they had been incurred, their former disasters. Fifteen thousand troops in the English uniform were now assembled at Cabul—a force amply sufficient to subdue and retain in subjection the whole of Afghanistan, if it had been deemed an object by the British Government to retain the country.

The most perfect discipline had hitherto been observed by the troops there; not a man was wounded, not a woman insulted, not a house broken into or fired by the victors. But a terrible retribution was preparing by the generals, which should sink deep in the minds of the Orientals, and leave in the heart of Asia indelible traces of the British conquest and power. The Bazaar was the most celebrated building in Central Asia. Its halls had long been the resort of merchants from every quarter, and its beauty had rendered it the great object of pride to the whole inhabitants of Afghanistan. It was here that Sir William Macnaghten's body had been exposed to the insults of a fanatical Mussulman rabble; and it was here that a lasting retribution was to be inflicted, and a durable monument of British justice, and yet mercy, to be exhibited. The great Bazaar was to be destroyed, and the preparations to level it were begun on the 9th October. So massive, however, was the structure, that it defied all ordinary methods of demolition, and it was found necessary to employ mining and gunpowder to bring it down. By their aid the work of ruin was accomplished; and Afghanistan, like France, was taught, in Wellington's words, "a great moral lesson," by being deprived of its chief ornament and just object of national pride. The explosions were so managed by the skilful engineers employed, that no mischief was done to other buildings; but all the efforts of Colonel Richmond, who was intrusted with the guard of the gates of the city, were unable to arrest an unruly mob of camp-followers and soldiers, who, to the number of several thousands, broke in, and began plundering and committing every species of excess. It is to be regretted that such scenes should have accompanied the last sojourn of the British legions on the theatre of their victories; but when the enormous provocation they had received from the Affghans is considered, it can hardly excite surprise that some such outrage should have occurred.

53. One other warlike movement, which proved entirely successful, took

place before the British finally withdrew from Afghanistan. M'Caskill, who commanded a division in Pollock's army, was despatched by that officer in the end of September, with two brigades, to disperse a hostile assemblage which was forming in the Kohistan, under the khan, Ameen Oollah. The expedition proved entirely successful. By a rapid march M'Caskill reached Istaliff, the chief place of the district, where the Affghans had deposited their baggage, treasures, and women, before the enemy were aware of his approach. As the troops entered the town, the jezails of the enemy opened a desultory fire; but the 9th, the light company of the 41st, and Broadfoot's Sappers soon cooled their ardour, and ere long nothing was seen of the enemy but a confused stream of men, women, children, and beasts of burden, which rushed up the hill above the town to avoid destruction. Pursuit was humanely forbidden, to give the women and children an opportunity of escaping, but the booty in the town, with two guns, was taken; and after this victory the troops went on and fired Charekar, where the gallant Ghoorka regiment had been treacherously destroyed in the former campaign. They then faced about, and reached Cabul on the 7th October, having spread terror far and wide in the northern regions of Affghanistan.

54. The Affghans were now thoroughly subdued, their armies defeated, their chiefs disunited, their arrogance tamed, their *Io pœans* turned into lamentation. Everywhere they had encountered disaster; everywhere the traces of British power and invincibility had been left. They had avenged their defeats on the very scenes where these had been incurred, and left in the capital of the enemy indelible traces at once of their power and their moderation. The Affghans—prone, like all Asiatics, to sudden impressions—were strongly affected with this long train of disasters, and evinced it in the entire change of their policy and measures. Bending to the victories of the Feringhees as to the stroke of fate, they hastened to make their submis-



sion as rapidly as they had formerly crowded to their rallying-points to take up arms. On all sides the hostile chiefs made overtures for accommodation. Ameen Oollah Khan, who had been the last to suffer under their arms, secretly sent in proposals, saying he had acted against the British under compulsion, and had all along been their friend. Akbar Khan himself sent in one of his last remaining prisoners, Captain Bygrave, with a letter to Pollock, expressing his anxious desire to enter into amicable relations with the Governor-General. So general was the submission of the hostile chiefs, that for a brief period it was thought that Futtah Jung, the second son of the late king, might resume the reins of power; and for a few days he actually held them in impotent sovereignty at the Bala-Hissar. But they soon slipped from his feeble grasp; and the British generals, having no intention of imposing a king upon the Affghans, made preparations for their departure from the scene of their conquest, their disasters, and their triumphs.

55. But another task awaited the British general, in the highest degree interesting to all India, and indeed to the whole civilised world. The prisoners were still in the hands of the Affghans; and their fate, especially that of Lady Sale and the other heroic ladies who shared her captivity, excited the warmest feelings of interest and commiseration. It was universally felt that our triumph would be incomplete if they were not restored to their relations and their country. The fate of these prisoners forms an interesting episode in the Affghan war, and their release a fitting termination to that tale of mingled horror and glory. Separated from the army, as already mentioned, during the retreat through the Coord Cabul Pass, they had been sent to the fort of Budeeabad, in the inhospitable regions of north-eastern Affghanistan, in the depth of winter, under an escort of Affghan horse. During the weary months of their captivity the time passed more pleasantly than could have been expected; nay, they were sometimes

happy. A few packs of cards, which had found their way into that frozen wilderness, were a great resource. They had a prayer-book, from which they daily read the morning and evening service; and in the winter nights they were far from despising a game at blind-man's-buff with the children. And although they experienced great suffering during their removals, and were often lodged in noisome damp apartments, they experienced no bad usage of any kind, and often received the most touching proofs of kindness and sympathy from the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed. As summer came on they perceived, from unmistakable symptoms, that their guards were uneasy; and in the end of August they received intimation that they must prepare for being sent off to Bamian, over the snows of the Hindoo Coosh, accompanied by not obscure hints that their ultimate destination was Turkestan, where they would be sold as slaves.

56. From this terrible misfortune they were delivered, partly by the skill and address of Captain Johnson, who shared their captivity, partly by the vigour and activity of the detachment which Pollock sent forward to effect their liberation. This party consisted of 600 Kuzilbash horse, under the command of Sir Richard Shakespear, an officer who had already earned his spurs in this desperate war, and had evinced equal courage and capacity in every duty—many of which had been most arduous—committed to his charge. This party of hardy and experienced horsemen set out on the 15th September for the Hindoo Coosh; and such was the spirit with which they were animated that they marched ninety miles in the first two days. To support them, Pollock, four days after, despatched a strong force under Sir R. Sale to occupy the Urganhunde Pass, by which they would have to return. The captives had arrived at Bamian on the 3d September. But, meanwhile, Johnson and Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat, made good use of the reports which had reached them of the successes of Pol-

lock and Sale, and to their representations Saleh Mahommed, who had charge of the party, with the usual disposition of the Asiatics to yield at once to victory, at length came to lend a willing ear. Deeming the authority of the Affghans approaching its fall, he agreed, on condition of receiving 20,000 rupees down, and a pension of 1000 rupees per month for life, to conduct the captives, not to Turkestan, but to the British camp. This change was announced to the captives on the 11th September, and the whole officers present agreed to the proposal, and volunteered, if necessary, to master the guard, and hold the fort in which they were till succour arrived, and the agreement could be carried into effect. But there was no occasion to resort to so desperate an alternative. Saleh Mahommed proved faithful to his engagement, which was subscribed by Pottinger, Johnson, Mackenzie, and Lawrence, as well as Lady Sale and the other ladies. Both parties immediately set about carrying the design into execution. Trusting to the reports circulating of the victories of the British, Pottinger, though still a prisoner, issued proclamations from the fort in which they were detained, promising forgiveness and remission of revenue to the chiefs in insurrection around them, and some of them actually came in in consequence, and made their salaam. The garrison of the fort, 250 strong, agreed, for a gratuity of four months' pay on reaching Cabul, to defend the prisoners on the way thither. Matters were in this state when intelligence arrived on the 15th of Pollock's victory in the valley of Tezeen. Upon this there was no longer any hesitation; it was at once unanimously resolved to set out next morning for Cabul.

57. While this was passing with the captives, the detachment of Kuzilbashes, with Sir Richard Shakespear at their head, were toiling indefatigably up the steep slopes on their noble mission. The scanty intelligence they received on the day of the departure of the captives for the Bamian Pass and

Turkestan, only roused them to increased efforts to effect their deliverance before the fatal barrier of the Hindoo Coosh was passed, and they were sent into hopeless captivity. As they were advancing, and had just surmounted a high ridge which commanded a view of an extensive valley stretching up the mountains, at their feet they beheld with surprise a lofty pillar, an unexpected sight in that deep solitude. It proved to be a monument erected in honour of Alexander the Great, in commemoration of his having, first of the Europeans, surmounted the great Caucasian range, and bent his way towards the plains of India!

58. At daybreak on the 17th the captives were awakened by a messenger who brought the joyful intelligence from Sir R. Shakespear that he was approaching with a body of Kuzilbash horse. They instantly set out, and, with increased rapidity, pursued their way to the southward. They saw or heard nothing till three in the afternoon, when horsemen were seen descending a mountain-pass before them. No English uniforms were visible among them—they might be enemies! Every preparation was made to meet the expected attack. The hearts of the captives sank within them with anxiety; they had been discovered, and these were the cavalry whom Akbar Khan had despatched to reconduct them over the Bamian into Turkestan. Joy! joy!—an English officer emerges from the ranks and gallops forward, waving a white handkerchief. It was Sir R. Shakespear, at the head of his faithful Kuzilbashes, who were soon in the midst of them, announcing deliverance, safety, and a speedy return to their relations and country.

59. Wearied with their long journey, but no longer anxious, Lady Sale and the prisoners remained at rest that day, devouring the intelligence which Shakespear gave in answer to their reiterated questions. On the 18th and 19th they pursued their journey, and on the 20th, when they were approaching Urghundeh, they

were met by the column under Sale, which Pollock had sent out to support Shakespear. In a few minutes Sale, amidst the cheers and tears of his men, embraced his wife and daughter. The meeting of the delivered captives with Sale's veterans must be given in Lady Sale's words:—"It is impossible to express our feelings on Sale's approach. To my daughter and myself, happiness, so long delayed as to be almost unexpected, was actually painful, and accompanied by a choking sensation, which could not obtain the relief of tears. When we arrived where the infantry were posted, they cheered all the captives as they passed them; and the men of the 13th, Sir R. Sale's own regiment, pressed forward to welcome us individually. Most of the men had a few words of hearty congratulation to offer, each in his own style, on the restoration of their colonel's wife and daughter; and then my highly-wrought feelings found the desired relief, and I could actually speak to thank the soldiers for their sympathy, while the long-withheld tears now found their course. On arriving at the camp, Captain Backhouse fired a royal salute from his mountain guns; and not only our own friends, but all the officers in the party, came to offer congratulations, and welcome us on our release from captivity."

60. All was now accomplished. The honour of the British arms had been avenged, the captives delivered, and the treachery of the enemy punished in a signal and enduring manner. Nothing more remained to be done: there was no longer any cause of discord or hostility with the Affghans. The king whom, in an evil hour, and misled by a false opinion of his popularity, we had put on the throne, had been murdered by his subjects; his son, a boy of eighteen, was invested with only the shadow of royalty, and Russian ambition had been turned into another channel; the catastrophe of Khiva had chilled their ardour for conquests in Central Asia. It was resolved, therefore, to retire within

the Indus while it could yet be done with credit and safety; and on the 1st October a proclamation to this effect was issued by the Governor-General from Simla. On the 11th of the same month the family of Shah Soojah found refuge in Pollock's quarters; the British colours were lowered on the Bala-Hissar, and the British troops began their departure from the theatre of their unjust conquests, their terrible punishment, their restored glory.

61. The army retired by Gunda-muck, Jellalabad, and the Khyber, without any other molestation than a few desultory attacks from the predatory tribes which hung on the sides of the defiles through which they passed, and reached Peshawur in the beginning of November. The fortifications of Jellalabad were blown up; that far-famed fortress was left "as the abode only of owls and jackals." Never was joy more sincere than was now felt in every European breast in India. "There was," says the eloquent annalist of this memorable war, "one general shout of triumphant congratulation, caught up from station to station along the whole line of country from Sirhind to Tinnevely. Suspense and anxiety now died away in the European breast; and in the words of one of the ablest Indian statesmen, 'it was a comfort again to be able to look a native in the face.'" By an extraordinary coincidence, the same Delhi Gazette which announced the second capture of Cabul contained the glorious treaty of peace with the Chinese, dictated by the British under the walls of Nankin. Immense was the effect of this double victory upon the public mind through the whole of Hindostan. The movement which had begun so strongly to stir the minds of the natives throughout the whole peninsula was stayed; and the Asiatics, according to their usual custom, resigned themselves to victory as the stroke of fate, and ceased to entertain thoughts of further resisting a power which had shown itself capable at the same time of conquering the bravest warriors of central, and

the most powerful empire of eastern, Asia.

62. Having vindicated our military honour and retired from Affghanistan, there was no longer either a motive or a pretext for detaining Dost Mahomed in captivity, or withholding from the Affghans the sovereign of their choice—the chief who had offered, if we would support him, to put the whole resources of the country at our disposal as a barrier against Russia. He was accordingly liberated, and his enlargement announced as an earnest of the altered policy of the British Government. Dost Mahommed accordingly set out from Loodianah, and after being detained some time by the ostentatious and somewhat suspicious hospitality of the Rajah of Lahore, he reached the Khyber, and regained the land of his fathers, where, ere long, he was, by the great majority of the people, placed on the throne. And the arms of England, after having undergone an unparalleled disaster, and all but lost India in the attempt to displace him, finally left Affghanistan to the sovereign of its choice, to its solitude, its passions, and its divisions.\*

\* “The Government of India directed its army to pass the Indus, in order to expel from Affghanistan a chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a sovereign believed to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects. The chief believed to be hostile became a prisoner, and the sovereign believed to be popular was replaced upon the throne; but, after events which brought into question his fidelity to the Government by which he was restored, he lost by the hands of an assassin the throne he had only held amidst insurrection, and his death was preceded and followed by still existing anarchy.

“Disasters unparalleled in their extent, unless by the errors in which they originated, and the treachery by which they were completed, have, in one short campaign, been revenged upon every scene of past misfortune; and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the citadels and cities of Ghuznee and Cabul, have again attached the opinion of invincibility to the British arms.

“The British army in possession of Affghanistan will now be withdrawn to the Sutlej. The Governor-General will leave it to the Affghans themselves to create a government amidst the anarchy which is the consequence of their crimes. To force a sovereign upon a reluctant people would be as

63. No man in India was so sincerely rejoiced at the glorious victories in China and Affghanistan as Lord Ellenborough. His ardent mind, passionately enamoured of martial renown, and eagerly susceptible of strong impressions, had been roused to the uttermost by the ever-memorable events which had taken place under his direction, which had raised the British empire in the East from the verge of ruin to an unexampled pitch of prosperity and glory. But still he had great cause for secret anxiety. Sought as it had been to veil the withdrawal from Affghanistan under the guise of a triumph, it was still a retreat; the fact could not be concealed that the British standards had retired. To diminish the effect of this obvious retrograde movement on the native mind, and also to overawe the powers through whose territories the retreat was to be

inconsistent with the policy as it is with the principles of the British Government, tending to place the arms and resources of that people at the disposal of the first invader, and to impose the burden of supporting a sovereign without the prospect of benefit from his alliance. The Governor-General will willingly recognise any government approved by the Affghans themselves, which shall appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states.

“The rivers of the Punjab and Indus, and the mountainous passes and the barbarous tribes of Affghanistan, will be placed between the British army and an enemy approaching from the west, if, indeed, such an enemy there can be, and no longer between the army and its supplies.

“The combined army of England and India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded, to any which can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won in security and honour. The Governor-General cannot fear the misconstruction of his motives in thus frankly announcing to the surrounding states the pacific and conservative policy of his Government. Affghanistan and China have at once seen the forces at his disposal, and the effect with which they can be applied. Sincerely attached to peace for the sake of the benefits it confers upon the people, the Governor-General is resolved that peace shall be observed, and will put forth the whole powers of the British Government to coerce the state by which it shall be infringed.”—*Proclamation of GOVERNOR-GENERAL, Simla, Oct. 1, 1842.*

made, it was resolved to keep the army together, and also to greet its approach with all the pomp and magnificence which is ever so grateful to the Eastern mind. Splendid pageants, rivaling those by which, four years before, the march of the British army through the Punjab had been celebrated, were now enacted at Ferozepore on their return: the troops of all arms were turned out to salute them as they passed. The gates of Somnauth, the proud trophy of Mohammedan conquest, were conducted with great pomp, attended by a long array of captured guns, across the whole of India; and honours, medals, and military distinctions of every sort were awarded to the brave officers and soldiers by whom the triumphs had been won.\*

64. No act of Lord Ellenborough has been the subject of so much criticism and discussion as this restoration of the gates of Somnauth. Not only was it objected to in England as a vainglorious act, savouring more of the boastful style of Napoleon's bulletins than the modest record of British achievement, but it was the subject of more serious blame by a large and respectable party in Great Britain, which, sincerely desirous of making the British empire in the East the means of converting its inhabitants to the Christian faith, were seized with perfect horror at seeing the triumph

of the Christian arms terminating in homage to a heathen temple. Yet is it now evident that both objections were founded on mistake, and on that disposition to judge of the feelings of other nations by our own, which is the most prolific cause of error in forming an opinion of human affairs. Viewed with European eyes, and regarded as addressed to civilised and well-informed nations, the triumphal procession of the gates of Somnauth will no doubt appear suitable rather to French grandiloquence than British simplicity; viewed as addressed to the Asiatics, who expect such effusions after victory, and consider them as the evidence of its reality, it must be regarded in a very different light, and as important, as conveying to the ignorant and credulous Eastern mind proof of the reality of conquest. In truth, much more was made of this act than its real importance, either in a religious or political point of view, deserved; for such is the ignorance which prevails in India, that the memory of even the most important events is much more quickly lost than in the European world. The loss of the gates of Somnauth was bitterly lamented by the priests of Ghuznee, to whom they were a source of profit; but not one in a thousand in Hindostan had ever heard of them; and their restoration excited even less sensation, in a religious point of view, than the recovery of the wood of the true cross, taken at the battle of Tiberias by Saladin, would occasion to good Catholics, or that of some relics of our Saxon kings from the successors of Canute would to the English people.

65. The Afghanistan expedition, conceived in injustice, undertaken in ignorance, executed by incapacity, affords a memorable example at once of the weakness and strength of democratic societies. Like all the contests in which Great Britain has been engaged during the last century and a half, it was commenced without any adequate preparation for its dangers, or any knowledge even of what they were. At a time when the army on

\* "Our victorious army bears the gates of the Temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahmoud looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee. The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory, the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I commit the glorious trophy of successful war. I have ever relied with confidence upon your attachment to the British Government. You see how worthy it proves itself of your love, when, regarding your honour as its own, it exerts the power of its arms to restore to you the gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your subjection to the Afghans." — LORD ELLENBOROUGH to the PRINCES and PEOPLE of INDIA, November 16, 1842; KAYE, ii. 650.

foot by Great Britain had been reduced to 31,000 men, and the European troops in India were only 31,500, we commenced at the same time two distant and costly wars with China and Afghanistan, and sent an army of 9500 men, with one European regiment in its ranks, to achieve the conquest of a warlike people, inhabiting a remote and mountainous country. Never was a more striking instance of the combined arrogance in diplomatic demand with the determined resistance to military preparations, which are the invariable characteristics in the outset of multitudinous rule, when it is really, and not in name merely, established. Disasters great and unexampled followed, and punished the extravagant and ill-judged undertaking. But mark

the end of these things, and see how popular vigour and energy, when danger is present, at length surmount all difficulties. The nation, instead of being deterred, was roused by its misfortunes. Sir R. Peel nobly took the lead, the House of Commons evinced similar constancy, the British army was raised to 101,000 men, that in India to 42,000; the officers and soldiers engaged in the contest displayed all the fortitude, courage, and energy of their race. And at length the disasters which had been sustained were avenged, both wars were brought to a successful termination, and the British empire in the East, so recently threatened with dissolution, was raised to an unprecedented pitch of power, influence, and glory.

## CHAPTER LV.

### INDIA, FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE AFFGHANISTAN WAR IN 1842 TO THE SIKH WAR IN 1844.

1. RISING in Little Thibet at the foot of Mount Kailas, the INDUS, in its downward course, makes its way through the gigantic barrier of the Himalaya, and, swollen by the streams which rush down from its snowy summits, descends, after it leaves the mountains, nearly in a straight line running south-west during a course of seventeen hundred miles to the Indian Ocean. Its chief tributaries, the Cabul, and the five streams which traverse the Punjab, render it, before it reaches the sea, a mighty river. Like the Nile, it flows through sandy deserts on either side, and the rich lands which adjoin its banks are mainly formed by the aid of its fertilising waters. Like the Nile, it reaches the sea by several mouths, and between the branches which find their passage by them, is situated a delta of considerable extent and great richness. The

strip of rich land formed by the river Indus, in the lower part of its course, is the country of SCINDE, a territory unsurpassed by any in the East in fertility and natural advantages. It lies between the 23d and 29th degrees of north latitude, and the 67th and 70th degrees of east longitude, and is bounded on the north by the mountains of Affghanistan, on the south and south-west by the Indian Ocean, on the east by a sandy desert, and on the west and north-west by Beloochistan, for the most part consisting of an arid wilderness. This territory is inhabited by about a million of souls, of warlike habits and restless disposition.

2. Like all the other people of India, the inhabitants of this eastern Egypt have long been subject to foreign government. The ruling power at this period were the Ameeris, a body of nobles belonging to the Talpoor tribe,

who had acquired the sovereignty of the country by conquest, and held it by terror. Those to the north had formerly paid tribute to the Affghan monarchs; but during the troubles which ended in the dethronement of Shah Soojah in 1809, they had not only contrived to shake off that burden, but had succeeded in considerably extending their dominions. The Indus, which flows through the whole extent of their country, affords at once the means of nourishing a splendid agriculture, and opens the way to a vast and profitable commerce. But all these natural advantages had been neglected, or rendered nugatory, by the Ameers. Passionately fond of hunting, they knew no enjoyments but fighting and carousing and the chase, and valued the rich fields on the borders of the river, not on account of their agricultural capabilities, but for their "shikargahs," or thick jungles, overhanging the water's edge, which afforded a shelter to wild beasts and game. The original inhabitants of the country were cruelly oppressed by these rapacious taskmasters, who, idle themselves, lived only by squeezing the fruits of their toil out of the unhappy peasants who cultivated the soil. But their complaints were stifled and obedience insured by a powerful army of Beloochee mercenaries, detachments of which were stationed in Hyderabad, Tattah, Meerpoor, and Khyrpore, the principal towns of the country. The largest of these did not contain twenty thousand inhabitants, so entirely had military despotism exhausted the resources of the country.

3. Sensible of the importance of the Indus, with a view to the extension of their trade in central and northern India, it had long been an object of ambition to the British Government to enter into pacific commercial relations with the rulers of this important territory. But the Ameers had a superstitious dread of the approach of the white man; they had heard of his encroachments on the Ganges, and they desired only to keep him off from the Indus. For long they succeeded in repelling his advances. At length,

in 1832, Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General, by the offer to recognise the children of Meer Moorad Ali, the chief Ameer of Scinde, as his successors in the government of the country, succeeded in concluding a treaty, by which British merchants were secured a free passage, for moderate duties, up the Indus, and through the other rivers and roads of the country, upon the express condition that no military stores were to be introduced by those rivers or roads; that no armed vessels should come up the Indus; and that no English merchants should on any pretext settle in the country. The first article of the treaty bore—"The two contracting powers bind themselves never to look with an eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." But although the Government of Scinde, influenced by the aggrandising views of Meer Moorad Ali, entered into this treaty, the more far-seeing of the nobles viewed it with the deepest regret; and when the first English vessel entered the Indus in consequence of its provisions, they said, "Alas! Scinde is gone; the English have seen the river."

4. By this treaty it was further provided, that in the event of the duties on the transit of goods appearing to be too high, the Government of Hyderabad, on a representation to that effect, was to lower them. This was accordingly done, by a supplementary treaty concluded in 1834, and permission was given to a British agent to reside at Kurrachee, at the mouth of the river. In 1836, the Ameers were threatened by Runjeet Singh, and this was deemed a favourable opportunity by the British Government for drawing closer their relations with Scinde, and establishing a preponderating influence in that country. With this view they offered protection against the Sikhs, provided the Ameers would consent to a body of British troops, at their expense, being stationed in their capital. To this the Ameers would not consent; but after some difficulty they agreed in 1838 to admit of the residence of a British agent at Hyderabad, on condition of the British mediating between them

and Runjeet Singh. But matters were soon after much complicated by the conclusion of the tripartite treaty between the British, Runjeet Singh, and Shah Soojah, which preceded the first invasion of Affghanistan. By this treaty Shah Soojah renounced all ulterior claims upon Scinde, provided the arrears claimed by him were discharged; and the British Government was to determine what sum was to be paid in name of these arrears. The Ameers had been no party to this agreement, and had never been consulted regarding it; and when Shah Soojah preferred his claim, they at once produced a release from him for the whole sum. The British Government, however, declined to pay any regard to that release, and insisted that their envoy at the court of Scinde should proceed to arbitrate on the sum to be awarded to the Affghan monarch; a demand which was not very likely to improve the relations between the two powers.

5. Serious as this cause of difference between the British Government and the rulers of Scinde was, it was soon thrown into the shade by more important and pressing demands. As already mentioned, the main body of the British forces for Affghanistan was to pass through Scinde toward the Bolan Pass; and Sir John Keane, with the Bombay columns, was to ascend the Indus from the sea. The Ameers evinced, as well they might, the greatest aversion to the passage of any troops through their territories, either by land or water. As to the idea of a British force being ever permanently stationed in them, the thing never entered into their contemplation; and both were so completely contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1832, that it was no easy matter to see how their objections could be evaded. But necessity has no law; the Affghanistan expedition had been resolved on; it was deemed expedient to lead the greater part of the force through Scinde; and, partly by force, partly by the obvious inability to resist, the opposition of the Ameers was overcome, and the passage of the troops was agreed to.

6. But the mere passage of the army

did not satisfy the British Government. Having now got irresistible force on their side, they resolved to carry things with a high hand, and to force upon the Ameers, not merely the required liberty of transit, but also such a stipulation in regard to the permanent stationing of a British force as might secure the rear and communications of the army, and establish the lasting influence of the British Government over the country. In pursuance of these views, a treaty was presented to the Ameers for signature, which provided that a cantonment was to be formed, and a military force stationed, at Tattah, the strength of which was to be fixed by the Governor-General; while the Ameers were to contribute a sum yearly towards the maintenance of the force, "in consideration of the advantages they would derive from it." When the draft of the treaty was laid before them, Noor Mahomed, one of the Ameers, taking the former treaties out of a box, said, "What is to become of all these? Since the day that Scinde has been connected with the English, there has always been something new: your Government is never satisfied. We are anxious for your friendship, but we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given you and your troops a passage through our territories, and now you wish to remain." But resistance was in vain. Sir John Keane was rapidly approaching Hyderabad, Kurrachee was already in the hands of the reserve, and the Ameer of Khyrpore had concluded a treaty ceding possession of that place, to which Sir Willoughby Cotton was marching. Thus the Ameers had no alternative but, in their own language, to become "our humblest slaves," and the treaty was accepted. Before it was ratified by the Governor-General, its conditions were rendered still more humiliating; for, instead of the station for the subsidiary force being fixed at Tattah, it was stipulated that it might be located anywhere west of the Indus the Governor-General might select; and the annual payment of the Ameers towards its maintenance



was fixed at three lacs of rupees, or £30,000.

7. While the occupation of Affghanistan lasted, this treaty continued to regulate the relations of the two powers; and Major Outram, who had succeeded Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Pottinger as political agent at the court of Hyderabad, succeeded in extracting considerable resources from them, as already seen, for the use of Nott's army at Candahar. During this period, Outram was so far imposed upon by the deep dissimulation which forms so remarkable a feature in the Asiatic character, that he reported to Government that "such changeable, puerile, and divided chieftains were not likely to enter into any deep and consequently dangerous conspiracy, and that nothing of the sort would be persevered in so long as no further disaster befell our arms in Affghanistan." But after the termination of the second Affghanistan campaign, Lord Ellenborough determined in 1842 to take advantage of the first opportunity to reduce Scinde into the condition of a regular province of the British empire. With this view he withdrew the political administration of the country from Major Outram, and vested it, as well as the military command, in SIR CHARLES NAPIER, an officer already signalled in the Peninsular War, and whose bold and fearless disposition, as well as ardent mind, peculiarly qualified him for the duties with which he was intrusted. His instructions were, to collect and communicate to the Governor-General all that Major Outram or the other political agents had to allege against any of the Ameers, taking care the information was to be depended on, as, if it revealed hostile intentions or acts, it was the determination of Government to inflict such punishment as should effectually deter others from engaging in similar designs.\*

8. When governments issue instructions to their officers to make inquiries with a view to establish certain desired points, it is seldom that such evidence is found to be wanting. In this instance, however, there could be no difficulty about the matter. Sir Charles Napier reported, with truth, that the rulers of Scinde had levied tolls on the Indus contrary to the treaty; and certain letters were transmitted, purporting to be from Meer Nussur Khan, Ameer of Hyderabad, and Meer Roostum Khan of Khyrpore, inviting the other chiefs to join in common measures of defence. The authenticity of these letters was never fully established; and considering how easy it is everywhere, and especially in India, to fabricate such evidence to suit a purpose, nothing can be more dangerous than to proceed on such proof without the corroboration of overt acts. The British Government, however, were determined to make out a case against the Ameers, and they took the most effectual means to do so. On the 6th December a new treaty was tendered to them for signature, containing clauses of the most humiliating description. By it, certain places in the territory of Scinde were to be fixed as centres, round which a portion of territory was to be assigned to the British Government; another portion was to be assigned to the Khan of Bhawlpore, as a reward for his fidelity; the Ameers were to

ish Government, or to act hostilely against the British army. That they may have had such hostile feelings there can be no doubt. It would be impossible to suppose that they could entertain friendly feelings; but we should not be justified in inflicting punishment upon these thoughts. Should any Ameer or chief with whom we have a treaty of friendship and alliance have evinced hostile designs against us during the late events, which may have induced them to doubt the continuance of our power, it is the present intention of the Governor-General to inflict upon the treachery of such ally or friend so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter others from similar conduct. But the Governor-General would not proceed in this course without the most ample and convincing evidence of the guilt of the person accused." — LORD ELLENBOROUGH to SIR CHARLES NAPIER, Simla, 28th Sept. 1842; *Ann. Reg.* 1840, 350.

\* "Your first political duty will be, to hear what Major Outram and the other political agents may have to allege against the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore, tending to prove hostile designs against the Brit-

provide fuel to the steamers navigating the Indus, and in default of their doing so, the servants of the British Government were to be at liberty to fell wood within a hundred yards of the banks of the river within the territory of the Ameers; finally, the right of coining money—the well-known badge of independent sovereignty—was to be given up by the Ameers; the British Government was to coin for them, and on one side of the coin was to be the effigy of the *Sovereign of England*.

9. When terms such as these were proposed to sovereigns to whom the shadow of independence had hitherto been allowed, it was evident that it was merely a question of time when hostilities were to commence, and immaterial which party was in form the aggressor. The Ameers evinced the utmost reluctance to affix their signatures to an instrument which deprived them of the last vestige of independent sovereignty; but at last, partly by terror, partly by persuasion, they were brought to yield, and on the 12th February 1843 they affixed their names to the hated treaty. But long before they had done so, the initiative of hostilities had been taken by Sir Charles Napier. On the 18th December he issued a proclamation, stating, "The Governor-General of India has ordered me to take possession of the districts of Subzul Kote and of Bhang-bara, and to reannex the said districts to the territories of his Highness the Nawab of Bhawlpore, to whom they will immediately be made over;" and intimating that, "if the Ameers levied any revenue in advance after the 1st January 1843, they should be amerced in the like sum in arranging the new treaty." The territories, proposed to be exacted of the Ameers were taken possession of before the treaty itself had been agreed to, and Napier's troops, 3000 in number, continued to advance from Sukkur and Roree towards Khyrpore, the capital of Meer Roostum, the chief of the refractory Ameers, though well aware that such an invasion was equivalent to a declaration of war. From

Khyrpore he resolved to strike at the desert fort of Emaun-Ghur. His determination cannot be so well given as in his own words: "I had discovered long ago that the Ameers put implicit faith in their deserts, and feel confident we can never reach them there. Therefore, when negotiations, and delays, and lying, and intrigues of all kinds fail, they can at last declare their entire obedience, innocence, and humility, and retire beyond our reach to their deserts, and from thence launch their wild bands against us, so as to cut off all our communications, and render Scinde more hot than nature has already done. So circumstanced, and after drawing all I could from Ali Moorad, whom I saw last night at Khyrpore, I made up my mind that, *although war was not declared*, nor is it necessary to declare it, I would at once march upon Emaun-Ghur, and prove to the whole Talpoor family, both of Khyrpore and Hyderabad, that neither their deserts nor their negotiations could protect them from the British troops. While they imagine they can fly with security, they never will be quiet."\*

10. Having determined to commence hostilities by an expedition against Emaun-Ghur, Sir Charles Napier's measures were taken with equal boldness and skill. This singular stronghold, which no European eye had yet beheld, is situated fully eight days' journey in the great desert of Scinde. The wells on the way to it were all dried up, and water for the

\* Meer Roostum of Khyrpore at this time held the turban, or crown, amongst the Ameers. He was eighty-five years of age. Disgusted with the toils and vexations incident to the negotiations regarding the treaty, he fled to his brother Ali Moorad, who was, according to the custom of Scinde, heir to the turban, and formally surrendered to him that dignity. Shortly after, however, he repented of what he had done, quitted his brother, and desired to resume his ceded authority. But Sir Charles Napier, who was desirous of dividing the Ameers, at once recognised Ali Moorad's claim to the turban, and supported him in that dignity. Ali Moorad remained, in consequence, faithful to the English alliance throughout the war. —THORNTON, VI. 420, 435; NAPIER'S *Conquest of Scinde*, Part I.

troops required to be carried on camels' backs. To this stronghold in this dry and untrodden solitude, the Beloochee forces were reported by the scouts to have retired, to the number of 20,000 men, and there, surrounded by the desert, and protected by its hardships, to be prepared to make their stand. Napier, however, was not to be deterred, either by the magnitude of the enemy's force, or the all but insuperable difficulties of approach by which they were environed. His first design was to march against Emaun-Ghur with his whole disposable force, 3000 strong, and fight a decisive battle with the forces of the enemy, seven times as numerous, at its gates. On a nearer approach, however, he received intelligence which induced him to alter this design. It turned out that, though the Ameers had retired from Dingee towards Emaun-Ghur, the greater part of their troops had mutinied and turned back upon reaching the wilderness; and that such was the want of water in the desert, that it was utterly impossible to approach it with a large army. Modifying his original design according to this change of circumstances, the British General mounted 360 of the 22d Queen's regiment on camels, selected 200 of the best-mounted and hardy of the irregular cavalry, loaded ten camels with provisions, eighty with water, and set out on his perilous and extraordinary enterprise.

11. The march began on the evening of the 5th January; and the dangers and difficulties with which it was beset were such as would have deterred a less resolute commander, and stopped a less enduring army. The Ameers, under Roostum, the most determined of their opponents, hung on their flank with 5000 men. After the first two days, water was not to be found; and the troops plunged into a desert, untrod even by the wildest animals of nature. The camels became weak under their unparalleled hardships, and could no longer draw the howitzers. Their place was supplied, or their sinking strength aided, by the indefatigable Irish soldiers, who, with surpassing vigour and unshrinking constancy, held on their

weary and dangerous way. Such fortitude, ere long, met with its reward. The arid and steep sandhills were all passed; and at length, on the evening of the 14th, the square tower of Emaun-Ghur was discerned, rising on the distant horizon in solitary grandeur in that profound solitude. The troops, of whom fifty only were on horseback, the remainder of the cavalry having been sent back at the end of the second day, were soon at its gates; but it was found to be deserted. Mahomed Khan, the governor, though at the head of a force five times that which now approached him, had evacuated the fortress with his treasure the night before, leaving all his powder and grain behind him. It was resolved to blow it up, and this was effected with a daring and intrepidity forming a fit termination to this tale of heroism. Four-and-twenty mines were run under different parts of the fortress, and charged with ten thousand pounds of powder—so vast were the stores of ammunition which the Ameers had provided in this distant stronghold. The other mines were all fired, when the chief engineer, Major Waddington, was seen bending over the train of one which he was to fire himself. The assistant called out, "The other mines are going to burst."—"That may be," replied Waddington, "but mine must burst also;" and, with these words, set fire to the fusee with his own hands, and then walked calmly away. The fort was blown to atoms, but, as if by a miracle, the heroic Waddington escaped unhurt.\*

12. The destruction of Emaun-Ghur having been effected, it was not deemed safe to attempt that of Shah-Ghur, a similar fortress of the Belooches in the desert, situated at a great distance, till the forces which were assembling at Hyderabad, in the centre of their

\* Napier wrote next day in his journal: "I had permission from the Governor-General to assemble an immense force to impose his final treaty. I told him it could be done with the troops under my command, without bloodshed. It seems to me I have done so, and proved my head sufficient for command in Scinde."—NAPIER'S *Memoirs*, ii. 250.

power, had been either overawed or disposed of. Towards the great road to that capital accordingly Napier returned on the 16th by a different route, but encountering the same hardships—the infantry drawing the guns, and the troops of all arms living on the scantiest fare, and having, on the evening of the third day, nearly exhausted their supplies of water. At length, on the fourth day, water and forage were found; and on the 23d January, after having been eighteen days in the desert, he rejoined his main army at Peor-Abu-Bekr, at the edge of the cultivated land, on the road to Hyderabad. He found the Ameers there overawed and undecided, insomuch that he has recorded in his journal his apprehension that the blowing-up of Emaan-Ghur would hinder him from gratifying Lord Ellenborough's wish "for a fight with the Ameers." In this apprehension, however, he was destined to be disappointed. After the return of Napier to the neighbourhood of the Indus, Outram was so far blinded by the profound dissimulation which the Asiatics know so well how to employ when they have an object to gain by it, that he persisted in the belief that the Ameers were inclined to make peace, and that no hostile measures were to be apprehended from them. On the other hand, the old General, judging more correctly of their real dispositions, and estimating them by what all brave men would do when the independence of their country was threatened, as strenuously maintained that they were unchangeably bent on war, and that their pacific professions were only so many artifices to gain time to complete their preparations. Meanwhile, as the hot season was approaching, Napier put his troops in motion, and approached slowly, by Nowshera, Sehwan, and Sukerunda, towards the south, where the strength of the Ameers lay. Outram continued to transmit reports of the pacific intentions of the Ameers; and appearances were certainly in his favour, for, after having exhausted every artifice to procure delay, they at length, with the ex-

ception of the Ameer of Khyrpore, actually signed, on the 12th February, the final and hated treaty. Napier, however, was not deceived: he knew well they were endeavouring only to protract the conferences till the hot season rendered military operations impossible. He continued to advance, accordingly, declaring to the Ameers, both of Upper and Lower Scinde, that they could only stop his march by dispersing their armed bands. Instead of doing this, the Ameers collected a large force, exceeding 20,000 men, at Meanee, in front of Hyderabad; and while they amused Outram by the artifice of signing the treaty, they were boasting "that every man, woman, and child belonging to the British army in Scinde should be collected on the field of battle, and have their throats cut, except the General, that they might put a ring in his nose and lead him with a chain in triumph to their Dhurbar."

13. Napier, however, was neither intimidated by their numbers, nor deceived by their feigned submission. He continued steadily to advance on the road to Hyderabad. Outram still continued to give assurances of their pacific disposition, when, on the very day after the treaty had been signed, he was awakened from his dream of security in a violent manner. Shouts expressive of detestation of the British had already been heard in the streets of Hyderabad. Still Outram continued to trust them, though the officers of his suite clearly foresaw the approaching storm; and he even carried his reliance on their good faith the length of recommending Napier to come alone to Hyderabad, and send his army to Meerpoor! But Napier judged otherwise, and continued to advance, with all his force, by Halla and Muttaree, while 8000 Belooches were collecting round the Residency preparing to attack. Outram had a garrison of only 100 foot-soldiers, with forty rounds of ammunition each, so that a prolonged resistance was impossible; there were, however, two armed steamers in the river, which promised the means of retreat. But Indian warfare, more

than any other, shows what may be effected by even a small body of resolute men, ably led against apparently overwhelming odds. The Ameers had eight thousand men and six guns; and with this armed multitude they soon closed in on three sides of the Residency, on the 14th February, and commenced a heavy fire, the fourth being open to the river. But Outram disposed his men under the wall of the Residency garden, which was only five feet high, under officers as determined as himself; and they kept up so well-directed and sustained a discharge as effectually repelled the enemy as long as their ammunition lasted. When it was exhausted they slowly retreated, turning and facing the assailants every twenty yards, towards the steamers. So skilfully was the fire of those vessels directed by Captain Brown of the Bengal Engineers, who was on board, that it effectually swept their flanks; and the retreating column itself causing its rear to be respected, they got safe on board, with the loss only of three killed and two wounded.

14. Nothing but the sword could now terminate the quarrel between the British and the Ameers. Outram having reached Napier's camp at Muttaree in safety, the latter wisely resolved to march forthwith to attack the enemy, despite the formidable odds which stood against him even then; for he was well aware that these odds would in a few days be augmented by 20,000 more, who were collecting on his flanks and rear. He moved forward, accordingly, on the morning of the 17th, with his little army to attack the Ameers, who were posted at MEANEE, six miles from Hyderabad. Napier had only 400 Europeans of the 22d, and 2200 sepoy and Belooches, whose valour and fidelity were abundantly proved in the battle which ensued. The enemy were strongly posted behind, and in the bed of the river Fulailee, chiefly dry, but interspersed in some places by deep stagnant pools. They were fully 25,000 men, of whom 5000 were horse, with fifteen guns. The infantry were posted in dense masses, along a front of about twelve

hundred yards, lining the dry bed of the river, whose high bank, sloping down towards the plain before it, gave a good cover. In front of this bank, in two masses, on either flank, were the guns. In advance on the right was a village. On either flank of this position were thick jungles, or shikargahs, intersected by deep water-courses, which were in most places scarped so as to render them wholly impassable for artillery, and very difficult of passage even to the best horsemen. Notwithstanding these desperate odds, and strong position of the enemy, Napier resolved to attack them. "It is," said he in his journal, "my first battle as a commander: it may be my last. At sixty that makes little difference; but my feelings are, it shall be *do or die*. To fall will be to leave many I love best, to go to many loved, and my home—and that, in any case, must be soon."

15. Napier's little army was still further reduced by a detachment of 200 sepoy, whom, at Outram's request, he detached under that officer to occupy the shikargahs near the Indus, in order to deprive the Ameers, in case of defeat, of the cover these might afford for their troops. Before attacking, he made the best dispositions that circumstances would admit for defending his baggage, arranging it, after the manner of the ancient Germans, in a circle, surrounded by the camels laid down with their heads turned inward, and the bales between them, over which the defenders might fire. On the right were twelve guns under Major Lloyd, flanked by fifty sappers and miners under Captain Henderson; next them stood, in column, the brave 22d, led by their worthy commander, Colonel Pennefather;\* next to them were the 25th Bombay Sepoy under Colonel Teesdale, yet a little behind, so as to make the attack in echelon, the right leading. Then, also in echelon, came the 12th Native Infantry under Colonel Reid, and next to them the 1st Bombay Grenadiers under Major Clibborne. The extreme

\* Since so distinguished as a general of division at Inkermann and in the Crimean war.

left was formed by the 9th Bengal Horse under Colonel Pattle, with the Scinde Irregulars skirmishing in their front. The Poonah Horse, 250 strong, under Captain Tait, with 400 sepoy infantry, formed a guard for the baggage and disposable reserve. The plain between the two armies was about a thousand yards broad, interspersed with low jungle-bushes, which for some way impeded the march of the troops, but for the last seven hundred yards it had been cleared away by the Belooches, to render the plain like a great glacia open for their fire.

16. The distance between the two armies was rapidly passed over, the General himself with his staff leading. The Belooches themselves were concealed by the front of the high river bank; but the discharges of guns and the rapid fire of musketry, when they got within range, showed where they stood. The jungle on their left was covered by a wall ten feet high, not loop-holed, and with a single opening. Into that opening Napier immediately led the grenadiers of the 22d, under Captain Few, bidding him maintain his post to death, if necessary. Few obeyed his orders, for he died at his post; but he held the opening, and by so doing paralysed six thousand men, who were behind the wall, by eighty. Meanwhile the other troops advanced to the attack, the 22d first, and the guns took position and began to play on the dense masses of the enemy. When they approached the river, the regiments in succession deployed into line, and with a shout ran up the slope, the steepness of which caused the Beloochee shots for the most part to go over their heads. But when they reached the summit, what met their eyes might have appalled the stoutest hearts. "Thick," says Napier, "as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Belooches in their many-coloured garments and dresses: they filled the broad deep bed of the Fulailee, they clustered on both banks, and covered the plains beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords beam-

ing in the sun; their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures they, with demoniac strength and ferocity, dashed against the front of the 22d. But with shouts as loud, and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, and hearts as big and arms as strong, the Irish soldiers met them with that queen of weapons, the bayonet, and sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood." Meanwhile the native infantry came successively up and engaged, and the artillery, from the commanding position they had taken, sent a storm of round-shot and canister among the enemy's masses, occasioning a terrible carnage.

17. The Belooches stood their ground manfully on the top of the bank, and even rushed half-way down at times, to meet and close with their antagonists. But the British and sepoys were not less resolute to force their way upward; and the combat which ensued between their front rank and the "thin red line" of English and their auxiliaries, resembled rather the conflicts immortalised in the *Iliad*, than those which ensue when the disciplined battalions of Europe meet each other. The boldest on each side here singled out his antagonist; and for three mortal hours these dauntless foes stood as on the deadly breach, the European unable to force on, the Asiatic resolute not to recede. In vain Lloyd's guns, from their position on the right, raked the living mass in the river-bed, and with every discharge cut huge gaps in the stern array; others closed in as their comrades fell, and filled every chasm made by the cannon and the bayonet. So vehement was the resistance, so strong the pressure, that for some time the British front rank was by sheer weight of numbers forced back, and Napier even was doubtful of the result. Pennefather, desperately wounded, fell at the top of the bank; Teesdale gloriously died while riding over the ridge at the head of his men; Jackson, when leading the 12th Native Infantry, was struck down on the slope, not before several of the Belooches had fallen under his stroke; M'Murdo was down;—nearly all the

European officers were killed or wounded. The General-in-Chief himself was for some time enveloped by enemies, and extricated himself as if by a miracle. But at this critical moment, his experienced eye told him where the decisive blow was to be struck. He sent orders to Colonel Pattle, the second in command, to charge instantly on the left, with the 9th Bengal Cavalry and Scinde Irregular Horse. On went these horsemen at the gallop, right through the village and jungle which covered the enemy's right. Fifty of the troopers were thrown in leaping the nullahs; but those who kept their seats dashed on, swept through the Beloochee guns on the top of the ridge, crossed the river-bed, fell with irresistible fury on the masses of infantry, and, scattering them, never drew bridle till they had gained and traversed the enemy's camp. Then the front line of the Belooches on the Fulailee began to shake; the 22d and sepoys raised the shout of victory, and, pressing on, drove them over the ravine, and the battle was gained. Though their whole guns, ammunition-waggons, and baggage fell into the hands of the victors, the infantry retired in good order, leaving their track marked by a long line of killed and wounded, who fell under the deadly volleys of the British.

18. Such was the battle of Meanee, one of the most glorious in the British annals, and which at once stamped Napier a great general; for, despite all the valour of his men, the day would have been lost but for his courage and decision. The loss of the Belooches was estimated at 5000: 1000 dead bodies were gathered in the bed of the Fulailee alone, and the field of battle was strewn with corpses; while the loss of the victors was only 6 officers and 54 privates killed, and 14 officers and 190 privates wounded! It appears almost inconceivable how so desperate a fight could have gone on so long, with so little loss to the victors; but the same thing is frequently to be met with in the annals of antiquity. The Ameers committed a capital mistake, which mainly led to their defeat, in fighting with a narrow front, and their army

drawn up in close column behind. Such masses present a mark for cannon and musketry, on which every shot takes effect; while the only part of the array that can make any resistance is the first and second rank, which do not exceed in number those opposed to them. Solid columns are very good to resist cavalry, and, *when in motion*, they are formidable in a charge; but standing still, and assailed by fire, they are little better than an armed mob, and all the advantages of numbers are thrown away.

19. Early on the day following, Napier sent a message into Hyderabad that he would immediately storm the city if it did not surrender. Upon this the Ameers came out to the number of six, and laid their swords at the English General's feet. They were highly ornamented weapons, worth several thousand pounds, and a prize, as his eloquent biographer justly remarks, which any English gentleman might be proud to possess; but in a magnanimous spirit he returned them, saying, "Their misfortunes are of their own creation; but as they were great, I give them back their swords." On the 19th the army took possession of Hyderabad; and the greater part of the Belooches, ashamed of the surrender, went off and joined Shere Mahommed, who, at Meerpoor, on the edge of the eastern desert, still maintained the standard of independence. The walls of the fortress were found to be of great strength, so that Napier had good reason to congratulate himself on his easy conquest. Though the Ameers had surrendered at discretion, their palaces and property were untouched, and the sanctity of the harems was religiously observed.

20. Had the English General possessed double the force which he had at his command, he might, by marching on Shere Mahommed immediately after the battle of Meanee, have terminated the war without any further struggle. But the small force at his disposal forbade any such attempt, the more especially as the hot season was approaching, and the enemy could, if pressed, retire into the desert. The

troops under his command were less than 2000 effective men, and with these he had to guard a large hostile city, and maintain an intrenched camp outside, in presence of 20,000 Belooches, under Shere Mahommed. In these circumstances, necessity prescribed a cautious policy until the requisite reinforcements for active operations had been obtained. These had been already prepared by Lord Ellenborough, who instantly, on hearing of the battle of Meanee, ordered three regiments of native infantry, 350 irregular horse, and a camel battery, to be marched down from the Sutlej to Scinde; and to these were afterwards added Leslie's and Blood's batteries of horse-artillery, and the 3d Bombay Cavalry under Major Stack. Meanwhile Napier, with not less judgment, constructed an intrenched camp on the banks of the Indus below Hyderabad, both to cover the navigation up to that place, and to serve as a place of security for his hospitals and stores. Thither accordingly they were all conveyed, and placed in safety; while Napier awaited beside his intrenchments the reinforcements despatched by Lord Ellenborough. As the Beloochee army at Ali-ka-Tanda and Dubba, lay between Napier and the reinforcements coming down the left bank of the Indus, it was no easy matter to get them in safety to the British camp. But this at last was accomplished. Stack, who commanded the reinforcements, reached Muttaree, sixteen miles from Hyderabad, on the 21st March. Napier ordered him to push on by a forced march the next day, and went forth with all his own force to meet him. At Loonar, Stack was close to Shere Mahommed's army, but the bed of the Fulailee lay between; and, with Napier's men approaching, the Belooches did not venture to cross in force. Thus Stack's junction with Napier was happily effected; whilst a sepoy regiment, sent down by water from Sukkur, also arrived in safety. Napier now found himself at the head of 5000 good troops, most of them hardy veterans; and deeming it no longer necessary to delay fighting, he sent the captive Ameers,

who were intriguing against him in Hyderabad, on board ship, and marched out to attack Shere Mahommed, who, confident of victory, had come to within five miles of the British camp.

21. Meantime the Governor-General was taking the most decisive measures to follow up his aggressive policy towards Scinde, and turn to the best account the glorious victory of his lieutenant. Skilfully availing himself of the enormous error in policy, as well as crime in faith, on the part of the Ameers, in attacking the British Residency the very day after they had signed the treaty, he represented the war as entirely one of aggression on their part, and the punishment which was to follow upon it as the deserved consequence of their perfidy. In announcing Napier's victory by proclamation, dated Agra, March 5, 1843, he formally intimated the annexation of Scinde to the British dominions, with the exception of such portions of it as belonged to princes who had remained faithful to the British alliance.\* Thus did the Ameers of Scinde, who really were combating in a good cause—for it was that of their national independence, violently assailed by the encroachments of the

\* "The Ameers having signed the new treaty proposed to them on the 14th February, attacked on the following day, with a large force, the residence of the British Commissioner. In this treacherous attack they were repulsed. On the 17th, Major-General Sir Charles Napier gained a decisive victory over their whole army, and on the 20th the British army occupied Hyderabad. Six of the Ameers delivered their swords to the British General on the field of battle; all their guns, ammunition, and treasure were taken, together with their camp. Thus has victory placed at the disposal of the British Government the country on both banks of the Indus from Sukkur to the sea, with the exception of such portions thereof as may belong to Meer Ali Moerad of Khyrpore, and to any other of the Ameers who may have remained faithful to his engagement.

"The Governor-General cannot forgive a treacherous attack upon a representative of the British Government, nor can he forgive hostile aggression by those who were in the act of signing a treaty. It will be the first object of the Governor-General to use the power victory has placed in his hands, in the manner most conducive to the freedom of trade and to the prosperity of the people of Scinde, so long misgoverned. To reward the



British power—entirely throw away their advantages, and allow that cause to be stigmatised in the eyes of the world as that of perfidy and aggression, by yielding, at last, to that propensity to double-dealing and treachery which seems to be an inherent and ineradicable feature in the Asiatic character.

22. The reinforcements had just completed their arrival at the British camp on the evening of the 23d, and the whole army was drawn up in line to be inspected, when heralds from Shere Mahommed made their appearance, nominally with a summons to surrender, really to spy out and report the British forces, when all assembled. Napier led them along the whole front, and at midnight dismissed them with the following letter to the Scinde chief: "If the Ameer Shere Mahommed chooses to meet me to-morrow as I march to attack him at the head of my army, and will surrender himself a prisoner, with no other condition than that his life shall be safe, I will receive him. If the Beloochee chiefs choose to accompany him, I will receive them, on condition that they swear obedience to the Governor-General, and then they may return to their villages with their followers, and all their rights and possessions shall be secured to them." Five thousand men, of whom eleven hundred were cavalry, with nineteen guns, of which five were horse-artillery, stood in front of the camp—a splendid body of troops, animated with the best spirit, and containing that intermixture of veteran with new troops which is so effective in war. But it contained only one British regiment, the 22d, already seriously weakened by its glorious victory; and it was not a fourth part of the enemy's force, which was fully twenty thousand strong.

23. In marching out the next day (24th) to attack the enemy, letters

fidelity of allies with signal marks of favour, and to punish the crime of treachery in such a manner as to deter all others from its commission, are further objects which the Governor-General will not fail to effect."—*Proclamation*, Agra, 5th March 1843; *Ann. Reg.* 1843, p. 357.

arrived from the Governor-General, thanking the troops in the warmest terms for their conduct at Meanee. These Sir Charles Napier immediately caused to be read to the troops, who received the communication with a shout which already presaged victory. At the distance of ten miles from the camp the Beloochee army was first discovered, fully 20,000 strong, with fifteen guns, occupying a strong position, with its right resting on the bed of the Fulailee, at that point forming a large and deep pool impassable for troops; and their whole front covered by a nullah, twenty feet wide and eight deep, but dry, with its front scarped. The left of the position was refused, but in front of it was a thick wood, which could scarcely be passed by horsemen; the infantry were drawn up in double lines about two miles long. Behind the first line, on the right and centre, was another nullah, forty feet wide and seventeen deep, with its sides scarped. It was lined by the second line of infantry. The right was still further strengthened by the village of Dubba, in rear of the second nullah, the houses of which were loopholed. The bulk of the enemy's cavalry was massed behind the left, where an attack was chiefly apprehended; but the plain in front swarmed with light horse and matchlock-men, to impede the British advance. The great bulk of the troops were armed either with a sword and shield or a matchlock; but though the former were very formidable, the latter were no match for the European musket. From this it appears that the Beloochee army was arranged with considerable skill; their chief had taken a good position, and availed himself of every advantage which the ground afforded, and he had avoided the deep formation which had proved so fatal at Meanee.

24. When the British army approached the enemy, they had at first considerable difficulty in discovering where they were, from the thick jungles and deep nullahs with which the ground was overspread. The troops marched in echelon, left in front,

which brought the leading column first in contact with the right of the enemy. The line was immediately formed in the same oblique order, the artillery in the intervals between the regiments. The Poonah Horse, 9th Bengal Cavalry, Leslie's horse-artillery, and the Queen's 22d, were on the left. Napier pressed rapidly forward, himself in front of the line, exposed to the artillery and matchlock fire of the enemy, a shot from which grazed his face as he rode forward waving the men on. Dreading a sudden rush from the wood on the enemy's left, he stationed Major Stack, with the Scinde Irregular Horse and the 3d Bombay Cavalry, opposite to it, with orders to charge instantly any body of men which might issue from it, designing, with the 22d Queen's, horse-artillery, and cavalry of the left, to make the real attack on their right. In pursuance of this plan, Leslie's horse-artillery was pushed to the front on the British left, and, rapidly firing as it moved forward, soon gained a position which raked the enemy's centre and left, and smote heavily on their right. It was led by the brave Lieutenant Smith, who fell while exploring a nullah for his guns to cross. The 22d, supported by the Poonah Horse under Tait, and the Bengal Cavalry, led by the General in person, now moved up. Staggering under the cross fire of the advancing British batteries, the Beloochees still kept their line formation in the nullah, and poured in a deadly discharge of matchlocks on the oblique front of their assailants. The 22d Queen's suffered severely as they neared the line, but the brave men still pressed forward; and a movement from the enemy's left to reinforce their centre producing disorder in the rear, the whole of that wing appeared to be giving way.

25. Seeing this, Stack, in command of the horse on the right, judged the opportunity favourable for an attack in flank to complete the defeat of the centre, and he bore down accordingly with his whole force on the retreating columns. The movement was hazardous, for it left the British right uncovered, and altered the Commander-

in-Chief's entire plan of attack. The charge, however, was a most brilliant one, and attended with decisive success; the victorious horse, sweeping everything before them, pursued the fugitives for several miles, carrying confusion and dismay into the rear of the enemy's centre. Skilfully availing himself of this gallant onset, though he had not ordered it, Napier instantly put himself at the head of the 22d Queen's, and led them to the storm of the first nullah, on the Belooch right. The fire of the enemy was heavy, the resistance stout; but at length the scarp was mounted, the summit won—Lieutenant Coote being the first who fell, severely wounded, as he seized a Beloochee standard and waved it in triumph on the edge of the slope. The second nullah still remained, into which the battle rolled with loud din and vehement effort, the 22d, with the 25th Sepoys, struggling up the bank, the Beloochee swordsmen with desperate resolution defending it. At length it too was stormed, and the enemy forced back into the village of Dubba, which, after a vigorous resistance, was also carried with great slaughter. At this time the second brigade, under Major Woodburn, came up into action; while Henderson's sappers gained a position from which they sent a terrific fire into the retreating masses of the enemy. The battle was gained; and the victory was completed by the Bengal Horse under Major Storey, and the Poonah Irregulars under Captain Tait, which turned the enemy's right flank, and pursued the fugitives across the plain to the distance of several miles from the field of battle.

26. Such was the battle of Hyderabad, in which 5000 men defeated 20,000, strongly posted, and directed by remarkable military capacity. The loss of the victors was only 270, of whom no less than 147 belonged to the 22d Queen's—a clear proof upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and with whom its principal glory should rest. That of the enemy was computed at 5000. Two thousand *archers* were on their march to join Shere Mahommed when the ac-

tion took place, and dispersed when they heard of his defeat. As at Meanee, several personal encounters took place between British officers and Beloochee chiefs: seventeen standards were wrested from the enemy in fair fight, and fifteen guns, being all they had, added to the trophies of the combat.

27. The comparatively large force which Napier had at his disposal after this victory, enabled him to render it more decisive than that of Meanee had been. He followed it up with the utmost vigour. Having despatched the wounded to Hyderabad in his rear, he rapidly advanced, though the heat was so great that the thermometer stood at 110° in the shade; and by the evening of the next day the Poonah Horse were on the borders of the desert before Meerpoor, the capital of Shere Mahommed, and distant *forty miles* from the field of battle. The chief fled to Omercote in the heart of the desert, and his capital, strongly fortified, with vast stores of all kinds, fell into the hands of the victors. The indefatigable Scinde horsemen, under Jacob, with the camel battery, under Captain Whitlie, continued their pursuit of the Ameer, while Napier took possession of his capital. The rapid rise of the Indus, however, at this period of the year, owing to the melting of the snows in the mountains in which it took its rise, rendered the advance to Omercote very hazardous; and the accounts the General received of the inundations were so alarming, that he sent orders to his advanced guard to halt, and not attempt to reach Omercote. This order reached Captain Whitlie, who commanded the light horse and camel battery in front, when he was only twenty miles from the place, and when intelligence had just arrived that it had been abandoned. Uncertain what to do between a positive order on the one hand, and an important advantage almost within his grasp on the other, he despatched Lieutenant Brown, with a message to Napier, requesting farther instructions. The extraordinary endurance of that officer extricated

him from his difficulty. He rode back through the desert to Meerpoor, a distance of forty miles, without stopping, and having got his orders, returned on the same horse after an hour's rest, the thermometer standing at 130° in the shade. As he passed the 25th Sepoys coming up in support, but who had all halted, he gave them orders to advance. Whitlie moved forward. The Ameer fled with a few horsemen into the desert: the town gates were found open; a few rounds of artillery caused the guards who were left in the citadel to lower their colours, and on the 4th April the British standard waved on the towers of Omercote.\*

28. In his despatch announcing these successes to the Governor-Gen-

\* An incident occurred at this time of the most touching kind, and which the atrocious crimes of the sepoy in 1857 should not make us forget. It is thus recorded by Napier: "On one of those long marches, which were almost continual, the 25th Sepoys, being nearly maddened by thirst and heat, saw one of their water-carriers approaching with full skins of water. They rushed towards him in crowds, tearing away the skins, with loud cries of 'Water, water!' At that moment some half-dozen straggling soldiers of the 22d came up, apparently exhausted, and asked for some. At once the generous Indians withdrew their own hands from the skins, forgot their own sufferings, and gave the fainting Europeans to drink. Then they all moved on, the sepoy carrying the 22d's muskets for them, patting them on the shoulders, and encouraging them to hold out. It was in vain: they did so for a short time, but soon fell. It was then discovered that these noble fellows were all wounded, some deeply; but, thinking there was to be another fight, they had concealed their hurts, and forced nature to sustain the loss of blood, the pain of wounds, the burning sun, the long marches, and the sandy desert, that their last moments might be given to their country on another field of battle. Their names have been recorded by their grateful General."—NAPIER, ii. 398. They shall not be here forgotten: they were, "John Drew, John Maldowney, Robert Young, Henry Sims, Patrick Gill, James Andrews—slightly; Sergeant Honey, Thomas Middleton, James Malony, Silvester Day—severely wounded in the legs; the last a ball in the foot."—NAPIER'S *Despatches*, 28th March 1843; NAPIER, ii. 520. What a picture of heroism on both sides! Here is self-denial rivalling that of Alexander on the same deserts two thousand years before, and heroism equal to any recorded of the Spartan youths, occurring in a lonely desert of Scinde, on the part of common sepoy and Irish soldiers!

eral, Napier said, "I think I may venture to say that Scinde is now subdued. The Scindian population everywhere expresses their satisfaction at the change of masters." Sir Charles Napier was perfectly correct in the latter part of this statement. The joy of the native Scinde peasantry at being liberated from the tyrannical strangers by whom they had so long been oppressed, was universal and loudly expressed. But in indulging the hope that the war was at an end, the British General was premature, and did not sufficiently take into account the indomitable character and energy of the Beloochee horsemen. Before many months had elapsed, Shere Mahommed emerged from the desert at the head of some thousand intrepid followers, and their numbers gradually swelled to ten thousand men. What rendered this apparition the more formidable was, that it occurred at the very height of the hot season, when it was in the highest degree dangerous for all but the natives of the country to attempt to face the heat. Sir Charles Napier divided his army into several columns, in the hope that some of them might meet with the enemy; but for a considerable time he escaped pursuit. But Napier's vigilance and combinations at length proved victorious. Forming a circle of troops—beginning at Sukkur, Shah-Ghur, Omercote, Deesa, and Hyderabad—he gradually narrowed it, till at length the intrepid Ameer had no longer the means of escape. His brother collected 2000 men in the Lukkee hills on the right bank of the Indus, and endeavoured to get over the river to his support; but he was surprised, defeated, his camp taken, and himself made prisoner, on the morning of the 8th June, by a small British detachment under Colonel Roberts. That able officer immediately after crossed the Indus at Sehwan, with his whole force, 1500 strong. This completed the circle which was rapidly closing in on Shere Mahommed. Roberts marched down on him from Sehwan on the north; Napier moved up against him from Hyderabad

on the south; Jacob from Meerpoor cut him off from the desert on the east; the impassable Indus lay before him on the west. He resolved, however, to strike a last blow for independence, and attacked Jacob, the weakest of his adversaries, suddenly at daybreak on the morning of the 14th; but that officer had notice of his approach, and was on his guard. The Beloochee infantry, intimidated by former defeats, dispersed at the first fire; the cavalry made a single charge, and disappeared. The victory was complete, with a loss to the British of only sixty men, most of whom died of sun-stroke, not the sword of the enemy.

29. Lord Ellenborough was highly gratified, as well he might, with these victories, which completed the subjugation of Scinde. Honours and military decorations were showered upon the troops of all grades, from the General downwards. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were, after a short delay arising from factious misrepresentation, voted to Sir Charles Napier and the brave troops under his command; and on this occasion the Duke of Wellington spoke in the highest terms of that General's vigour and capacity.\* In a proclamation which announced the annexation of

\* "He manifested at all times entire discretion and prudence in the formation of his plans, great activity in the preparations which were necessary to insure their success, and, finally, great zeal and gallantry and science in carrying his plans into execution. His march upon Emaun-Ghur was one of the most curious military feats which he had ever known to be performed, or had ever perused an account of, in the course of his life. After retiring from this successful operation, he collected all his troops, and made those preparations for future defence which were necessary to the completion of his success. He made the most of this extraordinary attack, which was completely successful. He gained the camp of the enemy, got possession of his guns, and obtained the most complete victory, taking up a new position where he was not liable to be attacked. He manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations; and these gallant and successful efforts led to a second victory, in which the General showed all the qualities of an excellent general officer, and in which the army displayed all the best qualities of the bravest troops."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON, Feb. 12, 1844; *Parl. Deb.*

Scinde, the Governor-General spoke of the exploits of the General and his army in terms which, if they savoured a little of the grandiloquent style of Napoleon's bulletins, might well be forgiven, for they recorded deeds of equal lustre. "The army of Scinde," said he, "has twice beaten the bravest enemy in Asia, under circumstances which would equally have obtained for it the victory over the best troops in Europe. The Governor-General regards with delight the new proofs which the army has given of its prominent qualities in the field, and of its desire to mitigate the necessary calamities of war by mercy to the vanquished. The ordinary expressions of thanks would ill convey the extent of the debt of gratitude which the Governor-General feels to be due to his Excellency Major-General Sir Charles Napier on the part of the Government, the army, and the people of Hindostan. To have punished the treachery of protected princes; to have liberated a nation from its oppressors; to have added a province fertile as Egypt to the British empire; and to have effected these objects by actions in war unsurpassed in brilliancy, whereof a grateful army assigns the success to the ability and valour of its General, are deeds to which the ordinary language of praise cannot convey their deserved reward."

30. That the conquest and annexation of Scinde was an act of aggression on the part of the British Government is sufficiently proved, and the brilliant success with which it was attended cannot throw a gloss over the morality of its political origin. Whether it was a necessary measure, indispensable to steady the British empire in North-western India, after the terrible shock of the Afghanistan disaster, is a different question. One thing, however, is perfectly clear, that never was conquest attended by greater advantages to the people of the conquered territory, or the fault of the conquerors redeemed by more beneficent measures. The very first act of the Governor-General, in the exercise of supreme

power, was to issue a proclamation from Agra, ordering the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in every part of the newly-occupied dominions, abolishing duties of all sorts on the navigation of every part of the Indus, and declaring it free to the vessels of all nations. Sir Charles Napier, in his civil administration, in a liberal and worthy spirit carried out these beneficent intentions of the Supreme Government. After the battle of Hyderabad, he received the swords of sixty Ameeris, worth from one hundred to two hundred guineas each; and immediately returned them to the conquered. He enjoined, in the civil administration of the province, as little deviation as possible from the laws and customs of the country.

31. The annalist of the Scinde war has thus summed up the effects of Sir Charles Napier's administration of the conquered territories,—and after making every allowance for exaggeration, his observations in this instance seem to be arrayed, not in the colours of fiction, but in the sober tints of historic truth:—"He raised up the sinking Scindian labourer, and abated the pride and violence of the fierce Beloochee by the force of order and wholesome control; he protected trade and commerce, and handicraftsmen have been encouraged to return to the country. The great natural resources of Scinde have been explored in part, and measures taken to profit by them. Public works, some of them very expensive and costly, have been commenced and carried on—some from his own designs, some from Lord Ellenborough's. Among them is the reopening the great branch of the Indus to restore the fertility of Cutch, and a gigantic pier at Kurrachee, which, besides its land-construction, runs two miles into the water, forming a secure harbour. Large and healthful stone barracks for the troops have been erected, the police amount to more than two thousand zealous and courageous men, and a battalion of native troops has been raised and disciplined. Were it not for the turbulent state of

the Punjab, the General could undertake to hold Scinde without a sepoy or European soldier. A camel force of the most efficient kind has been organised under Fitzgerald, who has made marches of eighty miles at once, and thus surprised robber-bands from the hills. Finally, though the revenue is drawn from territory less by Ali Moorad's share than the Ameers possessed, the British revenue, under the rigid and economical system established by Sir Charles Napier, exceeds the whole amount received by the Talpoor rulers. Every part of the civil and political administration is paid from the receipts; the police corps is entirely maintained from it, and £90,000 of overplus was, in 1844, paid over to the Calcutta treasury, which, with the prize-money, makes £500,000 in a single year. The Scindian labourer cultivates in security his land; the handicraftsman, no longer dreading mutilation of his nose or ears for demanding remuneration for his work, is returning from the countries to which he had fled, allured back by good wages and employment. Young girls are no longer torn from their families to fill the zenanas of the great, or sold into distant slavery. The Hindoo merchant and Parsee trafficker pursue their vocation with safety and confidence; and even the proud Beloochee warrior, not incapable of noble sentiments, though harsh and savage, remains content with a Government which has not meddled with his right of subsistence, but only changed his feudal ties into a peaceful instead of a warlike dependence. He has, moreover, become personally attached to a conqueror whose prowess he has felt in battle, and whose justice and generosity he has experienced in peace.\* To this it may be added, that the inhabitants of Scinde gave the most convincing proof of the reality of these advantages, and their appreciation of them, by steadily adhering to the British Government during the terrible revolt of 1857, when so many of the other states of Hindostan, which had tasted most largely of the benefits

of British rule, treacherously turned their arms against us.

32. The fearful disaster in Affghanistan, which had in a manner rendered unavoidable the Scinde war in order to escape the appearance of a general retreat, was felt not less strongly in the PUNJAB and GWALIOR states. The former of these, which had been moulded into a powerful monarchy by the vigour and capacity of Runjeet Singh, possessed, at the death of that prince, a regular well-disciplined army of seventy-three thousand men. The disposition of this formidable force was well known to be decidedly hostile to the British Government; and although the vigour of Runjeet Singh had retained them in subjection, and his sagacity had led him to adhere to the British alliance as long as he lived, yet on his death in 1839 this auspicious state of things came to a termination, and it soon became more than doubtful whether the army would not force the nominal government into a war with Great Britain. To the instability and changes which almost invariably in Asia succeed the death of a powerful monarch, had been superadded in the kingdom of Lahore a variety of catastrophes, which had completely disorganised the frame of government, and left the sovereignty a prey to the most daring of the royal blood, the most strongly supported among the unruly soldiery. Kurruck Singh, the heir of Runjeet Singh, died at Lahore on the 5th November 1840, not without suspicion of having had his days shortened by poison. His son Nao Nehal Singh, the next heir to the throne, was killed a few days after by an accident. Upon this Shere Singh, whose legitimacy was more than suspected, succeeded; but he was a weak young man, enervated by the pleasures of the seraglio, and fell entirely under the government of Dhyān Singh, his prime-minister, who possessed vast estates and great influence in the portion of the Punjab adjoining the mountains of Lower Thibet, where he ruled with a high reputation for mildness and justice.

\* NAPIER'S *Conquest of Scinde*, part ii. p. 445-447.

33. It soon appeared, however, that this character was but the veil assumed to conceal the most ambitious and flagitious designs. A conspiracy was formed between Dhyān Singh and Ajeet Singh, his general, to murder their sovereign, and share his power, and it fell to the lot of the latter to carry the design into execution. It was consummated on the 14th September 1843, by the assassination of the Maharajah, who was shot by Ajeet Singh when sitting in durbar. Ajeet followed this up by putting to death Shere Singh's infant son, and his own co-conspirator, Dhyān Singh, the prime-minister, whose head he sent to his brother, Sardut Singh, and his son Heera Singh. They, however, were not so easily disposed of. Collecting a body of troops which remained faithful, they surrounded the capital, forced their way into the citadel, seized Ajeet Singh and his fellow-conspirators, cut off their heads, which they exposed on the gates of the fort, and proclaimed Dhuleep Singh, the only surviving son of Runjeet Singh, Maharajah. The new sovereign was a boy ten years of age, so that the whole authority and power was centred in his mother, the Raneē Chunda, and the prime-minister, Heera Singh. His inclination to reopen good terms with the British Government was doubtful, and at any rate the hostility of the Sikh army, the real rulers of the state, was well known. During these repeated changes of the government, the discipline of the powerful force which Runjeet Singh had reared up with such care had been entirely lost. The soldiers no longer obeyed their officers, the officers were at variance with their generals; the disorganisation of the army was complete, and those formidable battalions had turned into armed bands, which lived at free quarters upon the unhappy villagers, whom they plundered in every direction without mercy.

34. This calamitous state of things rendered it more than probable that the British Government at no distant period would, as a matter of necessity, and in self-defence, be involved in a formidable war with the Punjab. In

contemplation of such an event, it was of the utmost importance to secure the rear of the position which would require to be taken by the British, and to keep open their communications with Delhi, Agra, and Calcutta, where their arsenals were, and their base of operations would necessarily be placed. To effect this object, it was necessary to make sure of GWALIOR, a powerful Mahratta state in Central India, enjoying the advantages of a well-disciplined army, and a capital which, perched on inaccessible rocks, seemed to defy assault. The position of this state rendered it of the utmost moment in any contest which might ensue between the British and the Sikhs, for it lay directly on the flank of the former's line of communication with Allahabad, Benares, and Calcutta; and any well-organised force descending from Central India by Calpee might make itself master of Cawnpore on the great trunk-road, and thus endanger, if not ruin, every military operation which might be going on in the Punjab or North-western India. This importance was clearly perceived by Lord Ellenborough, who, in contemplation of a contest at no distant period with the Sikhs, deemed it indispensable to secure in the outset the communications of the army on the side of Gwalior.

35. The state of things at this period in Gwalior was such as amply to vindicate the serious attention which at this period was bestowed on it by the Governor-General. Dowlat Rao Scindia, with whom treaties had been concluded by the British Government and the Marquess of Hastings in 1804 and 1817, died in 1827, leaving no legitimate son. His widow, after vainly endeavouring to place a relative of her own on the throne, adopted a relation of her deceased husband, a boy still in pupilarity according to the laws of India, which, like the Roman, permit such a mode of renovating a worn-out race. He was solemnly recognised as sovereign by the chiefs of the country. During his minority the office of regent was exercised by the widow of the late sovereign. Upon the young Maharajah, however, com-

ing of age, which he did, by the Indian law, at seventeen, he aspired to the entire sovereignty, to which, after a struggle, he succeeded, the regent retiring to Agra. The settlements and provisions to be made on the widow were hardly arranged, when the young sovereign died on 7th February 1843, childless, and without having made any provision for the succession to the throne. His widow, who was only thirteen years of age, upon this assumed, as his heir, Bhgeerut Rao, a boy of *eight*, reputed to be the nearest male relative of the deceased Maharajah, who was forthwith placed on the throne. The maternal uncle of the late sovereign, Mama Sahib, was at the same time installed in the office of regent, with the entire concurrence of the British Government. The regent, however, proved distasteful to the Gwalior chiefs, and he was soon virtually dispossessed of power by the malcontents, who acquired a predominant influence over the mind both of the young royal widow and the still younger boy-sovereign. The Dada Khasjee-walla acquired the ascendancy over both, and his feelings appeared from various acts to be entirely hostile to the British Government.

36. Matters were ere long brought to a crisis by the proceedings of the Dada and the chiefs hostile to the British alliance in Gwalior itself. The regent, Mama Sahib, who enjoyed the confidence and was supported by the power of the British Government, was summarily dismissed by the opposite party; and although the Governor-General at first positively refused to allow any military aid to be sent from the British stations in the neighbourhood to restore the regent to power, yet it soon became evident that the state of things in Gwalior could not, with any regard to the interests of Great Britain or of the adjoining states, be allowed to continue. The army, taking advantage of the divisions among the nobles and weakness of the government, abandoned themselves to habits of insubordination and plunder, not only within their own territory, but along the British frontier, which,

from Cawnpore to Agra, was kept in a continual state of alarm. The real power resided with the army, which was forty thousand strong; and in consequence of this state of anarchy the revenues of the State had declined from ninety-five lacs of rupees a-year to sixty-five lacs. In these circumstances, Lord Ellenborough conceived that it was necessary, as the ally of Scindia, to interpose, and recover the country from the state of anarchy and ruin into which it had fallen. He was, moreover, not sorry of a pretext for invading Gwalior, and establishing a friendly government on the throne. The resident accordingly was instructed to require the surrender of the person of Dada Khasjee-walla to the British, and with this demand the Maharanee at length complied. But this compliance was far from meeting the whole views of the Council of Calcutta. What they desired was not merely a nominal and forced compliance with a particular requisition on the part of the Maharanee and her advisers, but the establishment of a really friendly government in Gwalior, which might render its military force and important position a source of strength rather than weakness in the evidently approaching contest with the Sikhs. A proclamation accordingly was issued, stating that the British armies were about to enter the state of Gwalior, not as enemies but as friends, to support the infant sovereign against his rebellious subjects; and on the 25th December the frontier was crossed, and the army advanced to Hingona, within twenty miles of the capital.\*

\* Lord Ellenborough's real motives for this war were thus stated in a minute to the Court of Directors:—"Were we to recede from our present high position of a paramount authority in India, we should not only endanger our own existence, but bring upon all the states now dependent upon us the most afflicting calamities; the withdrawal of our restraining hand would let loose all the elements of confusion. Redress for the daily-occurring grievances of the several states against each other would again be sought, not from the superintending justice of the British Government, but from the armed reprisals of the injured; and bad ambition, availing itself of the love of plunder and of



37. As the Gwalior troops were numerous and well disciplined, this war was not undertaken without preparation for a serious contest. A large force had for some months before been assembled at Agra, which, after crossing the Chumbul, advanced by Hingona direct on Gwalior, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, who had succeeded Sir Jasper Nicolls as Commander-in-Chief in India. This army consisted of 14,000 men, with 40 pieces of artillery, and was accompanied by the Governor-General in person. Another force of 2000 men at the same time entered the Gwalior territory from the side of Bundelcund, under Major-General Grey. The Mahratta troops opposed to them were much more numerous—those against which Gough advanced were 18,000 strong, including 3000 horse, with 100 guns. Opposed to Grey was a force of 10,000 men; but the best part of the troops were in the main army, which covered Gwalior.

38. The country which lay between the Mahratta position and the British army was one of extreme difficulty, being repeatedly intersected by deep ravines, which were only rendered practicable for artillery by the unremitting labours of the sappers under Major Smith. In addition to this, the Koharee river had to be crossed, which was done in three divisions at daybreak on the morning of the 29th. Gough expected to have found the enemy at Chonda, where they had been on the preceding evening; but they had sent

on a strong detachment, consisting of seven regiments, with 28 guns, which had taken post in front of Maharajpore during the night, and was already strongly intrenched in its new ground. The fire of their artillery first disclosed the presence of this force. An immediate alteration of the plan of attack became necessary to meet the new position of the enemy, and the disposition finally adopted was as follows: General Littler's column, which was directly opposite to Maharajpore, was ordered to attack it in front, while General Vaillant's brigade took it in flank and rear; General Dennis's column was in the rear ready to support either attack which might seem to require it, and Brigadier Scott led up a brigade of cavalry on the left. The centre under Littler advanced in echelon, the 39th Queen's leading, followed by the 56th Native Infantry. The troops moved forward with their wonted intrepidity, and by a sudden dash got possession of the enemy's guns in front of the village. The Mahrattas, however, resisted bravely; the artillerymen were bayoneted at their guns, and the infantry being driven into the village, a most sanguinary conflict ensued in the streets. Meanwhile Vaillant's column assaulted the village in rear, and after a desperate resistance forced their way in. Eight-and-twenty guns were the trophies of this hard-fought contest, which put the British in possession of the key of the enemy's position, and compelled him to continue the contest on different and less advantageous ground.

39. While this conflict was going on in the centre, Brigadier Scott, on the extreme British left, was engaged with a body of the enemy's cavalry. Here, by a brilliant charge of the 10th Light Horse, supported by Captain Grant's horse-artillery, several guns were taken, and two standards captured. By this success the extreme right of the enemy was uncovered and threatened; and this, coupled with the advantage gained in the centre, induced the Commander-in-Chief to order a general advance upon the position the enemy had fallen back to at Chonda. There,

war which pervades so large a portion of the population of India, would again expose to devastation countries which, under our protection, have enjoyed many of the advantages of peace. To maintain, therefore, unimpaired the position we now hold, is a duty, not to ourselves alone, but to humanity. The adoption of new views of policy, weakness under the name of moderation, and pusillanimity under that of forbearance, would not avert from our own subjects and from our own territories the evils we let loose upon India; and the only result of false measures would be to remove the scene of a contest altogether inevitable from Gwalior to Allahabad, there to be carried on with determined force, a disheartened army, and a disaffected people."—GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S *Minute*, Nov. 1843; THORNTON, vi. 481.

however, the main body of their army was posted, and there a desperate resistance awaited the assailants. General Vaillant, who, with the 40th Queen's, headed the advance against the enemy's right flank, had to storm successively three strong positions, in each of which the Mahrattas made a stand, and which they defended with determined resolution. In these attacks Major Stopford and Captain Codrington fell severely wounded at the very muzzles of the enemy's guns, which their heroic followers captured, with four regimental standards. The 40th was supported by the 2d Native Infantry Grenadiers under Colonel Hamilton, and the 16th under Colonel M'Laren, who captured two more regimental standards. Meanwhile Littler, with the centre, after his success at Maharajpore, attacked the main position at Chonda in front, while Grant's horse-artillery and the 1st Light Cavalry supported him. The fire from the enemy's batteries was very severe when they approached the position, and numbers fell at every step; but nothing could withstand the rush of the 39th Queen's under Major Bray, supported by the 56th under Major Dick, who carried the lines, and took two more standards. A last stand was made by the enemy in a small intrenchment, mounted by four guns, but it was at length stormed by the grenadiers of the 39th under Captain Campbell, supported by a wing of the 56th Native Infantry under Major Phillips; and the Mahrattas were driven from all their intrenchments in utter confusion, with the loss of nine standards and sixty-four guns.

40. The victory was complete, but it had been achieved with heavy loss. Seven officers were killed on the field of battle, or subsequently died of their wounds; and the total loss was 106 killed, 684 wounded, and 7 missing—in all, 797; a loss so considerable and unusual in Indian warfare, that it induced the Commander-in-Chief to say in his official despatch, "I regret to say that our loss has been very severe, infinitely beyond what I calculated upon. Indeed, I did not do justice to

the gallantry of my opponents." The loss of the Mahrattas was not exactly known, but it was estimated at 3000 men. This battle was attended by one circumstance unprecedented in Indian warfare, that the Governor-General was present on the field, and actually under fire with his suite during part of the engagement.

41. On the same day on which this decisive victory was gained, another defeat was inflicted on the Mahrattas by the force under the command of Major-General Grey. This gallant officer had under his command only 2000 men, and he was opposed by no less than 10,000 of the enemy, who occupied a strong position on a line of rugged heights, running from the fortified village of Mangore, near Punniar, about twelve miles from Gwalior. The attack was made in echelon, headed by the Buffs, supported by a company of sappers, intended to clear the obstacles with which the ground was encumbered; and such was the vigour of this assault, which was directed against the enemy's centre, that it was at once carried, with the loss of seven guns to them. Meanwhile, a wing of the 39th Native Infantry, under Brigadier Yates, got possession of a hill commanding the enemy's left, from whence he opened a heavy fire on the troops in that quarter, who soon began to shake, and were driven from their ground, with the loss of two guns. The victory was completed by a splendid charge of the 50th Queen's, headed by Brigadier Anderson, who was wounded, in the course of which the whole remainder of the enemy's artillery, seventeen in number, was taken. The loss of the victors was very heavy, being 215 men out of 2000, or above a tenth of their number—a proportion nearly double of that sustained by Gough in the great battle on the same day, and nearly equal to Napier's at Meanee.

42. These repeated victories convinced the advisers of the Gwalior Maharanee that it was no longer possible to maintain the contest, and that their only resource was in submission. They solicited, accordingly, and ob-

tained, an audience of the Governor-General, at which a preliminary armistice was agreed to, and it was arranged that the British army should, on January 2, advance to and occupy Gwalior. They did so, accordingly, and a treaty of peace was concluded on the 13th January satisfactory to both parties. The British had no cessions of territory to exact, or rigorous terms to enforce; the establishment of a friendly government, so as to secure the rear of the force which might soon become opposed to the Sikhs, was the real object, and this was attained by a change in the form of government, and disbanding of the army. The supreme authority was committed to a council composed of persons in the British interest, the president of which was the channel of communication with the British Resident. The disbanding of the army was a much more serious matter, and promised fresh difficulties; nevertheless, it was effected without resistance, and finished by the 17th January. Part of the men were enlisted in the new contingent, the remainder received a gratuity of three months' pay, and went to seek their fortune elsewhere. Many of them repaired to the Sikhs, who, it was well known, were preparing to hoist the standard of hostility. The new contingent was fixed at seven regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, to be maintained by the Gwalior government; and it was provided that the other forces maintained by them should not exceed 9000 men, of whom only 3000 were to be infantry, with 32 guns. The minority of the reigning prince was declared to terminate when he attained the age of eighteen, and, "in the mean time, the administrators of the government were to act upon the British Resident's advice, not only generally, or on important points, but in all matters wherein such advice shall be offered." The military force thus authorised to be kept on foot was admirably organised and disciplined, and proved not the least formidable enemy with whom the British had to deal during the terrible rebellion of 1857.

The establishment of peace was notified by the Governor-General, five days after it was signed, by a proclamation, in which he somewhat injudiciously boasted of his successes, and spoke of the Gwalior army as a conquered enemy; not the most likely way to secure it as an ally in the field.

43. The brilliant victories which have now been detailed in Affghanistan, Scinde, and Gwalior, had not only effaced the stains of the preceding disasters in Cabul, but they had restored the prestige of the British arms in the East, and placed their empire in Hindostan on a securer basis than it had ever yet attained. The extraordinary circumstance of two great wars being brought to a glorious termination at the same time, and an unheard-of disaster being succeeded by a transcendent triumph, was enough to have fixed the attention of any people less prone than the Orientals to the influence of imagination, and less willing to yield to the supposed decree of destiny. But when these successes were followed by the conquest of Scinde and subjugation of Gwalior in the course of one year, the ancient supremacy of opinion in favour of Britain was at once re-established throughout the East. These were in themselves inappreciable advantages; but they became doubly so when the position of the British in India at that time was considered, and the formidable position of the Mahratta states on the flank of the British line of communication was taken into view. It was known to all that a serious war was impending with the Sikhs, who would call to their standard all the bold and desperate characters in the north of Hindostan; and he is a bold man who ventures to affirm that the issue of such a war could be contemplated without apprehension, if, when the main strength of Britain was combating on the Sutlej, their left flank had been threatened by the Scinde horse, and their communications cut off by the battalions of Gwalior.

44. Conceding to the generals, officers, and soldiers employed in these

brilliant operations all the glory and credit justly due to them for their heroic efforts, it is evident that a large part of the praise must be awarded to the Governor-General. To him it belonged to form great designs, and supply to his lieutenants the means of performing them; to them, the duty of carrying them into execution. Neither the Scinde nor the Gwalior wars found Lord Ellenborough unprepared. Foreseen and calculated upon, everything had been provided for carrying them on, and thus, from the very outset, success, great and decisive, attended the British arms. The means of transport had been collected, and reserves of troops were in readiness to support those first brought into action long before hostilities were commenced. Thus that dismal period of disaster, which in British wars generally intervenes between first hostilities and ultimate victory, was avoided. The wars in which he engaged, though of aggression in appearance, were in reality in self-defence; they were unavoidable, to obviate the consequences of the Cabul disaster; they only anticipated the blow in preparation by his enemies. His administration, though one of the shortest, was one of the most glorious in the annals of the British empire in the East. He found it shaking under the effects of an unparalleled disaster, he left it firmly re-established; he found it dimmed of its ancient fame, he left it, in two years, victorious in every quarter, and resplendent with fresh glory. It might naturally be supposed that such a career of success would have secured for the Governor-General a long tenure of office, and the warm gratitude of Government and the country. It was quite the reverse; it procured for him nothing but distrust and envy; and on the 26th April it was announced by Sir R. Peel, in answer to a question by Mr (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, that the East India Directors had recalled Lord Ellenborough.

45. "Nec minus periculi," says Tacitus, "ex magna fama quam ex mala"—"Nor is there less danger from great fame than bad." When interrogated

by Lord Colchester, in the House of Peers, whether the recall of Lord Ellenborough met with the sanction and approbation of the Government, Lord Ripon answered that it had not. It was, however, strictly within the legal and constitutional powers of the Company; for, by a strange anomaly, they had, while liable to be controlled in so many other respects, full power to recall the Governor-General whenever they thought proper. The motives which led to this strong step on the part of the Directors may be easily divined from the tenor of Lord Ellenborough's administration, and the collision which has more than once occurred between their prudential views and the bold policy dictated by necessity to their servants abroad. The East India Company had taken fright at the military propensities of the Governor-General; he himself confessed them at a public dinner in Calcutta, with more truth and candour than prudence or self-regard.\* He had left Calcutta, and made a long sojourn in the North-west Provinces, near the seat of war; he had himself been with the army, and under fire in the last action near Gwalior. Worse than all, he had in many places displaced the political agents, and conferred supreme civil authority in disturbed districts on the military commanders,—a course recommended by its obvious necessity, but so hostile to the interests of a large and influential class of civil persons around the seat of government, that it scarce ever fails, in India, to prove fatal to those who adventure upon it. Weighty, however, as these considerations were, they were yet surpassed by the terrors inspired by the military propensities of the Governor-General, and the preparations he was making to meet the war with the Sikhs, which every sensible person in India saw could not much longer be averted. If it be

\* "The only regret I feel on leaving India is that of being separated from the army. The most agreeable, the most interesting period of my life, has been that which I have passed here in cantonments and camps."—LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S words at a farewell dinner at Calcutta; *Ann. Reg.* 1844, p. 282.

true, as is commonly said, that the alarm excited in the minds of the Directors by the wars of Scinde and Gwalior was brought to a climax, and made the ground of dismissal, by the purchase in Australia of thirteen hundred draught-horses soon after the termination of the Gwalior contest, it affords an additional confirmation of the old remark, that so entirely are the great majority of men governed by present events, that, though timeous preparations for future danger have often proved the salvation of empires, they have seldom failed to ruin those who, in the first instance, engaged in them. For those wars it was which cleared the flank and rear of the British army, which so soon was engaged in a strife for life or death on the banks of the Sutlej, and those horses which dragged up the heavy guns that broke down the intrenchments of Sobraon, and saved the British empire in the East.

46. Upon the dismissal of Lord Ellenborough, Sir R. Peel suggested Sir Henry Hardinge to the Court of Directors as his successor, and the appointment was cordially and unanimously acquiesced in by the latter body. Many motives concurred to produce this unanimity on the part of the two powers, so often rival, in whom was jointly vested the government of India. In addition to the high character for prudence and wisdom which his career in troubled times as Secretary to the Government in Ireland had acquired for him, Sir Henry Hardinge's great reputation and glorious career as a soldier seemed to recommend him in a peculiar manner to a government desirous, above all things, of cultivating a pacific policy. Satiated with glory in the field of European fame, he had no need to go to the East in search of fresh laurels; and the man who had stood beside the dying Moore at Corunna, who had turned disaster into victory at Albuera, and lost an arm beside Blücher at Ligny, was not likely to be seduced by the phantom of Oriental celebrity into scenes of doubtful expedience or hazardous result. It cannot be denied that these views were

in themselves plausible; yet how widely different did they prove from the real events which were approaching, and how completely has the result demonstrated the wisdom of the precautionary measures which occasioned Lord Ellenborough's recall! Within a year and a half after Sir Henry Hardinge's landing in India, he was involved, despite the utmost efforts to avoid it, in a desperate contest with the Sikhs, against whom his predecessor's preparations, so much complained of, had been directed.

47. The able address delivered by the Chairman of the East India Company to Sir Henry Hardinge, previous to his departure for Hindostan, contains at once a luminous exposition of the views at that period entertained by the Government for the direction of Indian affairs, and throws light on the causes which had led to his predecessor's recall.\* Existing discontents

\* "You will not fail to recollect that the members of the civil service are educated, not only with particular care, but with a special view to the important duties of civil administration, upon the upright and intelligent performance of which so much of the happiness of the people depends. I doubt not that your experience will coincide with that of the great men who, in former times, have filled the office of Governor-General, in enabling you to appreciate justly the *eminent qualities of the civil servants of India*; and I feel persuaded that your confidence in them will be returned by the most zealous exertions on their part to promote the success of your administration.

"At the present moment, difficulties have arisen in our native army requiring to be met by prompt and decisive measures. We trust that when you arrive in India you may find that the difficulties have passed away; but should you find them still existing, we trust that you will act *towards the sepoy with every degree of consideration and indulgence compatible with the maintenance of order and obedience, the first and paramount duty of a soldier.*

"By our latest intelligence we are induced to hope that peace prevails throughout India. I need not say that it is our anxious wish that it should be preserved. You, sir, well know what are the evils of war; and we feel confident that, while ever ready to maintain unimpaired the honour of our country and the supremacy of our arms, your policy will be essentially pacific. Peace, apart from its other advantages, is desirable, with a view to the prosperity of our finances, and the development of the internal resources of the country. From a natural desire on the

were alluded to in the sepoy army; but the magnitude of the danger thence arising was as little anticipated as were the terrible fields of Ferozeshah or Chillianwallah. Yet was the symptom to which the Directors alluded on this occasion of so serious a kind as to awaken the utmost solicitude, and such as might well have aroused the attention of Government to the impending danger. In March 1844, several regiments of the Bengal army, under orders for Scinde, gave unequivocal symptoms of a disposition to mutiny, from an idea that it was a foreign service, not within the limits of their engagement, which was to serve in any part of India. Ultimately, however, they were all persuaded to withdraw their opposition, and march for Scinde across the Sutlej, except the 34th Native Infantry, which persisted in resistance, and was publicly broken and disbanded in consequence at Meerut in presence of the whole troops at the station. The Government at Calcutta made as light as they could of it, and passed the mutiny over with as little severe punishment as possible; but Sir Charles Napier was fully alive to its importance, and transmitted the most energetic representations on the subject.

48. Sir Henry Hardinge had been offered the command of the Indian army immediately after the disasters in Affghanistan; but he had generously declined to come between the Indian officers and the glory which he felt assured they would regain for their coun-

try and themselves. Now, however, that this was done, and victory again chained by their efforts to the British standard, he did not hesitate to accept the office of Governor-General, and set out for Calcutta, resolved to carry out to the very letter the pacific and economical ideas of the East India Directors. When he arrived there in September 1844, he found the whole of the Indian peninsula in a state of profound tranquillity, disturbed only by some insurrections of the robber chieftains on the frontier of the desert in Scinde, which were, after some resistance, suppressed by the prudent foresight of Napier, and Bija, the chieftain who had been most instrumental in promoting the disturbance, was taken. In this mountain warfare the deeds of heroism performed by the British soldiery, both European and native, never were surpassed.\* Sir Henry went out, not only with public recommendations to a pacific policy, but with the most stringent private instructions to the same effect. With the Sikhs in particular, he was specially enjoined to remain to the last extremity on pacific terms. Not only any hostile act towards that warlike and powerful nation, but any act which could, however remotely, be construed into an intention of a warlike character, was to be sedulously avoided. Upon the strict and literal conformity with these instructions, he was given unequivocally to understand his term of office would entirely depend.

part of our Government to render the public service as efficient as possible, there is always a tendency to an increase of establishments. A steady and vigilant attention will be, therefore, necessary, to enforce the strictest economy consistent with the efficiency of the service. This duty is rendered the more urgent by the existing state of the finances of India; but it is at all times necessary, from the difficulty experienced in that country in devising new sources of revenue, or rendering those already existing more productive and more commensurate with the exigencies of the State. I feel assured, therefore, that your early and anxious attention will be turned to the best means of averting financial embarrassments, and for placing the public finances upon a sound and satisfactory footing,"—*Ann. Reg.* 1844, p. 283-285.

\* "At once Beatson and his stern veterans climbed the rock which was crowned by the enemy. As they leapt, ten in number, on the platform, the enemy, eighty strong, fell upon them sword in hand, and the fight was desperate. Seventeen hill-men were slain, six of the soldiers; and the rest, wounded and overborne, were dashed over the edge and rolled down! Such are British soldiers! where mortal man can stand in fight, they will. Every man of them had a medal, two of them had three on their breasts. They died gloriously, but uselessly, on that sad cliff in the Cutchee Hills; never was the Douranee so honoured. Their enemies did them due honour; they interred them with a red string on both wrists, their most distinguished mark of honour."—*NAPIER'S Memoirs*, iii. 272.

49. One of the first duties, and certainly not the least important, which awaited the new Governor-General on his arrival in India, was the laying out and formation of RAILWAYS. Momentous in all countries, this matter was an affair of vital importance in Hindostan. Not gifted by nature with the network of navigable rivers which, in the basin of the Mississippi, has brought the means of water-carriage so near every man's door, the plains of Bengal were yet as well qualified by climate, soil, and the means of irrigation, as the fields of Louisiana for the raising of cotton. But to render them profitable, and open up to their inhabitants the English market for that species of produce, a vast internal system of communication was indispensable. Once established, however, and in full operation, such a system would at once double the productive resources of India, and halve the expense of guarding it from the numerous enemies by whom it was surrounded; for *distance* is the bane of the British empire in the East, as of the Russian in Europe. Troops require to be moved for distances often of a thousand and fifteen hundred miles. From Calcutta to Delhi is 1173 miles; from thence to Peshawur, at the mouth of the Khyber, 580 miles. Hence it is that, though wielding the resources of an empire immeasurably more powerful than any of the native states, the British Government has been invariably and seriously outnumbered, by comparatively inconsiderable opponents, at the commencement of every war. Impressed with these ideas, the East India Directors,

in May 1845, addressed an enlightened and well-informed letter to the Governor-General, earnestly recommending the formation of a system of railway communication in India.\* Sir Henry Hardinge cordially entered into their views, and he was actively engaged in devising means to carry them out, and at the same time improve the system of native education in that country, when the trumpet of war sounded in the north, and he was called from his peaceful labours to a conflict more terrible than the strife of Ligny or the death-struggle of Albuera.

\* In this letter, which was a very luminous and able one, the East India Directors observe: "According to the experience of Great Britain, by far the largest returns from railways are procured from passengers, the least from the traffic of goods. The condition of India is in this respect directly the reverse of that of England. Instead of a dense and wealthy population, the people of India are poor, and in many parts thinly scattered over extensive tracts of country. But, on the other hand, India is rich in valuable products of nature, which are in a great measure deprived of a profitable market by the want of cheap and expeditious means of transport." —EAST INDIA DIRECTORS TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL, May 7, 1845; *Ann. Reg.* 1845, p. 329.

The East India Directors were by no means so well aware then as all the world now is of another effect of railway communication, if established on even a few great lines in Hindostan, in facilitating the movement of troops, and thereby at once enlarging the means of defence and diminishing the standing force which must be kept on foot to secure it. This is the great lesson which the Crimean war has taught to Russia, and the wars in the Punjab and Indian revolt to England. Had the Russians possessed a railroad from Moscow to Odessa, Sebastopol would never have been taken: had India enjoyed one from Calcutta to Delhi, the revolt of 1857 would have been suppressed at its first outbreak.

## CHAPTER LVI.

INDIA, FROM THE OPENING OF THE SIKH WAR IN 1845 TO THE TERMINATION OF THE COMPANY'S RULE IN 1858.

1. THE SIKHS, by far the bravest and most powerful nation which at this time existed in an independent state in India, owe their origin, like most other Oriental states, to a religious belief. The word "Sikh" signifies "disciple," and the founder of their faith was a Hindoo named *Nanek*, who was born in the village of Talwandi, in the province of Lahore, in 1469. He was destined by his father to commerce, but an irresistible impulse prompted him to theological pursuits, and he soon became alike dissatisfied with the Hindoo, the Mohammedan, and the Bhuddhist worship. The code of this extraordinary man, both in religion and morality, was very remarkable. He taught the unity of God, the equality of all in the sight of Heaven, and inculcated universal kindness, charity, and forbearance among men. His religion consisted in a pure theism, apart from all the superstitions with which the faith of Brama and Budh, and Mohammed had become disfigured. Thus he rejected the distinctions of caste, the burning of widows, and all the other peculiarities of the Hindoo worship, equally with the sensual paradise and devout observances of the followers of the Prophet. So identical were his precepts with those communicated to man by the Jewish lawgiver, that many fanciful observers have thought they discovered in the modern Sikhs the descendants of one of the lost tribes of the children of Israel.

2. The Sikh confederacy, held together by the strong bond of unity of religious belief, had contended, with various fortune, with the numerous enemies by whom they were surrounded for four centuries. During this pe-

riod their power was gradually extended over the adjoining states, and the military spirit and qualities of their own members proportionally increased. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, when they all yielded to the valour and capacity of RUNJEET SINGH, surnamed the "Lion of the Punjab," the confederacy contained 7,000,000 of inhabitants, of whom 4,000,000 were in the province of Lahore, 1,400,000 in that of Mooltan, 1,000,000 in that of Afghanistan, and 600,000 in Cashmere. The inhabitants of these varied provinces were tall, robust, and animated at once by religious fervour and military ardour. Their forces consisted for the most part of cavalry, the horses of which were of extraordinary swiftness and hardihood. But, in addition to this, their infantry, which had been disciplined by Runjeet Singh by the aid of French and Italian officers, and recruited to a considerable extent by the sepoy so imprudently disbanded under Lord William Bentinck's government, had now acquired the most formidable consistency; it amounted to 73,000 men, with 200 pieces of cannon. These were the regular troops; but the whole country was peopled by warriors; and if its entire strength was called out, it could bring into the field 260,000 men, and the force under arms had, at no remote period, actually amounted to that number.

3. The chief seat of the Sikhs is in the Punjab—a country celebrated for its riches and fertility from the most remote antiquity. It takes its name from the five rivers by which it is watered, and which, descending from the great snowy range of the Himalaya, give the means of irrigation and



the blessings of fertility to the level plain which they intersect in their progress towards the ocean. These are the Indus, the Jhelum, the Ravee, the Chenab, and the Sutlej. These great rivers, with their numerous tributary streams, are available for the purposes of agriculture to the extent of nearly two thousand miles, and afford the means of irrigation to a vast area of the richest alluvial soil. This is the main source of the strength of the Sikhs; and the Punjab accordingly contains the capital, Lahore, and chief city Umritzur. But the Sikh dominion extends also over other, and some of them very different regions, in particular Mooltan, Afghanistan East, and Cashmere. The first of these is very populous, containing 1,400,000 souls, with a strong fortress of the same name, standing on the Chenab, for its capital; the second includes the sandy deserts and arid mountains to the east of the Indus; while the last, a beautiful elevated valley of a circular form, three thousand feet above the sea, and surrounded by the summits of the Himalayas, has been celebrated from the earliest ages over the whole of Asia as the almost fabled abode of industry, innocence, and rural felicity. It contains 600,000 inhabitants, a large part of whom make their bread by the manufacture of the beautiful shawls so prized over all the world. But the chief distinction and ancient fame of Cashmere have arisen from the incomparable charm of its scenery and climate, in which nature has combined everything which the world can exhibit most seductive to the senses and fascinating to the imagination.

4. RUNJEET SINGH, who had since the commencement of the present century brought the tribes comprising this empire under subjection, was one of those remarkable men who occasionally appear in the East, and acquire an irresistible sway over the minds of men, so as to mould out of the discordant elements of Oriental society a powerful, though fleeting dominion. Rude and forbidding in aspect, with only one eye, and a visage furrowed by the

small-pox, he yet, from his energy and courage, acquired such an ascendancy as to be the object of respect to the bravest men, and terror to the fairest women, in the north-west of India. His grandfather was an inconsiderable feudal chief, whose quota was only 2500 men, but he was an able man; his son, Runjeet's father, was still more so. They gradually extended their influence and possessions, so that in 1802, when Runjeet succeeded to the inheritance, he was already one of the first nobles in the Punjab. Such were the additions which, though entirely uneducated, he made to the family power, by his talent and unscrupulous perseverance, that soon he was in possession of Lahore and all the fertile territory around it, and began a friendly intercourse, as a powerful potentate, with the Government at Calcutta. The knowledge of this intercourse went far to establish his credit and influence; and it continued uninterrupted, though without any personal intercourse, till 1831, when Lord William Bentinck visited "the Lion of the Punjab" in Lahore, and 1838, when Lord Auckland waited on him, at the head of all the majesty of the British empire. Meanwhile Runjeet overran the whole Punjab undisturbed by Great Britain, the Government of which was sufficiently occupied with its own conquests. Sensible of the advantages he derived from the friendship of the Company, and justly afraid of its power, Runjeet long cultivated the connection, and at length concluded the triple alliance with that power and Shah Soojah, which was the precursor of the Afghanistan expedition. During this period he was incessantly engaged in organising and disciplining, by the aid of General Ventura and other French officers, his already formidable army; and such was the perfection to which his diligence brought it, that it stood the comparison with the British at the great reviews near Lahore in 1833; and Lord Auckland had good reason to congratulate himself that the Sikh Government preserved its faith inviolate during the dreadful catastrophe.

which ensued. As long as Runjeet lived, the alliance was maintained with fidelity, and the loud clamour of the army for a war with the English was disregarded. But during the weak and distracted rule which ensued upon his death, its demands became more formidable; and Lord Ellenborough was engaged in active measures to provide against the conflict, which was evidently approaching, when he was recalled by the Directors.

5. SIR HENRY (afterwards Lord) HARDINGE, who was soon called to oppose, not this redoubtable chieftain, for he was gathered to his fathers, but the army which he had created, was one of the most remarkable men which the age in which he lived, so fertile in statesmen and heroes, had produced. Born of an ancient and highly respectable family in the county of Derby, he yet owed nothing to aristocratic influence or connection; for he had already risen to eminence both as a soldier and a statesman before he married, in 1821, the daughter of the Marquess of Londonderry. He was born in 1785, entered the service in 1801 as ensign in a regiment of foot, and was present at nearly all the battles under Moore and Wellington in the Peninsula. Including the actions on the Sutlej, to be immediately recounted, he had been in sixteen pitched battles, for which medals had been granted, when he was raised to the peerage in 1846. He was the architect of his own fortune, and cut his way with his good sword to the offices of Governor-General of India, and Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain. Without the great and commanding qualities which in a manner forced Marlborough and Wellington to the lead in civil as well as military life, he possessed in a high degree those best suited to enable him to follow out the views, or correct the mistakes, of others. A good soldier, he faithfully obeyed the orders he received; gifted with the true military *coup d'œil*, he saw at once where was the vital point in any emergency; and by his indomitable resolution retrieved many errors in the direction, by

superior officers or Government, of the affairs with the execution of which he was intrusted. Heroic courage and unconquerable resolution were his great characteristics. Never did any one more thoroughly act up to his family motto, "*Mens æqua in rebus arduis.*" Kindly in his manner, affectionate in private life, he was exemplary in every domestic duty, and beloved by an extensive circle of friends. It was his happiness, or the consequence of his enduring constancy, three times to influence the fortunes of his country; for on the field of Albuera, in circumstances all but desperate, he retrieved the day; on the banks of the Sutlej he stemmed the flood of disaster, and saved the empire of India; and by his indefatigable efforts on his return to England, he raised up the train of artillery which tore down the ramparts of Sebastopol.

6. HUGH GOUGH (afterwards LORD GOUGH) was descended from an ancient family in Devonshire, a scion of which was transferred to Ireland by being created Bishop of Limerick in 1626. Hugh, the fourth son of one of his descendants, was born in the county of Tipperary on 3d November 1779, and entered the army in 1794. Like Lord Hardinge, he was present at the principal actions in the Peninsular War, commanded the 87th Regiment at Talavera, and was distinguished in the battles of Barossa and Vittoria, and at the siege of Tarifa. In 1837 he was sent to India in command of a division, from whence he was translated, as already mentioned, to China when the war broke out in 1839. It will be immediately seen how nobly he supported the high character, which his achievements there won for him, in the Sikh war. Daring in disposition, ardent in temperament, decided in conduct, he combined the resolution of the country of his ancestors with the fire of that of his birth: so bold was his character, so impetuous his courage, that it has earned for him the reputation rather of a brilliant general of division than a consummate commander-in-chief. Yet

on many occasions, especially in the operations against Nankin, and the battles of Sobraon and Goojerat, he displayed military conduct of a high order; and it was his unconquerable firmness, joined to that of Lord Hardinge, which, in the last extremity, again chained victory to the British standard on the banks of the Sutlej. Generous and warm-hearted, he has all the affection of disposition which characterises the land of his birth, and his personal influence is much enhanced by a figure which, tall and commanding even in advanced years, and with the snows of age on his brow, bespeaks the hero in every feature and movement.

7. SIR CHARLES NAPIER, also a most remarkable man, differed essentially from either of the preceding heroes of Eastern war. Descended from the ancient and noble family of the Napiers of Merchiston in Scotland, which numbers the illustrious inventor of logarithms among its members, he had also the blood of Henry IV. of France, and of the Stuarts, by his mother's side, in his veins. He had the intellect of the Napiers, and the military talent of the founder of the Bourbons; but he had also the vehemence of temper and obstinate self-will which occasioned the downfall of the Stuarts. His mind was essentially heroic: he was an idol-worshipper, but his idols were all surrounded by the halo of military glory. His talents for war were of the very highest order. Had he been born on a throne, and favoured by fortune, he might have rivalled the fame of Cæsar or Frederick. Unfortunately, his irritability of temper, and unbounded confidence in his own opinion, rendered him little capable of acting in obedience to commands, or in conjunction on equal terms with others. The Duke of Wellington had the highest opinion of his military talents, and he gave a decisive proof of it by selecting him for the command-in-chief in India after the dubious issue of the fight of Chillianwallah. His administrative talents, when undisturbed, and his temper unruffled, were

equal to his military abilities. On the field of battle, or in the strategic movements of a campaign, his quickness of eye and decision of mind were invaluable; he seldom failed to judge rightly, and never to execute quickly; and his mind was of that far-seeing kind which describes and provides against danger when it is yet distant. Were we to judge of him by his public actions only, he would occupy a very high pedestal in the gallery of contemporary greatness; but this judgment has been somewhat lowered by the indiscreet zeal of a partial biographer, who has brought out in the memoir of his life numerous proofs of violence of temper and harshness of judgment, which a more prudent reserve would have suffered to remain in oblivion.

8. When Lord Ellenborough was recalled, he was, as already noticed, engaged in preparations for war with the Sikhs; and it was to clear his flank and rear of dubious friends or open enemies that he engaged in the wars of Scinde and Gwalior. As Sir Henry Hardinge was sent out to stop these warlike preparations, and preserve, if possible, the peace of the peninsula, he did not conceive himself at liberty to make the military arrangements requisite to arrest a vigorous onslaught of the enemy, and he yielded to the representations of Major Broadfoot, the political agent at the court of Lahore, and the secretary to the Government at Calcutta, that no actual invasion was to be apprehended. Influenced by these considerations, and by "his extreme anxiety to avoid hostilities," though he largely reinforced the troops at the different stations, he took no steps towards concentrating an army on the Punjab frontier, even when the approach of the cool season, in the end of 1845, rendered it probable that military operations, if undertaken at all by the Sikhs, would speedily be attempted. He raised, indeed, from 24,000 to 45,000, the troops which Lord Ellenborough had collected in the towns from Delhi to Kurnaul and the Indus to guard the north-western frontier,

but he allowed them to remain scattered at great distances from each other, in situations offering the greatest advantages to an enterprising and concentrated enemy.\* Umballa was the frontier town in that direction of the British territory, but Loodianah and Ferozepore, lying near the Sutlej, were stations at which the British by treaty were permitted to have garrisons. Sir Henry strengthened both of these places with additional fortifications, so as to place them beyond the risk of a *coup-de-main*, and stationed 7000 men in the former place, and 10,000 in the latter. The reserve lay at Umballa, consisting of 13,000 men, under the Commander-in-Chief in person; but the two frontier stations were eighty miles distant from each other, and Umballa a hundred and fifty from both; while the Sikhs were concentrated between Lahore and the Sutlej to the number of 60,000, within two marches of the river, and two more would bring them to either of the frontier stations.†

#### 9. Meantime the situation of affairs

\* The extent to which the troops at the stations between Delhi and the frontier were reinforced by Lord Hardinge may be judged from the following examples:—

	July 1844.		December 1845.	
	Men.	Guns.	Men.	Guns.
Ferozepore, .	4595	12	10,472	24
Loodianah, .	3030	12	7,235	12
Umballa, .	4113	24	12,972	32
Meerut, .	5873	18	9,844	24

And, in general, the whole force at and above Meerut, including Delhi and the hill stations, was—

In July 1844, 24,500 men, with 66 guns.

In Dec. 1845, 45,500     "      98     "

While the force available to resist a Sikh invasion at Ferozepore, Loodianah, and Umballa (including two European regiments at the nearest hill stations), was—

In July 1844, 13,600 men, with 48 guns.

In Dec. 1845, 45,500     "      68     "

For these and many other valuable details, I am indebted to my esteemed friend Colonel Wood, the late able military secretary in India to Lord Hardinge.

† *Quarterly Review*, lxxviii. 188.—The Author with pleasure acknowledges his obligations to the very able author of the article on the war in the Punjab (Chaplain-General Gleig), which comes down to the battle of Sobraon in February 1846. The narrative is not only singularly distinct and accurate, but evidently founded on original documents, especially those of the Gough family.

in Lahore was daily becoming more threatening. The Government was overawed and rendered powerless by two factions—the one British, the other anti-British. At the head of the former was Gholab Singh, a hoary intriguer, who was, or professed to be, favourable to the British alliance; at the head of the latter was the Ranee, who, by great personal beauty, and the facility and charm of her manners, had enlisted many of the chief nobles in deadly hostility to the British. The latter, being the more popular with the troops and populace, had prevailed, and Gholab Singh, as a measure of precaution, had withdrawn to his fortress of Jummoo. But this triumph was far from satisfying the Sikh soldiery, who soon after his departure surrounded the royal palace, clamorously demanding immediate payment of their arrears, or to be led against the English, in order that they might enrich themselves by the plunder of Delhi and the Doab. The Ranee, alarmed for her own life, as well as those of her lovers, Tigh Singh and Lal Singh, willingly yielded to their demands, and in the middle of November (1845) orders were given for the whole disposable force to march down to the frontier and cross the river.

10. Sir Hugh Gough, apprehensive of an immediate attack on Ferozepore, where there was only one European regiment, though the entire garrison was 10,000 strong, ordered up from Meerut a regiment of European cavalry and a Ghoorka corps, and directed the remainder of the force there, consisting of three infantry and one cavalry regiment, to be in readiness on the shortest notice to close up towards Ferozepore. The Governor-General, however, constrained by his home instructions from doing anything which could by possibility be construed into a hostile demonstration, and disbelieving in the likelihood of an actual invasion, countermanded the order.\*

\* On the 24th November, the Governor-General wrote to the Commander-in-Chief: "With regard to H.M. 9th Lancers and the Sirmoor battalion, I have forwarded the Ad-

Fortunately the attack of the Sikhs at that moment, though undoubtedly intended, was prevented by the astrologers, who declared that the first auspicious day on which they could march was the 28th. Thus things reverted apparently to their former state; but the Governor-General, now seriously alarmed at the aspect of affairs, left Calcutta, and proceeded by rapid journeys to Kurnaul, which he reached on the 26th November, and where he met the Commander-in-Chief. Still no concentration of troops took place.\* Hardinge conceived that the garrison of Ferozepore, under Sir John Littler, would be able to repel any sudden attack, and that no serious inroad was in contemplation. But preparations were made for the campaign which might be apprehended; and 56 large

*jutant-General's letter postponing their march*—agreeing with you, however, in the propriety of the orders at the time they were issued. I shall have to confer with your Excellency on the question of an additional force in advance of Umballa this autumn. *I had rather make no demonstration at the present moment*, showing that our arrangements have not been disturbed by the folly of the Sikh army, *doing as little as possible until the excitement shall have subsided.*"

The views of the Commander-in-Chief at this period are expressed in the following extracts from his letters to the Governor-General. On the 21st November he says: "You will see the only real moves I have directed, are the advance of the 9th Lancers on Kurnaul. Nor shall the troops from Subathoo, Kussowlie, Umballa, and Meerut, move, except I find the Sikhs actually come to the river. But I am still of opinion they will never be beaten this side the river except as plunderers."

\* In a letter of the 30th November to the Commander-in-Chief, the Governor-General says: "My own impression remains unaltered. When I hear of a single piece of artillery having crossed the Sutlej, I shall consider the movement to be made in earnest. I send you a memorandum of the additional troops to be brought up from the rear that you may have leisure to consider of it, and when we meet on Tuesday the whole affairs may be settled. I have kept the intention of bringing up any additional force secret. *Before the troops in the rear do move up, the Sikh operations must be disclosed*; and by maintaining a calm attitude of confidence and security, we shall lose no advantage, but prove the sincerity of our profession by contrasting the quiet confidence of our Government with the blustering confidence of the Sikh army."

boats were brought up from the Indus to Ferozepore to secure the means of crossing the Sutlej. A magazine of provisions was formed at Bussean, a place midway between Umballa and Ferozepore, which proved of the utmost service in the operations that succeeded; and the Governor-General sacrificed his whole elephants and camel-train to the public service.\*

11. Meanwhile the Sikh soldiery, to whom, as to all Asiatics, moderation is unknown, and by whom a pacific policy is never ascribed to anything but fear, were in such a state of exultation that it almost amounted to mutiny. In the pride of their hearts they asserted that the English would never venture to face their unconquerable battalions. To such a length did these ideas go, that on the 24th No-

\* Sir Henry Hardinge's views at this juncture are contained in the following passage of his despatch to the Secret Committee of Dec. 2, 1845: "In common with the most experienced officers of the Indian Government, I was not of opinion that the Sikh army would cross the Sutlej with its infantry and artillery. I considered it probable that some act of aggression would be committed by parties of plunderers for the purpose of compelling the British army to interfere, to which course the Sikh chiefs knew I was most averse; but I considered with the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary to the Government, as well as my political agent, Major Broadfoot, that offensive operations on a large scale would not be resorted to. Exclusive of political reasons, which induced me to carry my forbearance as far as possible, I was confident, from the opinions given by the Commander-in-Chief and Sir John Littler, in command at Ferozepore, that that post could resist any attack from the Sikh army as long as its provisions lasted, and that I could at any time relieve it under the ordinary circumstances of an Asiatic army making an irruption into our territories, provided it had not the means of laying siege to the fort and the intrenched camp. The Sikh army up to this period had committed no act of aggression. It had, in 1843 and 1844, moved down upon the river from Lahore, and after remaining there encamped a few weeks, had returned to the capital. These reasons, and, above all, my extreme anxiety to avoid hostilities, induced me not to make any hasty movement with our army, which, when the two armies came into each other's presence, might bring about a collision. The army, however, had orders to be in readiness to move on the shortest notice."—*Ann. Reg.* 1845, p. 332.

vember two brigades, despite all the predictions of the astrologers, broke up from Lahore, and marched down to the banks of the Sutlej, and the remainder of the army were preparing to follow their example. Intelligence of those movements reached the Governor-General on the 25th from Major Broadfoot, and he immediately wrote to the Lahore Government to demand an explanation of them. No answer was received even on the 4th December, and Hardinge did not think he was as yet at liberty to give orders for any counter-demonstration or concentration of troops on his side. He still thought the Sikhs would not cross.\* On the night of the 9th, however, Captain Nicolson, the assistant political agent at Ferozepore, reported that a portion of the Sikh army had approached within three miles of the Sutlej; while Major Broadfoot had announced on the 7th and 8th that preparations were making on a large scale for the movement of infantry, artillery, and stores, from Lahore. Upon this the Governor-General wrote to the Commander-in-Chief to order up the whole reserves from Meerut and Umballa to the front, while he himself rode on to Loodianah, and directed every disposable man to move to Bussean, the point intended for the concentration of the troops coming up from Umballa and the rear. Two thousand men only were left for the defence of the intrenched camp at Loodianah, which were thought to be sufficient, as no serious attack was anticipated in that direction. These anticipations proved correct. On the 12th the Sikh

army crossed the Sutlej, and concentrated in great force on the left or British bank of the river; while the whole British reserves were in motion, having begun their march on the 10th from all the stations from Meerut to Bussean.

12. A great game now was open to the Sikhs if they had been directed by men capable of taking advantage of the circumstances, or commanding troops who could be relied on to execute with vigour and decision sudden resolutions. The surprise was complete. The stringent orders of the East India Directors, and the Governor-General's perhaps too literal compliance with them, and belief in the representations of the political agent at Lahore, had brought the British army into a position of the greatest danger. The peril which Lord Ellenborough had foreseen and was providing against, had now fallen like a thunderbolt on his successor. Ferozepore, with its garrison of 10,000 men, lay exposed to the attacks of 60,000 troops, brave, disciplined, inured to victory, perfectly concentrated, and amply provided with both heavy and field artillery, amounting to 100 pieces. The British troops coming up in support were still, for the most part, a hundred miles distant, for the reserve had only begun to move from Umballa, a hundred and fifty miles, on the 10th, 11th, and 12th; and the foremost of them had not reached Bussean, half-way to Ferozepore, when the Sikhs on the 12th crossed the river in force, and were already close upon that town.\*

\* The 80th Queen's regiment was ordered to set out by easy marches on the 10th for Ferozepore to reinforce Littler. But so little did either the Governor-General or Commander-in-Chief expect, *even so late as the 9th December*, that the Sikh army would cross the Sutlej, that the former wrote that evening, "*My conviction is that no infantry or artillery will cross the river;*" and the latter writes: "I have to thank you for the clear exposition of your views. *I never thought that the Sikh army would cross as an army to invade our territories generally.* I had always some doubts as to their attempts on Ferozepore, so temptingly convenient, with so much military stores and money." I am indebted for these interesting details to Colonel Wood.

\* "The Sikhs have crossed the river, and probably an action was fought on the 14th December, as Hardinge was in full march on the 13th from Loodianah to aid General Littler, who has only 6000 men to oppose 24,000, who had crossed, and, as I make out, cut off Littler from Hardinge. Bussean is sixty miles from Ferozepore. Hardinge is a good and brave soldier, and probably knows what he is about, yet that he has been surprised is plain. 6000 men are assailed by 20,000, and if the 6000 flinch! Hardinge on the field seems to have shown the same decision which saved the day at Albuera. This is very fine, and gives him glory as a brave man; but it is not enough to repair the error of the Governor-General in letting 60,000 men

13. Fortunately the Sikh generals, either from being ignorant of the inestimable prize within their grasp, or from not knowing the distance at which the British supports lay, took no advantage of this, to them, eminently propitious state of things. Instead of massing their forces all together, and assailing Ferozepore with the troops and heavy guns already in hand, they *intrenched* one part of their army at the Nuggur-Ghaut in a situation to observe merely that fort; and the other, consisting of 20,000 men, with 40 guns, pushed forward in hopes of falling in with and intercepting either the corps advancing crosswise from Loodianah to Bussean, or some of the reserves hastening up from Umballa. Thus they came forward, as it were, to meet the British half-way, and voluntarily threw away the immense advantage of being in a position to attack Ferozepore with an overwhelming force. As they had thrown a bridge over the Sutlej on the 16th and 17th, their whole army, including the heavy artillery and reserves, passed over. But, meanwhile, the British were not idle. Hardinge, recovering his energy by the dropping of the political fetters which had hitherto bound his hands, showed himself every way equal to the crisis. Fortunately the

and 100 guns of large calibre pass such a river unmolested. With Napoleon or one of his marshals in front, he would have been lost. The courage of his troops has carried him through. He ought to have known where the Sikh army was assembling, its composition, and movements, and the construction of the Sikh bridge on the 16th or 17th. They ought to have been met on the bank when only half over, or not allowed to pass. But they were allowed to pass, and even to intrench. It is evident he unduly despised his enemy. I do not think history will let him off without a reprimand."—NAPIER'S *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 363-370. There can be no doubt that, in a military point of view, these observations are well founded, and probably no one knew their truth better than Sir Henry Hardinge; but in censuring him so strongly, Napier was not aware of the stringent orders which the East India Directors had given to him to avoid any measure—even the concentration of troops—which would afford the Sikhs a pretext for commencing hostilities. They form Hardinge's true vindication for what would otherwise have been a military error.

corps detached from Loodianah came up in time to join the leading column of the reserve before the enemy appeared in sight, and Hardinge and Gough, knowing that the reinforcements from the rear were rapidly closing up, put themselves at the head of the advanced guard, and rode on to meet the enemy. The most pressing orders were despatched to the generals in command of the reserve to send forward every man and gun with the utmost possible expedition; and with such spirit were these orders obeyed by the troops, that they marched on an average *six-and-twenty miles a-day* under an Indian sun; and this was accomplished, too, when the men were in heavy marching order. The sufferings of the troops, particularly the sepoys, who are not possessed of the physical strength of Europeans, were extreme during these forced movements; yet did their spirit never fail under this terrible trial; and when sheer exhaustion compelled them to rest for a time, upon being told that the next march would bring them to the enemy, they answered with a cheer, and moved on.

14. Early on the morning of the 17th a spy brought in intelligence that the enemy were moving towards the British, and would soon come in sight. Gough and Hardinge were at the head of 12,500 men, as good troops, both European and native, as had yet been engaged in the conquest of the Indian empire, and they held on their way undaunted. Soon after noon on the same day, when the troops, after their long morning march, were just lying down extremely fatigued to rest, information was received that the Sikh army was advancing. Instantly the bugles sounded the *assemblée*, and the men sprang to their arms with the utmost alacrity. Hardinge and Gough rode from regiment to regiment encouraging their men, and the latter moved forward and put himself at the head of the advanced guard, while the former arranged the troops behind in echelon of brigades. The advanced guard had not proceeded above two miles beyond MOODKEE when they came upon the

enemy, 20,000 strong, in position, with 40 guns secured behind sandy hillocks and jungle, which concealed them from the British till their presence became known by their fire being opened. Seeing this, Gough hurried his horse-artillery and cavalry, under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, to the front, which opened a spirited fire upon the enemy, while the infantry deployed so as to be ready to commence the attack when their formation was completed and the guns were withdrawn to the flanks.

15. The field of battle was a level plain, interspersed with low brushwood and small sandy elevations. In consequence of this peculiarity, the armies came, in most places, almost close together before they could see each other. The cannonade, however, soon became extremely warm on both sides; and in this encounter, the British artillery, though of lighter calibre, soon acquired a superiority over that of the enemy. While this was going on with the guns, Gough prepared a grand attack of cavalry on the enemy's left. This onset, led by Brigadiers White and Gough, proved eminently successful. The column of horse, headed by the 3d Light Dragoons, followed by the whole body-guard, the 5th Light Cavalry, and 4th Lancers, made so fierce a charge on the Sikh cavalry, which were pushed forward to stop them, that the latter were entirely overthrown, and the victorious dragoons, following up their success, swept along the rear of the whole enemy's line, chasing the gunners from their pieces, and for a time silencing the fire of their whole artillery. At the same time the 9th Irregulars, under Mactier, threatened their right, and, though the thickness of the jungle impeded their charge, seriously disturbed the enemy in that quarter. Hardly were these brilliant charges executed, when the infantry, consisting of twelve battalions, under Sir Harry Smith, General Gilbert, and Sir John M'Caskill, came into action. The resistance of the Sikhs was obstinate; but, after a murderous fire had gone on for some time, a general charge

was made with loud cheers by the whole force, British and sepoy, and attended with entire success, the enemy being driven from their ground with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, for the most part of very heavy calibre. The coming on of night alone saved their army from still greater disaster; but as it was, the pursuit was continued an hour and a half by starlight, and amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which almost as much as the darkness obscured every object.

16. The victory was gained, but it had been dearly purchased. The killed were 215; the wounded, 657; in all, 872. Among those who fell were Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad; Sir John M'Caskill, a brave and experienced commander, whose loss was severely felt, with several other young officers of the highest promise. The enemy, though defeated and driven from the field, were not routed or dispersed; they had abated little of their confidence and haughty bearing, and retreated to the intrenched camp they had formed at FEROEZESHAH, ten miles in advance of Ferozepore, defended by a most formidable train of artillery. There they still determined to dispute with the British the empire of India. Expecting a new attack, Gough and Hardinge remained two days under arms; and the enemy's horse hovered about the camp so closely that an action was hourly expected. They did not make any forward movement, however; and during these two days two European regiments, the 29th Queen's and 1st Bengal European Light Infantry, came up. Their arrival was hailed with joy, as it more than compensated the loss which had been sustained; and thus reinforced, the army broke up, and on the morning of the 21st advanced to the intrenched camp of the enemy at Ferozeshah. Before doing so, Sir Henry Hardinge, with generous devotion, waived his superior rank as Governor-General, and tendered his services to Sir Hugh Gough to serve under him as second in command! The offer, as well it might, was joyfully accepted;



and these two noble veterans set out together to seek the enemy in their formidable intrenchments.

17. Towards the success of their projected attack on the Sikh position, it was indispensable that a junction should be formed with Littler's division, consisting of 5000 disposable men, who lay in Ferozepore; for the Sikhs had all drawn into two masses; one watching Ferozepore, the other in their intrenched camp at Ferozeshah, where there were now 30,000 good troops assembled, with 108 pieces of artillery, many of them of very heavy calibre. Orders accordingly were sent on the evening of the 20th to General Littler, to move out with every disposable man at daybreak on the 21st, and be at a point designated, which was nearly abreast of the camp at Ferozeshah, and to its right, but out of the range of the enemy's guns, at noon.\* Thither also the Commander-in-Chief, marching by his left, hastened with the whole disposable force from the camp in front of Moodkee. Precisely at twelve, Gough and Hardinge were at the appointed place of rendezvous, and hardly had they halted when heavy clouds of dust were seen to rise in the direction of Ferozepore. It was Littler's division, which, punctual to its orders, had made the perilous march from that place with its flank exposed to the enemy, and almost within reach of his guns, without firing a shot or suffering any molestation. By this junction the army was raised to 16,700 effective men, with 69 guns; a great object of the campaign was gained by the extrication of the garrison of Ferozepore from its perilous advanced position; and the whole British force was at length assembled in one battle-field on the right flank of the enemy's intrenched position.

18. Opinions were now divided at the British headquarters as to the course which should be pursued. Some thought that, as Littler's corps was extricated, any hazardous movement should be avoided, and time

\* Littler left two native regiments to hold the works of Ferozepore.

given for the arrival of the reinforcements from Meerut. But Gough judged differently. He knew that the army in his front at Ferozeshah was little more than half the Sikh force, the remainder being still in position observing Ferozepore; but as it was only a single march distant, it would to a certainty come up on the day following, and either double the force to be attacked in the intrenched camp, or fall on the British flank while engaged in assaulting it, or burn the camp and cut off his communications. For these reasons he determined on an immediate attack, before the second army came up to swell the enemy's ranks. The attempt, however, was hazardous, and, but for the necessity of the case, would have been foolhardy; for the enemy, strongly intrenched, and double the number of their opponents, were amply supplied with provisions, and had enjoyed two days' rest; whereas the British, but scantily provided with food, were exhausted by a march of ten miles on that very morning. The intrenched camp proved even stronger than had been anticipated, for it was armed like a regular fortification, with numerous salient angles, which exposed the assaulting columns to a flanking fire. It formed a parallelogram a mile in length by half a mile in breadth; the shorter sides facing Moodkee and the Sutlej, the longer Ferozepore and the open country. The village of Ferozeshah, which was loopholed and intrenched, lay within the circuit of the lines, and the numerous artillery was skilfully disposed, so as to command every approach to the intrenchments.

19. An immediate attack being resolved on, the bugles sounded just as the wearied soldiers, oppressed with heat and thirst, had lain down to enjoy the much-wished-for repose, and called them to one of the most desperate battles of modern times. Gough in person commanded the right wing; Hardinge directed the left. On the left of the first line stood Littler's division, in the centre Wallace's (late M'Caskill's), on the right Gilbert's. The second line was formed by Sir

Harry Smith's division, with the whole cavalry of the army. The horse-artillery was stationed on either flank, and the foot-artillery grouped in the centre, where the principal assault was intended to be made. This was directed against the side next Ferozepore and *averted* from Moodkee, on which the least attention had been bestowed by the enemy, as they naturally expected to be assailed on the front next to Moodkee, from whence the British advanced. The attack, however, was made on more than one face, as the assailants had overlapped each of the extreme corners of the enemy's works.

20. The troops advanced to the assault in the best order and with unshrinking spirit, and as soon as they came within range, they were received by a tremendous fire, which tore down whole ranks at once, and made vast chasms in others. They recoiled, in some instances, before the storm; for the Sikh artillery, of much heavier calibre than the British, and partially sheltered by the embrasures, fired with great precision of aim, to which the European gunners could make no adequate reply. Littler's division on the left first closed with the enemy; but such was the slaughter in it, that the 62d Regiment, which commenced the attack in the most gallant manner, was fairly forced back, after losing two-thirds of its number; and several sepoy regiments broke and fled the moment they entered the fire. The whole left wing, under Hardinge, after incredible efforts, and carrying part of the works, were driven out again by the heavy fire of the Sikhs, who steadily held the interior of the intrenchment. Gough on the right was more fortunate. Though the resistance there was also most obstinate, the European regiments forced their way in through the embrasures. Following up this advantage, Gough brought up the reserve under Sir Harry Smith, and an entrance having been made by the sappers for horse and artillery, several guns were brought in, and opened fire at point-blank range on the enemy; while the 3d Queen's Dragoons, by re-

peated gallant charges inside the breastworks, captured several batteries, and made the British masters of great part of the intrenched quadrangle. But the Sikhs still held the remainder, including the village of Ferozeshah, which was strongly occupied; and till darkness closed the scene, the gallant antagonists interchanged volleys of musketry and grape at each other without either gaining any sensible advantage, mutually aiming at the flash after the gloom had rendered the figures no longer visible.

21. Night came, but with it no relief to the wounded, no food to the wearied, no respite to the combatants. Side by side with the dying and the dead, the living lay down. The bodies of the Sikhs were intermingled with those of the British. The darkness was illuminated only at intervals by the streak of a bomb traversing the sky, the occasional explosion of an ammunition-waggon, the burning of huts, or the volleys of musketry. The Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief both took post, surrounded by their wearied troops, on the bloody battle-field, within the intrenchment which they had so hardly won. With them was a gallant foreign prince, of a house illustrious in the annals of war, PRINCE WALDEMAR OF PRUSSIA, who had hastened to the banks of the Sulej, and brought to the theatre of Eastern war the courage and the spirit of the great Frederick.\* Sleep, despite all the fatigue they had undergone, there was none in that gallant band; the frequent discharges of cannon and musketry, as well as the groans of the wounded and their cries for water, constantly caused eyelids to open which had begun to close. On one occasion,

\* This brave, amiable, and highly accomplished prince survived all the dangers of the Indian campaign, and returned to Europe. In the course of a tour in Scotland two years after, he did the Author the honour of paying him a visit of several days at his residence of Possil House, in Lanarkshire, accompanied by his able staff-officers, Count Oriola and Count Greuben. The conversation naturally turned very much on the interesting events recorded in this chapter, and several of the incidents and anecdotes are mentioned on their authority.

the fire of a Sikh eighteen-pounder, which had been brought to bear on the Governor-General's bivouac, was so annoying that he was obliged to order the two regiments nearest, the 80th Queen's and 1st Bengal Europeans, to rise up and attack the gun, which was immediately taken with the utmost gallantry.

22. Despite all their resolution, there were many, during that terrible night, who began to entertain the most sinister presentiments. It was known that the last reserves had been engaged on the side of the British, while 30,000 Sikhs were yet to come up who had never fired a shot. Worst of all, it was whispered that the artillery had fired away nearly all their ammunition. The men, wearied by a long march, and then a battle, with little food, were yet unable to sleep from the rattle of the musketry and constant bursting of bombs; the horses were unable to strike into a trot. Some, in these disastrous circumstances, thought it would be best to cut their way through to Ferozepore, where they would at least find the shelter of an intrenched camp. On this opinion being expressed to Sir Hugh Gough, he said, "The thing is impossible. My mind is made up. If we must perish, it is better that our bones should bleach honourably at Ferozeshah than rot at Ferozepore: but they shall do neither the one nor the other." "The Commander-in-Chief thinks," said another officer to Sir H. Hardinge, "that it will be fatal to renew the fight to-morrow."—"Don't you believe a word of it," replied Sir Henry; "the Commander-in-Chief knows as well as anybody that it will not do for a British army to be foiled; and foiled this army shall not be. We must fight it out as soon as there is light enough to see the enemy." Yet, though they were thus resolute in their determination, both generals knew well the perilous position in which they were placed: indeed, it was evident to all. Hardinge sent orders to burn all his private papers, which was accordingly done, and compelled Mr Hardinge, his private secretary, a ci-

vilian, but with his father's spirit in his bosom, sorely against his will, to quit the field. "It is my duty to tell you," said Gough to Hardinge, "that the army is in a critical position." "What do you recommend to be done?"—"Sir Hugh," replied Hardinge, "I have known that for some hours: there is nothing to be done for it but to wait till daylight, attack the enemy vigorously, beat him, or die on the field."—"I quite agree with you," replied Gough, "so let that be the order of the day; we understand each other."\* They pressed hands and parted in silence.

23. At length the sun rose on the 22d on this scene of carnage, and the long night came to an end. The wearied troops, most of whom had neither tasted food nor slept since the morning of the preceding day, were again arranged in line in the same order as before, with the heavy artillery in the centre, the infantry on each side of it, the horse-artillery and cavalry on the flanks. It was soon found, however, that the guns on the British side were entirely overmatched by those of the enemy. This unequal contest could not be suffered to continue; the artillery were wasting their few remaining charges without any result, while that of the enemy was abundantly supplied. "We must try the bayonet once more," said Lord Gough; and the order to charge was given. Wearied as they were, the troops ran forward with a cheer; but when they came within range of the grape, the fire was so heavy that a part of the line staggered and reeled under the weight of metal thrown upon them. Soon recovering, however, the men rushed forward with a still louder cheer, such as British troops alone can give, and in a few moments the

\* Turning then to Colonel Wood, his military secretary, Lord Hardinge said, "These fellows shall not get more out of me than I can help." He then took off a diamond star of the civil order of the Bath, which he always wore. He also remarked, "I have only one hand, a sword is of no use to me, and the Duke of Wellington gave me this sword," and he asked Dr Walker, who was standing near, to unhook it, to take care of it with the star, and if he fell, to give it to his son.

redoubt which was attacked, with all its guns, was in their possession. Meanwhile Hardinge, who led the left, by a rapid charge drove the enemy out of the village of Ferozeshah; and immediately the whole troops brought up their right shoulders, and wheeling on their centre to the left in the interior of the now won quadrangle, pressed forward in a splendid line, driving everything before them, and took the whole artillery on the works. Conspicuous in front rode the two leaders, Gough and Hardinge, with the captured banners displayed, and were received by the whole line with a shout which caused the welkin to ring again.\*

24. The battle was gained. The whole of the enemy's camp-equipage and military stores, with seventy-three guns and seventeen standards, were taken; the intrenched camp, the theatre of so desperate a conflict, was in the hands of the British. But though the Sikh army which had fought these two battles was defeated, another of equal strength remained behind, with its artillery, cavalry, and whole resources untouched. It soon made its appearance on the field, and it was difficult to see how this fresh enemy

\* Sir Henry Hardinge was in every respect a heroic character. Like the youth in Tacitus, he loved danger itself, not the rewards of courage. The following anecdote which I had from his early friend and fellow-soldier, afterwards Sir William Gomm, late commander-in-chief in India, is strikingly illustrative of this disposition:—

"Sir William and young Hardinge were fellow-students at the Royal Military College of High Wycombe in the year 1805. A young ensign of the 3d, now Fusilier Guards, George Deane, was giving an animated account of the landing in Egypt in 1800, in which he himself had borne a distinguished part, and in the course of which he had been wounded. Upon hearing the recital, to which he listened with the utmost attention, Hardinge burst into tears, inveighing bitterly against the jade Fortune, who had suffered that young fellow to have already seen and done so much while he had been kept a laggard, far from the field of action."—SIR WILLIAM GOMM to SIR A. ALISON, 12th December 1864.

Sir William adds that, at the moment, this incident brought to his recollection the corresponding anecdote of Cæsar's weeping at the exploits of Alexander, and that from that moment he augured great things from Hardinge's future career.

was to be resisted. Nevertheless the attempt was made; but the wearied troopers could scarcely get their horses to move; and the artillery, obliged to husband their ammunition, were speedily crushed by the superior fire of the enemy. The infantry, however, when drawn up in line, showed so bold a front that the enemy declined the attack, and drew back. This was only done, however, to gain time; and shortly they reappeared with the whole Sikh reserves, 30,000 strong, the greater part of whom had not yet fired a shot. Then indeed the stout heart of the Commander-in-Chief for a moment sank within him; and despairing of the issue, yet determined not to yield, he rode slowly along the front, hoping that every shot which fell around him would prove his last.\* The cannonade on the Sikh side was soon extremely violent, and a change of the whole front to the right was rendered necessary, to prevent the captured village from again falling into the enemy's hands. On the British side not a shot was returned from the artillery, their ammunition being totally exhausted. At this critical moment, when there no longer seemed any hope, the cavalry and horse-artillery were seen to move off from the flanks, taking the road to Ferozepore. Great was the indignation in the British infantry when they saw themselves thus left in presence of the enemy at such a moment wholly unsupported. It resulted from an order given by a staff-officer, who was afterwards found to have had no authority to give it. Nevertheless it proved the salvation of the army. The Sikhs, already disheartened by the loss of so many guns, and ignorant of the exhausted state of their antagonists,

\* "The only time I felt a doubt was towards the evening of the 22d, when the fresh enemy advanced with heavy columns of infantry, cavalry, and guns, and our cavalry horses were so thoroughly done up that they could not even command a trot. For a moment then I felt regret (and I deeply deplore my want of confidence in Him who never failed me or forsook me) as each passing shot left me on horseback; but it was only for a moment."—SIR H. GOUGH to —, Dec. 27, 1845.

thought it was a movement to seize the fords in their rear, and cut off their retreat. Under this impression they first wavered, then began to retreat. The British saw their advantage, gave a loud cheer, and, by a sudden rush forward, seized the guns which had given them so much annoyance, which were instantly spiked. Upon this the whole Sikh army fled to the rear; and such was their consternation, that they never stopped till they had got the Sutlej between them and their enemies.

25. The loss of the British in these desperate battles was very severe, and on a scale hitherto unprecedented in Indian warfare. It amounted to 694 killed and 1721 wounded—in all 2415, being a sixth of the troops engaged, who were about 15,500. The soldiers passed an anxious time on the night of the 22d, for they were every moment uncertain whether the attack would not be renewed. But morning broke without any alarm, and the scouts brought in intelligence that the whole Sikh army were crossing the Sutlej. Among the slain were Major Broadfoot, the zealous and able political agent in the North-Western Provinces; Colonel Wallace, and Major Somerset, son of Lord Fitzroy Somerset (afterwards LORD RAGLAN), a worthy descendant of John of Gaunt. On the afternoon of the 23d, seeing the battle was not about to be renewed, the Governor-General issued a general order, which, after recounting in deserved terms of eulogy their glorious exploits, invited the survivors of these bloody fights to assemble near the Governor-General's tent, to return thanks to the Lord of Hosts for the victory. The service was solemnly and reverently performed, and joined in with fervent devotion by all present, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief setting the example. The terrible scenes they had recently witnessed, the thinned ranks, the dead and the dying by whom they were surrounded, had impressed even the most volatile with serious sentiments; and many knees were then for the first time bent in prayer,

and many lips, unused to religious services,

“Faltered thanks for life  
Redeemed, unhopd, from desperate strife.”

26. After this terrible shock both armies remained for a time quiescent; the losses on either side had been so serious that they required to be replaced before the contest could be renewed. The delay, however, turned chiefly to the benefit of the British. The Sikhs at first had enjoyed the immense advantage of attacking suddenly, with their whole force concentrated, an army widely scattered. But when the first onset was over, and the contest came to depend on the comparative amount of the forces which the contending parties could bring up to reinforce their ranks, the superior resources of the British Government came to tell with decisive effect on the future fortunes of the campaign. The Governor-General ordered up, from Meerut, Cawnpore, Delhi, and Agra, every disposable man and gun to the front; and though a large number, of course, required to be left behind to keep up the communications, yet considerable reinforcements reached the army. Before the end of January 1846, the forces under his command consisted of thirty-one battalions of infantry, nine regiments of cavalry, and a full proportion of artillery and irregulars—in all, in round numbers, thirty thousand combatants of all arms. The troops were so disposed that they could, on the shortest notice, converge to any point where an attack might be made or assistance required; while the whole roads in the rear, from Sirhind to Bussean, were covered with convoys bringing up stores of all sorts for the use of the army, or reinforcements hurrying on to the scene of danger and glory in the front. Meanwhile the Sikhs were actively engaged. Though defeated and discouraged, they were not yet subdued; and taking heart from the prolonged inactivity of the British after the battle, rendered necessary by the exhaustion of their ammunition, they again threw a bridge of boats over the Sutlej at Sobraon, passed a portion of

their army over to the left bank, and fortified the *tête-du-pont*. The situation of their intrenched camp was admirably chosen; it was situated on a bend of the stream, which enabled the artillery on one side to command the other; and placing their field-artillery on the left bank on the *tête-du-pont*, they ranged their heavy guns, commanding them on the right bank, which was higher, in the rear. Thus, if the *tête-du-pont* were carried, the victors would find themselves exposed to a plunging fire from the opposite side, from batteries which they had no means of reaching but by a bridge of boats, liable at a moment's warning to be broken down.

27. During these operations a considerable part of the supplies for the Sikh army were drawn from the chiefs under British protection on the left bank, whose secret leaning to the native side was clearly evinced in their actions, though in words they professed fidelity to the Company. For this purpose they had established a considerable magazine at Dhurum-Kote, a fortified village on the road from Ferozepore to Loodianah, under the protection of a considerable body of men. Deeming himself strong enough to resume the offensive, Sir Hugh Gough determined to attack this post, which was done on the 18th January by SIR HARRY SMITH, with a single brigade of his division. But while this movement was in course of being executed, Sirdar Runjore Singh, with a powerful force, was sent by the Sikh generals across the Sutlej by the ford of Philour to threaten Loodianah, cut Smith off, and intercept the siege-train and reinforcements coming up from Delhi. The movement was ably conceived, and had very nearly proved successful. When the British General, who had been reinforced by Cureton's cavalry, was advancing towards Loodianah, whither his orders directed him, after his success at Dhurum-Kote, he was suddenly assailed by the Sirdar, who fell perpendicularly on his line of march, and opened a heavy fire of artillery on the long trains of baggage which encumbers the march of every

considerable Indian army. The head of the column, consisting of the troops, extricated itself from the danger, and, moving steadily on by echelons of battalions, fired, when assailed by the enemy's horse, with the precision of a field-day; but the baggage was cut off, and almost entirely fell into the hands of the enemy. Smith, however, with the soldiers, got through, and effected a junction with Godby near Loodianah.

28. By this junction, Sir Harry Smith's disposable force was doubled, for Brigadier Wilson came up at this very time with two regiments from Bussean; but the movement of the Sirdar on his flank had cut him off from Wheeler, who, with his own second brigade, was following him up in support, and the loss of his baggage, which contained a considerable portion of his ammunition, rendered his situation very precarious. The Sikhs first took up an intrenched position at a place called Buddawul, between Smith and Wheeler. After remaining there for some days, however, they decamped, and moved towards the Sutlej to effect a junction with a reinforcement of 4000 regular troops, with 12 guns and a large body of cavalry. Having accomplished this, the Sirdar resumed the offensive, and marched to ALIWAL so as to threaten Smith's communications. Meanwhile that general had joined Wheeler; and finding himself now at the head of four brigades of infantry, besides an admirable body of cavalry, he resolved to attack the enemy, who were about six miles distant, occupying a ridge close to Aliwal. The ground on the British right being a short hard grass, eminently favourable for the movements of cavalry, Smith wisely concentrated the greater part of his horse in that quarter, the remainder being sent to the left, and the cannon placed in the centre. Between the bodies of horse, the infantry moved up in echelon, and deployed with beautiful precision when they came to the ground. The sight was most imposing when, on the 28th January, the British approached within cannon-shot. Right

before them, drawn up in admirable array, lay the army of the Sikhs, full 20,000 strong, with 70 guns; the British were only 9000, with 32 pieces of artillery. But the spirit of the troops was excellent: they advanced as to certain victory; and the glancing of the sun on the steady line of swords and bayonets as they deployed, formed a spectacle at once martial and imposing.

29. When the British, after executing a flank movement to the right, had advanced to within cannon-shot, the fire opened upon them from the Sikh artillery was so violent that it became necessary to halt the men, though still under fire, till the village of Aliwal, from which it chiefly issued, on the enemy's left, was carried. Brigadier Godby, who was on the extreme British right, was directed to advance as quickly as possible against the village, supported by Hick's brigade. They made a splendid charge, and by a rapid rush took the village, with two guns of heavy calibre, which had proved extremely annoying. Once established there, the centre and whole line were ordered again to advance, which they did with the utmost spirit, the 31st Queen's and native regiments contending who should be first to reach the enemy. While the battle was raging with the utmost fury in the centre and left, Brigadier Cureton executed a brilliant charge against a large body of horse on the enemy's left, which was driven back in great disorder upon the reserves of their infantry. At the same time Brigadiers Wheeler and Wilson had advanced in the centre and on the left, at the head of their brigades, against the line opposite them, and driven them back, taking several guns. Seeing this, and to secure the victory, which was now declaring for the British at all points, Sir Harry Smith moved forward Godby's brigade from Aliwal, so as to threaten the enemy's rear and their line of retreat to the fords of the Sutlej by which they had crossed over. Upon this the Sikhs fell back on all sides, and to cover their retreat occupied in strength the

village of Bhoondee and the ground to its right. There they were charged in the most gallant manner by the 16th Lancers and 3d Light Cavalry, the Lancers leading, who broke into the enemy's square, and totally routed them. At the same time the 53d Queen's, supported by the 30th Native Infantry, stormed the village of Bhoondee, and drove the enemy successively from every position which they strove to take up between it and the river. It was now no longer a battle, but a rout. A general rush ensued to the ford and the boats, in endeavouring to reach which the British guns and howitzers played with fatal effect on the multitude contending with each other to get over. Nine guns were taken on the edge of the river, and two more stuck in the quicksands, and fell into the hands of the victors. In the ardour of pursuit several of the British horsemen followed the other guns into the middle of the stream, and spiked them, with the water up to the axles of the carriages.

30. This victory completely restored the prestige of the British, which had been somewhat dimmed by the calamitous loss sustained in the desperate shock at Ferozeshah. The Governor-General, in a proclamation addressed to the troops, recounted with just pride that fifty-two guns had been taken in this splendid battle, making, with those captured at Moodkee and Ferozeshah, 143 left from the Sikhs since they had crossed the Sutlej two months before, while they had been driven everywhere back to their own side of the river. The loss of the Sikhs in this battle was not less than 3000, chiefly incurred in the crossing of the Sutlej; the British were only weakened by 673 killed and wounded.

31. Still the Sikhs held the intrenched camp, bridge of boats, and *tête-du-pont* of SOBRAON, which enabled them at pleasure to direct their forces to either bank of the river, and kept the long line of the British communications in constant danger from sudden irruptions. It was of the utmost moment to dispossess them of this

stronghold, but the attack on it was no light matter, for it was defended by 30,000 of the best troops of the enemy, supported by an immense train of artillery, for the most part of heavy calibre. Many reasons concurred to recommend delay: the Sikhs had no further resources to look to, whereas those of the British were daily coming forward, and Sir Charles Napier, with 15,000 men from Scinde, was in full march upon Mooltan, which he would shortly reach, and thereby effect a diversion in the rear of the enemy to the relief of the Commander-in-Chief. On the other hand, all Asia expected the British speedily to crush the Sikhs, and prove the reality of their boasted victories by their capture; and formidable as the intrenchments were, it had been found at Ferozeshah that they might be carried by British courage and resolution. Above all, a train of heavy guns and mortars had come up from Delhi. Thus reinforced, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, after duly weighing all the circumstances of their own and the enemy's position, resolved on an immediate attack on the intrenched camp, and it was fixed for the 10th February.

32. Previous to this grand attack on the now concentrated forces of the enemy, Sir Harry Smith's division had been called up from Loodianah. It joined the main army on the 8th February, the very day after the head of the siege-train came up. The Sikhs were confident in the strength of their intrenched camp, extending over both sides of the river, with a strong well-constructed bridge of boats between them. The British guns, which now amounted to 100 pieces, of which a considerable part were of heavy calibre, were arranged in the form of a semicircle round the camp on the left bank of the river, so as to be able to concentrate a cross fire upon any part of the enemy's works. The Sikh intrenchments were armed by 130 pieces of artillery, of which 70 were heavy; and the whole country round, by which approaches required to be made, was perfectly level, without cover of any

kind, and swept by their artillery. It was evident, therefore, that the attack could not be made without a very great loss of life; for the practice of the Sikh gunners was excellent, and they stood steadily to their pieces. It was for some time discussed at headquarters whether in these circumstances it would not be the more advisable course to give up all thoughts of attacking Sobraon, and instead move down the Sutlej to the neighbourhood of Ferozepore, where there was a large island unoccupied by the enemy, and attempt a passage there, so as to take the intrenched camp in rear. After mature deliberation, however, this plan was abandoned as too hazardous, requiring the dividing of the army in presence of the concentrated Sikh forces having command of both banks of the river, and it was determined to make a direct attack upon the intrenchments in front.

33. It was the plan of the British commander to shake the enemy by a fire of uncommon severity of some hours' duration, and then suddenly let the troops loose for the storm. The fire was to have commenced at daybreak on the 10th instant, but the mist rising from the river was so thick that nothing could be seen, and it was necessary to wait an hour till the sun had dispelled the vapour. Meanwhile the troops were arranged in the order in which they were to proceed to the assault. On the extreme left, three brigades, composing Sir Robert Dick's division, stood close to the margin of the river. His attack was to be headed by the 10th Queen's, supported by the 53d Queen's, led by Brigadier Stacey. Wilkinson's brigade was to follow two hundred yards in rear, while Ashburnham's formed the reserve to this wing. In the centre, Major-General Gilbert's division was formed close to and partly in the village of Sobraon; while on the right Sir Harry Smith's division extended round to the edge of the Sutlej on the other side. Thus the British troops formed an immense semicircle, each end of which touched the Sutlej, while in its centre was the



village of Sobraon, which gave its name to the battle. Brigadier Cureton's horse threatened the ford of Hurreekee, opposite to which the enemy had stationed large bodies of cavalry. The remainder of the horse were in reserve behind the infantry. The Sikhs, consisting of thirty-two regular battalions, occupied the interior of the intrenchments, which consisted of a triple line of works, one within another, flanked by formidable redoubts, the fire from which swept every part of the plain by which alone they could be approached.

34. When the fire of the British artillery, which was kept up with uncommon vigour and precision, and was admirably replied to by the Sikhs, had lasted three hours, the troops were moved up to the assault. Dick's division on the left led the way. The infantry marched steadily forward in line; the guns came up at the gallop, taking successive positions as they advanced, until they were within 300 yards of the front line of the Sikh works, when they halted, and poured in a concentrated fire on those parts of the works intended to be assaulted. Then the infantry rushed forward with a run, the 10th leading, supported by the 53d Queen's, and 43d and 59th Native Infantry. Such, however, was the vigour of the defence, that the bravest of the Europeans recoiled from the shock, and the stormers were repulsed with terrible slaughter. Then the Ghoorkas were brought forward, and these brave little men, in their dark-green uniforms, were soon seen running over the intervening space strewn with dead until they reached the foot of the rampart. There, however, they met with a check, for the scarp was so high that they could not climb up, and meanwhile a dreadful fire issued from its summit, under which the crowd at its foot fell fast. At length a *little Ghoorka*,\* lifted upon the shoulders of a huge grenadier of the 10th, who had rushed on again along with them, was the first who got into an embrasure. Speedily a

desperate conflict ensued around him, the Sikhs striving to bayonet those who came pressing up to protect him, the British to shelter their gallant leader. At last the latter prevailed, a portion of the works was carried, and the whole division, headed by the gallant Stacey, came pouring rapidly in, followed by Wilkinson with his men, and both brigades were soon engaged in a desperate close fight with the enemy in the interior of their works.

35. No sooner did the Sikh generals see this advantage gained on the left, than they directed their whole force against the division which had thus penetrated into their intrenchments; and the danger was imminent that it would be crushed by superior numbers on the very ground which it had with such difficulty won. To meet this danger, Ashburnham's reserve brigade pushed on to Dick's support, Gilbert's division was hurried forward in the centre, Smith's division was directed against the right, and the fire from the whole artillery was redoubled. Long and desperate was the conflict, for the Sikhs fought with the utmost resolution; their gunners stood to their pieces to the last; and even when the British, at particular spots, had broken in through gaps opened by the artillery, their masses rushed on with undaunted valour, and again and again expelled the stormers from the intrenchments. At length, the sappers on the left centre having cleared out openings in the works sufficiently wide to admit horsemen in single file, the 3d Queen's Dragoons, headed by Sir Joseph Thackwell, penetrated in, and, forming inside the works, galloped along, taking the batteries in the rear and cutting down the gunners, who, with unconquerable valour, continued to the very last to discharge their pieces. Gough immediately sent in the whole divisions in the centre and right to support and follow up this advantage. Long and desperate, however, was the conflict within the works; the Sikhs fought with heroic resolution, refusing alike to give or receive quarter; and it was not till the entire

\* Of the Sirmoor battalion, forming the left of Gilbert's division.

British reserves had been brought into action that victory finally declared for them. Gradually the Sikh columns were forced back towards the bridge and fords in their rear; the fire from their rearmost ranks at first lessened, and at last altogether ceased; and the whole mass, abandoning their guns, rushed in a tumultuous body to the water's edge.

36. Sir Hugh Gough had anxiously looked for the arrival of the period when the rising of the Sutlej, by rendering impassable the fords on either side of the bridge of boats, might enable him to attack the enemy in the hazardous predicament of having no line of retreat but a broad river, traversed by a single narrow bridge, in their rear.\* This immense advantage, the counterpart of that enjoyed by the Archduke Charles in the second day of the battle of Aspern, now seconded his efforts. During the night preceding the battle, and while it was raging, the Sutlej rose seven inches, and thus rendered the fords hardly passable for foot-soldiers. This circumstance drove the whole fugitives to the bridge, the entrance of which was soon choked up. The British horse-artillery advanced at the gallop to the edge of the river, and opened a tremendous fire of round-shot and canister on the living mass of fugitives. So terrible was the slaughter that the victorious troops felt for the sufferers, and would have recoiled from continuing it, had not the recollection of the cruelty with which the Sikhs had, in the commencement of the action, slaughtered the wounded British who fell into their hands, steeled every heart of the conquerors against pity.

\* "The enemy have intrenched themselves on the very brink of the river, at a bend where the guns from the opposite side enfilade not only the position itself, but the advance of it. I have done everything to draw them out of it, but in vain. I now want only some lucky opportunity; but the ford is so good that the whole guns and men may pass over any night without my knowing of it. *A good fall of rain, or an accidental thaw of snow upon the hills, may enable me, when they have no other means than the bridge, to attack them.* Were I to do so now, I could not push on to Lahore, for my battering-train is not up."—SIR HUGH GOUGH to —, 2d February 1846 (MS.)

37. Such was the battle of Sobraon, in which it is difficult to decide whether to admire most the desperate valour of the conquered,\* or the heroic prowess of the conquerors. It was now evident the British had come into contact with very different races of men from those who yielded to the prowess of Clive. Equally plain was it that the sepoys could no longer be relied on in battle with the rude and hardy inhabitants of the north; experience had abundantly proved that, unless preceded and supported by European troops, they were no match, in the general case, either for the Sikhs, the Ghoorkas, or the Affghans. The loss in the battle was very severe; it amounted to 320 killed and 2063 wounded—in all, 2383. Among the former was Major-General Sir Robert Dick, a gallant officer, who had won his spurs in command of the 42d at Quatre-Bras; Brigadier Taylor, and General M'Laren. No less than 13 European officers were killed, and 101 wounded; while of the native there were only 3 of the former and 39 of the latter. The extraordinary valour and prowess of the Ghoorka regiments attracted universal admiration, and were deservedly noticed by the Commander-in-Chief.† Sixty-seven pieces of cannon and 200 camel-swivels, besides 19 standards, were taken, and immense stores of ammunition. The loss of the Sikhs was prodigious, chiefly during the terrible flight over the bridge, or in trying to cross the fords: it amounted to at least 10,000 men.

38. Sir Henry Hardinge, who in this battle, as in that of Ferozeshah, maintained his chivalrous place as second in command in the army, was foremost, as was the Commander-in-Chief,

\* The personal valour of the Sikhs was strongly spoken of in all the private letters which appeared in the newspapers of the day. "I saw one fellow dash out of the batteries, sword in hand, and before he was bayoneted he had cut down two Europeans. We stopped one man who was levelling his musket at a dying Sikh in the river, to whom we promised protection if he would come ashore. The dying man shook his head, as much as to say he would never give in to the Feringhees, and floated down the stream."—Letter of a Staff Officer, 14th February 1846; *Quart. Rev.* lxxviii. 214.

† The Sirmoor and Nusseere battalions.

wherever the fire was hottest and the danger greatest. He was with Stacey's brigade, which first got into the intrenchments; and it was his indomitable firmness which encouraged the troops to keep the ground they had won with so much difficulty. Sir Hugh Gough displayed throughout not only the *coup-d'œil* of an experienced general, but the vigour and elasticity of a young officer. On horseback from morning to night, he wore out the strongest of his staff without seeming to feel fatigue himself, and was among the first of the horsemen who penetrated in single file into the intrenchments on the enemy's right. As soon as the battle was gained, Sir Henry hastened to a spot some miles farther down, where preparations for crossing over had been made; and four brigades, which had been kept in hand for that purpose, were passed over. The whole army soon followed, and advanced in great strength towards Lahore.\* At the same time the Governor-General issued a proclamation, which, after recounting the wanton and unprovoked incursion of the Sikh soldiery, and the signal chastisement which they had experienced, concluded with declaring that the British Government did not desire any acquisition of territory, but only security for the future, indemnity for the expenses of the war, and the establishment of a government at Lahore which should afford a guarantee against such aggressions in time to come. Brought to reason by the approach of the victorious army, the Ranee and her Durbar or council resolved on submission, and despatched plenipotentiaries to the British camp to arrange terms of accommodation. They were courteously received by Sir Henry Hardinge; and the blame of the war being by common consent laid on the rebellious soldiers whom the Government were unable to control, no

\* The army crossed on the bridge of boats collected with such timely forethought by Lord Hardinge, at Ferozepore, before the campaign opened. The bridge was laid down on the 10th and 11th February, and over it marched the army, 24,000 strong, 40 heavy siege-guns, 100,000 camp-followers, and 68,000 animals, including 400 elephants!!! This gives some idea of the encumbrances of an Indian army.

difficulty was experienced in coming to terms, which were arranged in a treaty, signed on the 15th February at Kussoor, and formally ratified at Lahore on the 9th March.

39. By this treaty the whole territory, hill and plain, lying between the Sutlej, the former frontier, and the river Beas, was ceded to the British Government. A crore and a half of rupees (£1,500,000) were to be paid as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; the whole guns which had been pointed against the British were to be given up, and the entire Sikh army re-formed on the system which prevailed in the time of Runjeet Singh, and on a scale to be arranged in connection with the British Government. The entire control of the Sutlej, with the states on its left bank, as well as the country betwixt it and the Beas, was surrendered to the British. Gholab Singh, who had adhered to the British during the contest, received in return the tract of hilly country between the Indus and the Ravee, including Chumba and Cashmere. In consideration of this gift, he agreed to pay them 75 lacs of rupees (£750,000), and to acknowledge himself a tributary of the British Government. At the earnest entreaty of the Sikh Durbar, it was agreed that a British subsidiary force should occupy Lahore till the end of the year. These terms being agreed to, the young Maharajah, Dhuleep Singh, was received with great pomp by the Governor-General, on the 18th February, in his camp at Lulleanee, submission having been previously made, and pardon awarded by the Government; and four days after, the British army made their triumphal entry into Lahore, and were put in possession of the gates of the citadel, the residence of the Maharajah. From thence the Governor-General issued a proclamation, recounting in terms of just eulogy the glorious achievements of his troops, which in sixty days had defeated in four pitched battles the bravest army in Asia, taken 220 guns in fair fight, and subdued a martial kingdom's vast array.\*

\* "The army of the Sutlej has now brought

40. The glorious and speedy termination of this bloody and terrible war gave the greatest satisfaction both in India and Great Britain. Its great and memorable events, the heroism displayed by the chiefs and soldiers on both sides, the fearful chances of the conflict, and the mighty stake which was played for by the contending armies, strongly moved the British mind in both hemispheres. The moderation shown by the conquerors, both in the outset in striving to avert the conflict, and in the end in sparing the vanquished, was the subject of frequent and warm eulogy in both Houses of Parliament and by the press. The anticipation was now generally expressed that lasting peace had at length been secured in India, the fidelity of the sepoys thoroughly tested, and our empire in the East established on a firm foundation. Honours were, with great and deserved profusion, showered down on the chiefs and officers and men who had been engaged in these memorable conflicts: Sir Henry Hardinge was made a viscount with the cordial approbation of the country, and a large pension settled on him by the East India Com-

its operations in the field to a close, by the dispersion of the Sikh army and the military occupation of Lahore, preceded by a series of the most triumphant successes ever recorded in the military history of India. The British Government, trusting to the faith of treaties, and to the long-subsisting friendship between the two states, had limited military operations to the defence of its own frontier. Compelled suddenly to assume the offensive by the unprovoked invasion of its territories, the British army, under its distinguished leader, has in sixty days defeated the Sikh forces in four general actions, captured 220 pieces of field artillery, and is now at the capital, dictating to the Lahore Durbar the terms of a treaty the conditions of which will tend to secure the British provinces from the repetition of a similar outrage. The Governor-General, however, being determined to mark with reprobation the perfidious character of the war, has required and will exact that every remaining piece which has been pointed against the British army during the campaign shall be surrendered; and the Sikh army, whose insubordinate conduct is one of the chief causes of the anarchy and misrule which have brought the Sikh state to the brink of ruin, is about to be disbanded."—SIR H. HARDINGE'S *Proclamation*, Lahore, Feb. 22, 1846; *Ann. Reg.* 1846, p. 367.

pany; Sir Hugh Gough was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Gough; numerous officers engaged were decorated with military orders, and a gratuity of twelve months' batta bestowed, without exception, on the whole soldiers engaged in the campaign.

41. Judging by the European standard, and relying on the vast effect of a noble display of moderation in the hour of victory, there can be no doubt that the anticipations then generally entertained of a long peace were well founded. But there never was a greater mistake than was committed in applying that standard to the Eastern world. Destitute of all ideas of moderation or any power of self-control in the career of ambition themselves, the Asiatics have no conception of these virtues, and utterly discredit their existence in others. If they see moderation and abandonment of conquests in a victorious power, they invariably ascribe it, not to humanity or a sense of justice, but to a secret dread of the enemy, or the consciousness of inability to continue the contest in the party heretofore successful. It is considered, therefore, as a certain proof that the contest may, on the first convenient opportunity, be renewed. So it proved in the present instance; so it proved in the sparing of Canton in 1841, which rendered unavoidable its capture in 1858; and so it has proved on every occasion, whether in Asia or Africa, when the Europeans have been brought in contact with the more savage nations of the earth.

42. Even before the year during which the occupation of Lahore had expired, it had become evident that the Sikh soldiery were far from being thoroughly subdued, and that a renewal of the contest at no distant period might with certainty be anticipated. When Gholab Singh attempted to take possession of the principality carved for him out of the dominion of the Sikhs, he experienced such opposition from the son of the late governor, that he was driven out of the country, and only regained his

footing in it by the assistance of General Wheeler, with a brigade of British troops. It was discovered ere long that this resistance had been secretly encouraged, and in fact enjoined, by the vizier and some ministers of the Durbar at Lahore. It thus became evident that the British influence in Lahore could only be secured by the permanent presence of a subsidiary force. The other members of the Durbar of that capital accordingly applied to the British Government to conclude a fresh treaty, stipulating for the assistance of a permanent force; and this was (16th December 1846) agreed to. Its amount was left to the decision of the Governor-General, but it was stipulated that the Sikh Government was to pay 22 lacs of rupees (£220,000) annually for its maintenance.\*

43. It was not to be expected that a state of things which reduced them to the rank of a protected state could be very agreeable to so proud and martial a people as the Sikhs. Such, however, had been the violence of the shock on the Sutlej, that, in spite of the ill humours which were afloat, especially among the soldiery, they remained perfectly quiet—stunned, as it were—during the whole of 1847. The Raneë, who was found to be intriguing against the Government, and was of a very restless ambitious disposition, was sent off under a military escort to Sheikhopoor, where she remained under surveillance. Lord Hardinge employed this period of repose in visiting various parts of India, everywhere organising schools and the means of extending public instruction. He was busily engaged also in directing surveys for the formation of railways and canals, which were set on foot, and in great part carried into execution, by his successor, and have since proved so inestimable a blessing to the country. Akbar Khan, the persevering and inveterate enemy of the British in the Affghanistan war, died in the early part of the year; and in the latter, Sir Charles Napier, whose

health had suffered severely from the climate, fatigue, and anxiety, and an incipient disease, which proved in the end mortal, resigned the command in Scinde. His merits were acknowledged in handsome and well-deserved terms by the Governor-General.\* Lord Hardinge did not long remain in India after the retirement of his gallant lieutenant. His health was so severely affected by the climate, and the extreme fatigues and anxiety he had undergone, that he too was obliged to resign. He set sail for England in November, to enter upon duties and render services, as Master-General of the Ordnance and Commander-in-Chief, not less important than those he had conferred upon his country on the banks of the Sutlej.

44. He was succeeded as Governor-General of India by LORD DALHOUSIE, a nobleman whose administration lasted nearly eight years, and was eminently prosperous. But it has acquired an additional interest from having so closely preceded, and in many respects been connected with, the terrible revolt of 1857. He was of very ancient descent, for his maternal ancestor, Sir Thomas Maule, defended the Castle of Brechin against the forces of Edward I. during that monarch's invasion of Scotland in 1295; and his direct paternal ancestor, Ramsay of Dalwolsay, distinguished himself by his defence of Dalhousie Castle, and at the battle of Roslin, in the wars of Wallace and Bruce. The present Earl, who was born in 1812, the son of one of the bravest and most distinguished of Wellington's lieutenants, inherited all the

\* "The Governor-General most cordially acknowledges the sense he entertains of the just, firm, and able manner in which his Excellency has conducted the civil administration of the province intrusted to his charge. This important and difficult duty has been performed with an ability which justifies the unlimited confidence which his Lordship has reposed in Sir Charles Napier—a name pre-eminently glorious as the leader of the forces which achieved the victories of Meanee and Hyderabad."—*Proclamation of LORD HARDINGE*, 10th October 1847; *Ann. Reg.* 1847, p. 435.

\* See *ante*, chap. lv. § 6.

talents, energy, and patriotic spirit of his ancestors, but they were more directed than theirs to pacific pursuits. His mind was essentially active; he had remarkable administrative talents, which were directed, not to organising the means of war, but to developing the resources and stimulating the industry of peace. Though the younger branch of the family, which inherited the vast family estates in the county of Angus, had always adopted Whig principles, he himself, as his father had been before him, was a Tory, but of that liberal kind which Sir Robert Peel loved to collect around himself, in order to form the nucleus of a Conservative party in harmony with the lights and intelligence of the age. His administrative talents early attracted the notice of that sagacious observer; and when he was called to the helm in 1841, he at once gave Lord Dalhousie an important situation in the Board of Trade. While there, the latter's sagacity soon discovered the perilous nature of the railway mania, which ere long was found to be spreading such an excitement through the country; and the lowering of the deposit required on such undertakings, from ten to five per cent, was made against his decided remonstrances. The reputation of financial and administrative ability which his career at the Board of Trade earned for him, pointed him out to the succeeding Government and the East India Directors as the most suitable person to administer the Indian Empire, now delivered, it was hoped, by Lord Hardinge's victories, from all risk of external aggression; and with great liberality, though not of their own party, the Whig Ministry appointed him Governor-General. He received his appointment in November 1847, and immediately set sail for India.

45. When the new Governor-General arrived at Calcutta on 10th January 1848, he found affairs by no means wearing the prosperous aspect which was anticipated. The Punjab had again become the theatre of disturbances, only the more difficult to deal with that they originated in the

widespread and ineradicable hostility of the soldiery and the people.\* It was in Mooltan that the hostility to British influence earliest broke out into open acts of hostility. This important fortress had been one of the last conquests of Runjeet Singh; and the governor whom the Lion of the Punjab had placed in it had been killed in a popular tumult, soon after the latter's death. He was succeeded by his son Moolraj, who was governor when Lord Hardinge occupied Lahore. Disputes, however, ensued between the Government of the Sikhs and Moolraj after the former fell under British influence; and as it was well known that the people took part with their governor, the Durbar resolved to dispossess him and substitute in his place Sirdar Khan, in whom they had confidence. The change was effected without violence, and the new governor seemed to be quietly installed in his office, when an event occurred which demonstrated how strong were the feelings of hostility to the British on the part of the inhabitants. On the very day after he had taken possession, the British resident, Mr Vans Agnew, and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay army, who had been appointed to attend the new governor to the seat of his authority, were treacherously set upon by a body of armed Sikhs, and both desperately wounded. They were carried by Sirdar Khan to a small fort outside the fortress, and beyond the reach of its guns, where it was thought they would be in safety; but this expectation proved fallacious. The Sikh garrison immediately rose in arms, and let in the assailants, by whom both the Englishmen were barbarously murdered, and the entire fortress of Mooltan, as well as the building where the crime had

\* "When the second Sikh war broke out there were in all nearly 50,000 British troops, with 60 guns, on the north-west frontier. Of these 20,000 were in, or close to, the Punjab—9000 being in garrison at Lahore and 8000 at Ferozepore—while the remaining 27,000 were distributed between Umballa, Delhi, the hills, and other points where they were at hand to act as reserves."—ARNOLD'S *Administration of Lord Dalhousie*, vol. I. pp. 55, 56.

been committed, fell into the hands of the insurgents.\*

46. As soon as intelligence of the atrocious act reached Lahore, it was resolved to take instant steps to avenge the majesty of the British name. LIEUTENANT EDWARDES, a gallant and enterprising officer, who had a small detachment under his command on the northern bank of the Indus, effected a junction with a body of Mussulman troops in the Sikh service, 2000 strong, with 6 guns, under General Cortland. The former immediately began to recruit his force by enlisting Pathans, and soon added 3000 of these hardy soldiers to his ranks. Moolraj had meanwhile approached the Indus and occupied with a strong detachment the important town of Leia. But Edwardes, sending a body of his cavalry across the river, on the 20th May, surprised the post and routed the detachment. Some insurgent Sikhs, occupying Deera Ghazee Khan on the north bank, had collected 39 boats; and Moolraj was in full march to cross there when he was anticipated by the seizure of this vital point by a small body of Cortland's men. Another fleet of boats was secured by Edwardes's horse, and the rebels were confined to the south bank. But now a new actor came upon the stage. At the instigation of the Resident at Lahore, the Khan of Bahawulpore, whose territories lie to the south of the Sutlej, sent a column, 6000 strong, over that stream to march upon Mooltan. Moolraj, quitting Edwardes, threw himself upon this force. Edwardes and Cortland flew to the rescue. Passing the Indus they pushed on by forced marches to the Chenab, and, on the 18th June, began to cross that river. Edwardes led the way, and found the Bahawulpore army engaged with the Sikhs on the plain of Kinezree. Bringing his Pathans into line, he supported a defensive

battle until Cortland got his guns and regulars over; then the united force charged on the Mooltan insurgents, and overthrew them, with the loss of eight guns. Advancing straight on Mooltan, Edwardes, Cortland, and the Bahawulpore levies (the last now commanded by Lieutenant Lake), again encountered Moolraj in front of that fortress, at Suddoosain, on the 1st July, defeated him with the loss of two guns, and forced him to take refuge within its walls.

47. Edwardes immediately advanced to observe the town, being too weak as yet to complete its investment or undertake the siege; and meanwhile the utmost efforts were made by the Resident at Lahore to collect a siege-train and assemble forces adequate to so serious an undertaking. The despatch of a British force to Mooltan had long been urged by Sir F. Currie upon the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief; but they, unwilling to expose an English army to the deadly heat of an Indian summer's sun, had declined to move until the cool season. Now, however, on hearing of Edwardes's second victory, Lord Dalhousie ordered Lord Gough to take the matter in hand, and the latter, against his own judgment, obeyed. Two brigades, under General Whish, were despatched against the rebel capital: one from Lahore descended the course of the Chenab; the other from Ferozepore passed down the Sutlej to Bahawulpore Ghat, and thence marched across the Doal. Both columns united, near Mooltan, on the 19th August; the siege-train arrived from Lahore on the 4th September, and operations against the place immediately began. Before, however, any progress could be made in the siege, it became evident that the revolt was not an isolated outbreak, but part of a general movement of the whole Sikh nation to expel the British, and recover their independence.\*

\* "When Sirdar Khan Singh, who remained faithful, asked leave, on seeing their hopeless situation, to wave a sheet and ask quarter, 'Ask quarter for yourselves,' replied Vans Agnew, 'they will give none to us; but let them kill us,—we are not the last of the English.' A reply worthy of a Roman in the best days of Rome."—ARNOLD, i. 71.

\* In the beginning of May 1848, the existence of a plot amongst the Khalsa troops and leaders to expel the British from the Punjab was ascertained. The discovery was made through the arrest of an agent employed to tamper with the sepoys of the Lahore

Early in September an insurrection took place in Huzara, in the north-west of the Punjab, headed by Chuttur Singh, the governor of the province, who approached Peshawur at the head of a large force, and, on the revolt of the garrison, obliged Major Lawrence to evacuate that station and seek refuge at Kohat, under the protection of Mahommed Khan, by whom he was soon after basely given up to his enemies.

48. A general assault took place on the outworks of Mooltan on 12th September, which, after an obstinate resistance, were carried with considerable loss on the part of the British, but terrible slaughter to the enemy. A sortie was attempted next day to retake them, which was repulsed. But at this critical juncture, Shere Singh, son of Chuttur Singh, who had lately joined the army and commanded a body of 5000 Sikh regulars, suddenly went over to the enemy with his whole troops. In consequence of this defection it became impossible to continue the operations, the siege was raised, and Whish retired to a few miles' distance, where he took up a position observing the fortress. Meanwhile the insurrection headed by Chuttur Singh in the north-western provinces of the Punjab was making rapid progress. Huzara, Peshawur, and Bunnoo had risen in arms. The Sikh regular troops had everywhere joined the movement. Dost Mahommed was hastening with an Affghan force to its support, bribed by the offer of the restoration of the Peshawur valley. The two chiefs, Chuttur Singh and Shere Singh, emboldened by the raising of the siege, determined to converge, from Mooltan on the one side, and Peshawur on the other, and unite at Goojerat in the heart of the Punjab.

Two of the leaders were executed. Papers were found in their possession inculcating most of the Sikh Sirdars, and proving that the Ranee Chunda was the main instigator of the design. Her deportation from the Punjab was therefore determined on. On the 15th May she was removed from the fort of Sheikhopoor and sent as a prisoner to Benares. This necessary step much enraged the Khalsa soldiery.—See *Punjab Blue-Book*, 168, 169; and ARNOLD, i. 85, 87.

jab. They openly set up the standard of independence, and declared war against the British Government. So popular was the cause that in a few weeks they had more than 30,000 men round their standards. The gallant defence of the fort of Attock on the Indus, by Lieutenant Herbert, arrested the march of Chuttur Singh and forced him to undertake its investment. But Shere Singh, setting out from Mooltan, crossed the Ravee and marched slowly up the left bank of the Chenab, pushing his cavalry up to the very gates of Lahore, and raising the disbanded veterans of the old Khalsa army at every step. To unite with the troops from Bunnoo he crossed the Chenab and moved up its course to Ramnuggur, where he established himself early in November, *à cheval*, on the river in a position at once threatening Lahore and covering his communications with Chuttur Singh. Meanwhile the Governor-General, now seriously alarmed, was making the utmost efforts to collect a respectable force at Ferozepore to meet the danger. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough, hastened to the spot, and on the 21st November took the command of the army, which had advanced by Lahore to the Chenab, in the centre of the Punjab, and mustered 20,000 combatants.

49. No sooner had the veteran Commander-in-Chief assumed the direction than he signalised his presence by the commencement of vigorous operations. The Sikh force, 30,000 strong, was posted opposite RAMNUGGUR, a town about a mile and a half from the Chenab, about midway between the source of that river and its junction with the Indus. The Chenab here takes a bend, and its breadth admitted of a small island, consisting of two acres, about the centre of the channel. This island was occupied by 4000 Sikhs with six guns; the main body of their army was posted on the right bank, the channel between which and the island was so deep as to be passable only in boats; while that between it and the left bank was only a sandy watercourse, thirty yards wide, partially filled up.



The position of the enemy's army, divided in this manner by a deep river, appeared with reason to the Commander-in-Chief to invite an attack, and orders for this purpose were issued to the troops to be in readiness to march at two in the morning of the 22d.

50. The troops marched at the appointed hour, and passing Ramnuggur, moved swiftly towards the bank of the river opposite the island, where it was hoped a surprise would be effected. Their outposts soon drove in the Sikh patrols and detachments across the narrow channel into the island; and the horse-artillery, coming down to the water's edge, opened upon it. They soon, however, found themselves overmatched by the fire from the enemy's heavy guns in position on the opposite bank, and an overturned gun had to be spiked and abandoned. Seeing this, a body of 3000 horse issued from the island, thinking to make an easy prey of the guns; and orders were given to the 14th Queen's Dragoons, led by Havelock, with the 5th Native Light Cavalry, to charge them as soon as they debouched from the left bank. The charge was most gallantly made, though unfortunately with too decisive effect; for, after overthrowing the first, the victors assailed a second body of Sikh horsemen who were drawn up close to the river; these, driven back, or feigning a retreat, drew the victorious British to the edge of the watercourse, which was a precipitous bank, four or five feet deep, down which men and horses rolled and lay in wild confusion at the bottom, while the Sikh batteries from the opposite shore were playing with fatal effect on the defenceless throng. They re-formed, however, and a second time charged the enemy, when their brave commander, Havelock, fell. Colonel King, the next in command, was forming his men for a third charge, when General Cureton rode up with orders from the Commander-in-Chief to withdraw, and terminate the useless butchery. Scarcely were the words out of his mouth when the brave general was struck by two musket-balls, and fell

dead from his horse. Colonel King now drew off his men, and the combat ceased. The enemy had been driven from the posts he occupied on the left bank of the river, but he still held the island of Ramnuggur and the right bank; and three distinguished officers and many brave men had fallen in a disastrous nocturnal combat, without any adequate result.

51. After this repulse both armies remained for some days quiescent. On the 1st December, Lord Gough detached General Thackwell with 7000 men across the river above Ramnuggur, to threaten the Sikh army in rear, while he himself attacked them in front. Thackwell, passing at Wuzeerabad, twenty-two miles up the stream, marched down its left bank to Sadoolapore, where he took post on the flank of the Khalsa position on the 3d. To counteract this movement Shere Singh moved forward to attack him. It resulted only in a heavy cannonade, attended with little loss on either side.\* The Sikhs did not venture, as yet, to measure their strength with the British in the open field, and they retreated in the night in the direction of the Jhelum. Upon learning this movement Lord Gough immediately despatched Sir Walter Gilbert, with the 9th Lancers and 14th Light Dragoons, across the river to pursue them; and it was hoped the campaign was over, and that the enemy would disperse. In this expectation, however, he was mistaken. The Sikh general was only waiting for the reduction of the fortress of Attock on the Indus, which had been long besieged by his father, Chuttur Singh, when he knew he would be reinforced. On 10th January intelligence was received that the place had fallen, and that Chuttur Singh was in full march to join his son. Lord Gough, who had hitherto

\*This affair was well designed, but badly executed. Thackwell was outnumbered by the Sikhs, and was ordered by Lord Gough not to attack until reinforced by a brigade under Godby, who was to pass the river six miles above Ramnuggur. Godby did not arrive in time, and Thackwell's men were too weary to attack when the Sikhs fell back.—ARNOLD, i. 140, 144.

been restrained from acting by the Governor-General's orders, now saw that there was no time to be lost, for Shere Singh's forces already amounted to 40,000 men, with 62 guns, and they would be raised to half as much more by the arrival of Chuttur Singh. He resolved, therefore, to bring him to action before the junction took place, and for this purpose marched at daylight on 13th January to attack the Sikh army, which lay intrenched in front of the Jhelum in a very strong position, broken by copsewood and jungle, and intersected by deep ravines, near the village of CHILLIAN-WALLAH.

52. Lord Gough approached this formidable position about noon, and found the enemy drawn up in battle array, prepared to engage. A skirmish of horse-artillery soon ensued between the advanced posts, which led to Gough bringing up some heavy pieces, and these soon silenced the light guns the enemy had pushed forward; but seeing this, they immediately opened with their whole guns from right to left. Some of the balls fell among the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, who had gone forward to reconnoitre. It was now evident that they would advance their guns so as to reach the British encampment before night, and Lord Gough therefore resolved to anticipate them by an immediate attack, even before their position had been fully ascertained. Hastily the troops, though wearied with a long march, were drawn up in order of battle—Gilbert's division on the right, flanked by Pope's brigade of cavalry, with three troops of horse-artillery. The heavy guns were stationed in the centre, and the field-batteries were with the infantry. Campbell's division, flanked by Brigadier White's brigade of cavalry, and Colonel Brind's horse-artillery, were on the left. Penny's brigade was in reserve. The Sikhs were drawn up in the interstices of thick jungle, which were occupied by sharpshooters, who, themselves concealed, kept up a heavy fire on the advancing columns. They were fully 40,000 strong, with 62 guns, and very strong in cavalry, which was

chiefly massed on their extreme left, where the ground was favourable to the action of that arm. The entire British force was under 20,000 combatants.

53. The battle began with a cannonade, which lasted nearly two hours. A forward movement was then ordered by the British left, and Campbell's\* men advanced with great steadiness to the charge. But when his right brigade under Pennycuik approached the enemy, it was received with such a tremendous fire from the batteries in position, aided by a cross-fire of musketry from the enemy in the thickets, that it was forced to retire, after sustaining a very severe loss. The 24th Queen's lost their colours, and were almost annihilated, the sepoy regiments broke, and Pennycuik himself was slain. But Campbell's veteran coolness saved the day. Driving in, with his left brigade, the enemy in his front, he changed front to his right, and, assailing the victorious Sikhs in flank, arrested and finally repelled their onward rush. To support Campbell's attack, Brigadier Mountain, with the left brigade of Gilbert's division, advanced against the enemy's centre, and his men charged with such vigour, that the whole guns opposed to them were taken and spiked; but they could not be held owing to the terrible fire of musketry from the woods, and the brigade was obliged to retire, which it did with the utmost steadiness. But while the combat thus raged on the left and in the centre, a fearful disaster had been incurred on the right. The infantry of Gilbert's right brigade, under Godby, had there advanced, forcing their way through dense jungle, and soon found themselves exposed to a desperate fire from the thickets. The advanced battalions were obliged to fall back, which they did with surprising regularity. At this juncture, the artillery under Dawes came up, and instantly opened on the enemy, who in their turn were forced back, and several guns taken.

\* Since Lord Clyde, the far-famed Deliverer of India.

At the same time, the cavalry under White, on the extreme left, by a brilliant charge, routed the horse opposed to them. The battle seemed gained, or nearly so, when a sudden cry was heard on the right, followed by a cloud of dust and general confusion in that quarter. This arose from the 14th Light Dragoons, who, on being ordered to charge at the head of Pope's brigade, dreading an ambuscade similar to that which had proved so fatal to them at Ramnuggur, turned about, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of their officers, rushed to the rear, driving, in their flight, right through Huish and Christie's horse-artillery. Several of the horses and a gun were upset in the shock, and the Sikh cavalry, taking advantage of the confusion, charged rapidly, cut down seventy of the gunners, and took six guns, four of which, with several stand of colours, remained in their hands. The other guns, however, opened upon the advancing Sikhs with such vigour that they retired; and with the approach of night the battle ceased.

54. The intelligence of this untoward engagement, which was, in truth, a drawn battle, excited a strong feeling of alarm in Great Britain. The loss had been very severe. No less than 22 officers and 684 men were killed, and 67 officers and 1584 wounded—in all, 2357; and the Sikhs could point to the unusual trophies of four guns and five standards taken. Aided by the darkness of the night, the enemy contrived to regain and remove nearly the whole of the guns which had been wrested from them during the fight. Twelve only remained in the hands of the British. The whole blame of the untoward result was laid on Lord Gough, and the clamour soon became loud for his recall—never reflecting that the affair, at the worst, had been a drawn battle. As it was, the outcry was so violent that Government deemed it best to yield to it; and, much against the will of the East India Directors and the partisans of the political agents both in India and this coun-

try, determined on sending out Sir Charles Napier. "If you don't go," said the Duke of Wellington to Sir Charles Napier, "I must." There was no resisting this appeal. Though labouring under a mortal malady, the veteran accepted the proffered command, and on 6th May embarked for India.\*

55. While this doubtful contest was shaking British supremacy in the centre of the Punjab, operations in the end successful were going forward on the western frontier of that province. The drain of men required to reinforce the Commander-in-Chief, and the entire defection of the Sikh forces, suspended the siege of Mooltan only for a very short period. On the 26th December a large reinforcement, under Brigadier Dundas, arrived up the Indus from Bombay, which raised the besieging force to 30,000 men, of whom 15,000 were regular troops, with 64 pieces of heavy artillery. This great reinforcement enabled General Whish to renew operations. On the 27th a general attack was made on the suburbs, which the enemy abandoned on the approach of the stormers, and retired within the city walls. The besiegers now broke ground on all sides within five hundred yards of the rampart, and with such vigour were the approaches pushed, that on the 28th a general bombardment was commenced, and on the 29th the nearest breaching batteries had been pushed to within eighty yards of the rampart. An incessant fire was kept up upon the city and walls during the next twenty-four hours; and on the morning of the 30th the principal magazine blew up with a tremendous

\* Sir Charles Napier judged the affair of Chillianwallah with the candour and allowances which one brave man owes to another. "Lord Gough was a noble soldier of fifty years' service, and had always been victorious, whether obeying or commanding. No man heard, because no man dared to say, that personal comfort, or idleness, or fear, had induced him to shrink from danger, or responsibility, or labour. What, then, was his crime? He had fought a drawn battle; the enemy was not crushed. For that only his destruction was called for."—NAPIER'S *Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 151.

explosion. It had cost Moolraj five years to form, and contained sixteen thousand pounds of powder. Eight hundred persons were killed or wounded by the explosion, and the principal buildings in the town thrown down; but the works were uninjured: the Sikh chief sent a haughty defiance to the besiegers next day, saying he had still powder and shot to hold out for twelve months.

56. Nothing daunted by this terrible catastrophe, the Sikhs made a vigorous sally on the following day, but they were repulsed with heavy loss by the irregulars under Major Edwardes and Lieut. Lake. The bombardment continued without intermission for forty-eight hours, and at the close of that time the assault was ordered. Two columns advanced on the morning of the 2d January; one from the Bombay army, and one from that of Bengal. Great was the rivalry between these brave troops for the honour of first mounting the breaches, but the prize fell to the Bombay division—that assigned to the Bengal column having been found, when reached, not to be practicable. A sergeant-major of the Bombay Fusiliers was the first who planted the British colours on the place. The Bengal column now entered the town through the breach won by the Bombay troops, and bore down all opposition, so that before sunset the whole city was in the hands of the British. The citadel, however, still held out, in which Moolraj shut himself up with a large force. Approaches were actively pushed against it, but it was soon found that the walls, being made of tough mud, could not be brought down even by the heaviest artillery. Recourse was therefore had to mining, while the sap was at the same time pushed to the edge of the counterscarp, and an incessant fire was kept up on the bastion, against which the attack was directed. By the concentration of all these modes of attack on a small space, two practicable breaches were at length made in the wall; and the assaulting columns having been formed, and being ready to mount them, Mool-

raj surrendered at discretion on the 22d. The garrison, 3800 strong, marched out, and laid down their arms on the glacis. Last of the procession came Moolraj himself, magnificently dressed, riding a splendid Arab steed. He was afterwards brought to trial for the murder of Mr Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, and found guilty; but his life was spared in consideration of his gallant defence.

57. However loud may have at the moment been the outcry against the veteran British General, he was not long of showing that he was still worthy of the supreme command. For about a month after the battle both armies remained quiescent, during which Lord Gough was incessantly engaged in repairing his losses and strengthening the artillery, the want of which had been so severely felt in the preceding battle. He was soon reinforced. The troops engaged in the siege of Mooltan, with part of the noble train of artillery which had led to its reduction, pushed up by forced marches to join the army, and their arrival would at once give the British a decided superiority in that important arm. But meanwhile Chuttur Singh came up from the north with 20,000 Sikh soldiers, and 1500 Affghan horse under Akram Khan, a son of Akbar Khan, and joined Shere Singh. On the 12th February a great movement was observed in the Sikh position, and large bodies of horse came forward to the front, so as to conceal what was going on behind. Under cover of this armed screen the Sikh army decamped, and, moving round the right flank of the British, advanced on GOOJERAT, a point 17 miles in their rear. The object of this bold movement was to cross the Chenab at Wuzeerabad, and march straight on Lahore. The sudden rise of the river, and the activity of General Whish, who pushed a brigade by forced marches up the stream to guard the fords above and below Wuzeerabad, frustrated this able design; and the united Sikh force, 60,000 strong, with 59 guns,\* encamped in a

\* Arnold says the Sikhs had not more than 40,000 men; but all the official accounts give

semicircle around the town of Goojerat. Their right rested on, and was covered in front by, the dry bed of a river or nullah, which encompassed two sides of the place; their left was protected by another deep wet nullah. Lord Gough's army, following the movement of the Sikhs, took post immediately in their front. It had been increased, by the arrival of the last of the reinforcements under Dundas and Whish on the 20th, to 25,000 men, and was at length superior both in the number and weight of its guns, which amounted to 100 pieces. Lord Gough determined, therefore, to attack the enemy in the position they had chosen, and both parties prepared for a decisive struggle.

58. On the morning of the 21st February the British force took up its line of battle. The dry nullah which covered the Sikh right, turning sharp to the south when it reached their centre, passed through the middle of the English position. On the left stood Dundas's Bombay infantry, supported by White's cavalry and some horse-artillery; next came Campbell's division, with its right resting on the nullah. To the right of the nullah was posted Gilbert's division, with 18 heavy guns; beyond him came Whish's division, flanked on the extreme right by two brigades of cavalry under Lockwood and Hearsay, and a troop of horse-artillery. Lord Gough's plan of attack was to throw his right upon the centre of the enemy, force it, and turn the position of their troops in rear of the dry nullah, which his left was then to cross, wheel to the right, and, in conjunction with the British right, make a concentrated assault upon the Sikh centre. His great reliance, however, was on his superior artillery, which, being ranged in a semicircle round the enemy's position, would be enabled to bring a concentrated cross-fire to bear on his batteries and the dense masses of troops drawn up behind them. The British guns, accordingly, were advanced to the front, and the fire on both sides soon became extremely

them the number stated in the text.—*ARMY*, i. 172.

warm, for the Sikh gunners served their pieces with extraordinary rapidity, and stood to them with their accustomed valour. Ere long, however, the superiority of the British fire became apparent, and, in spite of all their efforts, the Sikh batteries were forced to retire before the terrific storm which was falling upon them. Lord Gough, seeing this, brought forward his infantry. Gilbert's division advanced, and its leading brigade, under Brigadier Penny, consisting of the 2d Europeans and 31st and 70th Native Infantry, carried the village of Burra-Kalra in the most gallant style. At the same time the village of Chota-Kalra was stormed by Harvey's brigade, of Whish's division, led by Colonel Franks at the head of the 18th Queen's Infantry.

59. Encouraged by this success, Lord Gough now ordered a general advance of the whole infantry, preceded by the artillery, and supported by the cavalry. The horse and light artillery advanced in the most beautiful style, unlimbering and firing with such rapidity that their forward movement seemed to be unchecked by a halt; while the heavy guns, a little behind, covered their approach by an incessant fire of bombs and round-shot over their heads. Nothing could stand against it. First the Sikh artillery fell back in confusion, and the pieces, crowding into a small circle in the rear, got entangled, and were taken amidst loud cheers. Next the infantry fled on all sides; and the victorious troops, breaking through the nullah and all the defences, drove the enemy entirely from the field of battle, and pursued them twelve miles beyond Goojerat, taking 56 guns, 32 standards, their camp, whole ammunition, and baggage. This decisive victory was gained with the loss of only 5 European officers killed and 24 wounded; the total loss being only 92 killed and 682 wounded.

60. Early next morning a strong body of horse and foot artillery, with infantry and cavalry, amounting in all to 12,000 men, under Sir W. Gilbert, were despatched in pursuit of the enemy towards the Jhelum. That river

was reached accordingly, and with some difficulty passed, on the 1st March, and Gilbert pushed on with speed through Rhotas, hoping to overtake the fugitives at the Bakrala Pass. When the leading troops entered the gorge, it was found to be of tremendous strength; but the enemy had already got through, though to the number only of 20,000 men, with about twenty guns, so disastrous had the battle and pursuit proved to them. The British force followed, and when they reached Manikyala 1000 Sikhs laid down their arms. At Hoormook, on the 10th March, Shere Singh came in and made propositions of capitulation, while Akram Khan, with his Affghans, fled in all haste to Attock. But it was intimated to the Sikh leaders that no terms would be listened to but unconditional surrender. To these conditions they were obliged to submit, and the humiliating scene took place on the 12th March at Rawul Pindee. First, the guns taken at Chilianwallah were brought in, to the infinite joy of the soldiers; then came the whole Sikh chiefs and officers; and, lastly, the common men, who all delivered up their arms. The guns surrendered were 41, and the soldiers nearly 16,000. Each man received, from the humanity of the British Government, a rupee to carry him home, and the cavalry were allowed to retain their horses, which were all their own property; but the whole arms, guns, and standards were retained by the conquerors. The number of cannon taken since the commencement of the campaign was 158 pieces; the soldiers killed, surrendered, or dispersed, 60,000.

61. The flying Affghans were pursued with the greatest rapidity by Sir Walter Gilbert, in hopes that they might be overtaken before they reached the Indus or got possession of the bridge of boats at Attock. In this hope, however, he was disappointed: when he approached the river on the 17th he found that place already in possession of the fugitives, who were making preparations to destroy the bridge. Gilbert, however, accompani-

ed by his staff and a small body of irregular horse, galloped up to the left bank; and the Affghans, who thought they were still two marches in the rear, were seized with such consternation that, though they mustered 6000 combatants, they abandoned the fort, and retired across the bridge so hastily that most of the boats were secured by the pursuers. The horse-artillery having soon after come up, the Affghans, after firing a few rounds, evacuated the fortress of Khyrabad, which formed a *tête-du-pont* to the bridge on the right bank. The next day Gilbert crossed. Upon this the Affghans precipitately took to flight, making straight by Peshawur for the Khyber Pass, from whence they withdrew into the wilds of Affghanistan.

62. The war was now over, but the repeated acts of insubordination of the Sikh soldiery, and the evident and serious risks to which they had exposed the British empire, determined the Governor-General to put a final stop to these aggressions. On the 29th March, accordingly, a proclamation was issued, which, after recounting the long peace and alliance which had subsisted between the two governments, and the manner in which, twice over, it had been treacherously broken by the Sikh troops, declared the "kingdom of the Punjab at an end; that all the territories of Maharajah Dhuleep Singh are now and henceforth a portion of the British empire in India." It promised protection and due honour to the Maharajah, and the few chiefs who have not engaged in hostilities against the British; and guaranteed to all the people, whether Mussulman, Hindoo, or Sikh, the free exercise of their own religion, but forbade any one to interfere with that of another. But it declared "that all fortified places not occupied by British troops shall be totally destroyed, and effectual means taken to deprive the people of the means of renewing either tumult or war. The estates of all sirdars or others, who shall have been in arms against the British, shall be confiscated to the State." So strong is the

disposition, even in the most warlike people of Hindostan, to submit at once to external conquest, and range themselves willingly under the banners of any power which has proved its superiority decisively in the field, that this great stretch, of annexing at once the most powerful kingdom in India to the British dominions, excited very little sensation in Hindostan; the Sikh soldiers have since proved at once the bravest and most faithful of the many armed hosts which are crowded round the British banner, and on a decisive crisis during the Sepoy Mutiny proved the salvation of the British empire in the East.

63. After these bloody wars, the British empire in the East enjoyed several years of undisturbed repose. All the outbreaks which had occurred subsequent to the Afghanistan disaster, every effort at independence which had been made, had led to overthrow and subjugation. The Scinde Ameers had tried it, and failed; the Gwalior people had tried it, and failed. Even the great and colossal power of the Sikhs had been overthrown; and after two desperate and bloody campaigns, their capital had been taken, their army disbanded, their kingdom incorporated with the all-conquering State. Struck with this astonishing series of victories immediately succeeding so dire a calamity, the inhabitants of the vast peninsula of Hindostan, for the time at least, abandoned the contest; and, submitting to the dominion of the British as the decree of Providence, sought only to improve the blessings which the general establishment of internal peace afforded, and to take advantage of the means of industry which its vast extent and powerful protection seemed to promise.

64. The East India Company availed themselves of this precious breathing-time from external war to afford every facility in their power to the development of the internal resources of their vast territories. Then was seen to what the long abstinence from such undertakings, at least on a scale com-

mensurate to the necessities of the country, had been owing. Wars—perpetual wars for existence—had diverted or absorbed the whole funds which could be applied to the purposes of internal improvement. But now that the victory was gained, and the necessity of a great and profuse warlike expenditure had come to an end, they began in good earnest the great work of domestic melioration. Canals were dug or restored, roads made, railroads surveyed, and in part at least executed. The mind of Lord Dalhousie, essentially administrative, was ardently and successfully directed to these great objects, and he was admirably seconded both by his Council and an able staff of engineers which they took into their employment. Under this skilled direction, liberally supported by the funds of Government, works were undertaken, and in great part executed, which immediately produced vast results, and promised ere long entirely to alter the face of the country. It was the grand ideas, the princely magnificence of Baber or Aurungzebe carried out by European skill, supported by European perseverance, and animated by Christian beneficence.

65. Then were projected, and in great part executed, those magnificent public works which have so completely effaced the well-known reproach cast by Mr Burke upon the British administration in India, and which will bear a comparison with any in the world for greatness of conception and perfection of execution. Then was formed the Great Trunk Road, which, starting from Calcutta, and taking the arc of the great bend formed by the Ganges in the plain of Bengal, passes by Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Agra, to Delhi, and thence to Umballa, Lahore, and Peshawur, a distance of 1400 miles. For a short part of this line, to Raneeunge, being 120 miles, a railroad was constructed, which proved of the most essential use during the revolt of 1857-8, and has now (1864) been continued the whole way up to Delhi. Canals have been formed, conveying

the waters of the Jumna, the Ganges, the Indus, and the streams of the Punjab, over the level alluvial plains in their vicinity. A noble pier and harbour at Kurrachee, at the mouth of the Indus, has opened the inland trade of that great river, and obviated the extreme inconvenience so long experienced by the shifting of sand at its mouth. The electric telegraph has been introduced, and extends already over the distance of 4000 miles: it is now in the course of construction from Calcutta to London.\* The sums expended by the Indian Government under Lord Dalhousie's administration, after the termination of the Sikh war, have never been under £1,500,000, sometimes above £2,000,000, and, since the direct government of Great Britain has commenced, have been from £3,000,000 to £4,000,000 annually—sums the magnitude of which will not be appreciated unless it is recollected that the wages of daily labour are there 3d. a-day only, and that these sums are equivalent to four times their respective amount in this coun-

try. Of the total debt of £68,000,000 which in 1858 attached to the Indian Government, an eighth part had been contracted during eight years in the internal improvement of the country—an amount much greater, if the difference in the value of money is taken into consideration, than was expended on similar undertakings by any European government, either then or at any former period.

66. This happy state of tranquillity was first broken in upon, in 1852, by a second rupture with the Burmese Government, which arose from the pride and arrogance of a barbaric court, and their inconceivable ignorance of the strength of the power with which they were in close contact, and whose displeasure they did not hesitate to brave for the most inconsiderable objects, or the gratification of the most senseless caprice. The treaty concluded with the court of Ava in 1826, which expressly provided for the proper treatment of British subjects trading to Rangoon, or the other harbours of the Burmese territories, proved inadequate long to protect the subjects of Great Britain from those insults and aggressions which it seems the ineradicable habit of Eastern satraps to heap upon traders. So many cases of injury occurred in the course of the years 1851 and 1852, that the Governor-General came to the conclusion that the law of nations had been violated, especially by the governor of Rangoon in his cruel and oppressive conduct to British subjects. Commodore Lambert, accordingly, was sent with two steamers to Rangoon to demand redress; but the attempt at pacific overtures only produced fresh insults. Upon this a formal disavowal of the acts of the governor of Rangoon, his removal from office, and the payment of ten lacs of rupees (£100,000) in satisfaction of the claims of the injured parties, were demanded. No concession, however, was made; and the period allowed for accommodation having elapsed, an expedition was despatched under the command of General Godwin, an experienced officer, who had been engaged in the former

\* PUBLIC WORKS CONSTRUCTED DURING LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION, WITH THEIR DISTANCE AND COST.

I.—Canals.

	Distance (miles).
Ganges Canal, . . . . .	449½
East and West Jumna Canal, . . . . .	445
Punjab Canals, . . . . .	425
Madras Irrigation Works—tanks, reservoir, and dam across the Cauvery, Godavery, and Kistnah.	

II.—Roads.

	Miles.	Cost.
Great Trunk Road—Calcutta to Peshawur, . . . . .	1423	£1,423,000
Calcutta to Bombay, . . . . .	1002	500,000
Madras to Bangalore, . . . . .	200	37,121
Bombay to Agra, . . . . .	734	243,676
Rangoon to Puna, . . . . .	200	160,000

III.—Railroads under Government Guarantee.

	Miles.
Calcutta to Burdwan, . . . . .	120
Bombay to Wassind, . . . . .	50
" to Campoolie, . . . . .	10
Madras to Vellore, . . . . .	81

IV.—Electric Telegraph.

Calcutta to Peshawur, . . . . .	1423
Agra to Bombay, . . . . .	794
Bombay to Madras, . . . . .	1374

—Parliamentary Memorandum of Public Works, 1854, No. 213; and MILL, pp. 170, 171.



war, to enforce redress. The combined armament sailed for the mouth of the Irrawady on the 28th March, the naval force being under the orders of Rear-Admiral Austen. When Godwin arrived with the Bengal division on the 2d April, he found that the Madras portion of the expedition had not yet come up. Pending its arrival, he sailed to Moulmein, and on the 5th attacked the fort of Martaban, commanding the entrance of the Thaleain river. A tremendous fire having been kept up by the Rattler and Proserpine steamers for two hours, a breach was effected in the stockades, the troops were landed, and the place carried, though garrisoned by five thousand of the best soldiers in the Burmese empire.

67. After this success the Madras division joined, and the expedition proceeded up the Irrawady to Rangoon, which stands on the left bank of one of the principal branches of that river, about twenty miles from the sea. In the operations which ensued, both the naval and military services greatly distinguished themselves. Hostilities were commenced by a general attack by the war-steamers on the enemy's flotilla and river defences; and in a few hours the former were all burnt, and the latter levelled with the ground. The troops were then landed without further resistance, and advanced against the town. Its principal defence consisted in a pagoda placed in the centre of a regular fortification, constructed since the last war, and forming the northern extremity of a new town, also of recent construction, surrounded by a ditch, and a mud wall sixteen feet high and eight broad. This stronghold was defended by 100 pieces of heavy calibre, and a garrison of 10,000 men. The British, in advancing on the 12th against it, sustained a severe loss from the fire of the Burmese musketeers placed in the jungles, and the utmost difficulty was experienced in dragging up the heavy guns. At length, however, these obstacles were all overcome, and the troops advanced on the 14th to the attack. By indefatigable exertions a sufficient number

of heavy guns were dragged up to breach the eastern side of the pagoda, where the assault was to be delivered; and the fire of the enemy's musketeers having been kept down by 500 men, who picked off all who showed themselves on the ramparts, the order to attack was given. On rushed the stormers under a heavy fire; the steps on which the pagoda stands were ascended with levelled bayonets, amidst deafening cheers; and soon the British colours, displayed from the summit, announced that the citadel of Rangoon had fallen. The garrison fled in confusion through the southern and western gates, where they were met by the fire of the steamers, and obliged to seek safety by dispersing in the jungle.

68. The immediate occupation of Rangoon was the result of this victory, which was soon followed by the submission of all the adjacent country. The stores, ammunition, and heavy guns were then landed, and placed in Rangoon, which was strengthened and garrisoned by a strong body of troops, it being the design of Government to make it not only the base of present operations, but a permanent acquisition to the British empire in the East. These precautions having been taken, General Godwin proceeded with a strong detachment to attack Bassein on the western branch of the Irrawady. On the 17th May the fleet began to ascend the river, and on the 19th they were before Bassein, where the soldiers were landed. First an armed pagoda was carried, and next a strong mud-fort stormed, after a desperate resistance. Martaban, the earliest conquest of the British, which was garrisoned only by a small native force, was soon afterwards attacked by a large body of Burmese, but the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter. Encouraged by these successes, an expedition was fitted out early in July, under Captain Tarleton, to reconnoitre the Irrawady as far as Prome. That officer, having ascended the stream to a place where it divided into two branches, found ten thousand Burmese stationed in a strong position commanding the western and deeper channel. But Tarleton, having ascer-

tained that the eastern channel was passable at that season of the year, moved up by it, and thus, without opposition, reached Prome, which was immediately taken. The town not being capable of defence, the stores in it were destroyed, the guns spiked or brought away. The steamers then returned to Rangoon, and in their passage severely handled the Burmese army, which was crossing the river as they came down. They burnt fifty boats containing the warlike stores of their army, including the state barge of their general-in-chief.

69. Lord Dalhousie now came to Rangoon, where he arrived on 27th July, and issued a well-deserved complimentary address to the forces. Having gained all the information which he desired, the Governor-General returned to Calcutta, and offensive operations were resumed as soon as the return of the cool season rendered them practicable. On the 25th September the troops were embarked at Rangoon, and they came in sight of Prome on the 9th October, where they were shortly after landed. They immediately advanced, and made themselves masters of a fortified pagoda situated on an eminence which commanded the enemy's position. Upon this the Burmese evacuated the town in the night, and next morning it was taken possession of without opposition. This success was followed by the despatch of an expedition in steamboats, consisting of 1000 men, against Pegu, a large town on the Pegu river, about sixty miles from Rangoon. The enemy were 4000 strong, and had fortified a pagoda commanding it with the utmost care; but they were driven from it on the 20th November, by a gallant assault by Major Hill at the head of 100 men of the Madras and the like number of the Bengal Fusiliers. That officer, who was left in Pegu with a small garrison of 400 men, was soon threatened by immensely superior bodies of the enemy. To disengage him, General Godwin again moved from Rangoon with 1200 men. He found (December 17) a body of Burmese, 9000 strong, posted in a formidable position, armed

with cannon; but dispositions having been made for an assault, they fled, and after pursuing them for two days, and relieving the garrison of Pegu, General Godwin returned to Rangoon. This was followed by a proclamation from the Governor-General, which, "in compensation for the past, and for better security for the future, proclaimed that the province of Pegu is now, and shall henceforth be, a portion of the British territories in the East."

70. In this proclamation Lord Dalhousie declared that he was willing that hostilities should cease, now that security for the future had been obtained; and well might he say so, for, having pushed the British frontier to the eastern extremity of the province of Pegu, he had not only gained a very defensible frontier against the Burmese, but, by the possession of Rangoon, Pegu, and Martaban, he had got the entire command of the mouths of the Irrawady, and was in a situation to be enabled to close at pleasure an inland trade essential to the provisioning of the capital. Yet, too proud to affix his signature to an express treaty ceding these valuable possessions, the king could only be prevailed on to engage not to offer any further molestation to British subjects, to throw open the navigation of the Irrawady to the merchants and people of both countries for the purposes of trading, and not to molest the British in their newly-acquired province of Pegu. With this declaration the Governor-General professed himself satisfied, too happy to get, on favourable terms, out of a contest in which every object worth contending for was already gained. Hostilities now ceased with the national forces of Burmah; but they continued with some feudatory bands, which, taking advantage of the confusion produced by the war, had established themselves in various parts of the country in strong forts, from whence they issued to plunder and lay waste the adjacent districts. One of them, commanded by a noted freebooter named Mea-toom, was strong enough to repulse two attacks made by a body of seamen and marines, with thirty-five

sepoys, under Captain Loch, R.N., of the Winchester. Another expedition, however, conducted by the boats of the Zenobia and the Nemesis, was more successful; for it defeated and dispersed a band of 3000 men, strongly intrenched in a stockade, on the 5th February 1853. Finally, the stronghold of the great robber Mea-toom was at length carried by storm in March following, and himself driven into the woods, attended only by 300 followers, who, in despair, threw away their arms and dispersed. No further attempt was now made to disquiet the British in their newly-acquired conquest, and unbroken peace reigned through their vast dominions from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Irrawady, and from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya snows.

71. This period of tranquillity, during which Lord Dalhousie was incessantly occupied with his great projects of domestic improvement and social amelioration, was not even interrupted by an important event in the east of India, fraught with disastrous results in future times. This was the ANNEXATION OF OUDE, which, without any hostilities commenced, was carried into effect by a simple resolution of the Governor-General in Council on March 17, 1856.\* This powerful state, which lies on the eastern bank of the Ganges, between Cawnpore and Nepaul, embraces 25,000 square miles of territory, and contained at the period of annexation 5,000,000 inhabitants. The natives of this extensive region are a nation of warriors; scarcely a family but has one or more sons in the army, either of their own country or of the East India Company. No less than 70,000 of the men enlisted in the sepoy battalions were drawn from the Oude territories. The country is in the hands of between four and five hundred landholders, who, like the Norman barons after the Conquest, were so many military chieftains dwelling

in fortified castles, each defended by two or three pieces of artillery.

72. By treaty, concluded in 1801, between the British Government and the King of Oude, the former guaranteed the dominions of the latter, with the stipulation "that the King of Oude, advising with and acting in conformity to the Council of the officers of the Honourable Company, shall establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants." It was, however, notorious that, though the kings of Oude since that time had never failed in their duty to the British Government, but, on the contrary, essentially served it on many occasions,\* yet they had scandalously violated the rights of their own subjects. The government of Lucknow, the capital, was perhaps the most corrupt and oppressive in the world, so far as its own people were concerned. It was stated in the House of Commons, in the debate on this subject, in February 1858, by Colonel Sykes, that during the two years preceding the annexation, eleven thousand persons in Oude had perished by violent deaths; that the revenue was always collected by an armed force, attended by a battery of cannon; and that incessantly, from one year's end to another, the discharge of artillery was heard within its boundaries directed against the defaulters to the Government collectors. Moved by the petitions of the unhappy sufferers under these exactions, and by the obvious discredit which they brought on the British Government and connection, the Governor-General in 1856 proposed a treaty to the King of Oude, by which the sole and exclusive ad-

\* The best account of the annexation of Oude is to be found in vol. i. of that very able work, KAYE'S *History of the Sepoy Mutiny*.

\* During the Nepaul war they lent the British Government £2,000,000: and on occasion of the invasion of Afghanistan, the greater part of the draught animals for the use of the army was drawn from Oude; and the King gave up his personal elephants and horses to the Governor-General, when he went to visit Runjeet Singh, previous to that calamitous expedition.

ministration of the country was to be transferred to the East India Company, with the right to the whole state revenue, burdened with a due provision to the reigning family, who were to be allowed to retain their royal titles, and enjoy their palaces and parks at Lucknow. These terms, as might have been expected, having been rejected by the King, a proclamation was forthwith issued (Feb. 14, 1856), declaring the kingdom incorporated with the dominions of the East India Company, and requiring all the inhabitants to yield obedience to their authority. The British forces immediately entered the country from Agra and Cawnpore, and took possession of the capital and whole territories without resistance. About the same time (July 1, 1856), the territories of the Rajah of Sattara were incorporated with the British dominions; those of the Rajah of Berar had already been absorbed in 1853; but these encroachments, being on inconsiderable native potentates, were made without opposition, and excited very little attention. Unhappily the ease with which this annexation was accomplished at the time misled the Government as to the precautions necessary to secure this acquisition, and the representations of Lord Dalhousie on that subject remained without effect. Notwithstanding his earnest representation of the necessity of a strong British garrison in Oude, not a man of European race was added to the force in the country; Delhi, the great arsenal of northern India, was left exclusively in the hands of the native troops; and a few hundred British, and a few battalions of sepoys, formed the sole garrison of the most warlike and formidable people of eastern India.\* Beyond

all doubt it was to this strange neglect of the East India Company, the result of an ill-judged parsimony, that the immediate cause of the revolt of 1857

Government might long since have justly declared the treaty void, and withdrawn its protection from the rulers of Oude. But the friendly intentions of the British Government have been wholly defeated by the obstinacy, or incapacity, or apathy of the viziers and kings of Oude. Disinterested counsel, indignant censure, alternating through more than fifty years, with repeated warning, remonstrance, and threats, have all proved ineffectual and vain. The people of Oude are still the victims of incapacity, corruption, and tyranny, without remedy or hope of relief. The King, like most of his predecessors, takes no real share in the direction of affairs. The powers of government throughout his dominions are for the most part abandoned to worthless favourites of the court, or to violent and corrupt men, unfit for their duties and unworthy of trust. The collectors of the revenue hold sway over their districts with uncontrolled authority, extorting the utmost payment from the people, without reference to past or present engagements. The King's troops, with some rare exceptions, undisciplined and disorganised, and defrauded of their pay by those to whom they are intrusted, are permitted to plunder the villages on their own account, so that they have become a lasting scourge to the country they are employed to protect. Gangs of freebooters infest the districts, law and justice are unknown, armed violence and bloodshed are daily events, and life and property are nowhere secure for an hour. The time has come when the British Government can no longer tolerate in Oude those evils and abuses which its position under the treaty serves indirectly to sustain.—*Proclamation of Governor-General; Oude Papers, 1856, No. 2186; MILL, 284, App.* This is a pretty serious "indictment against a whole people," in Mr Burke's words, and probably presents, with some exaggeration, a picture of the usual and established system of Asiatic government in every age. But when it is recollected that this dismal catalogue of misdemeanours was founded on the information of the British residents at the court of Lucknow, and when it is recollected what a gallant and obstinate defence of their independence the people of Oude made two years after against the whole power of Britain, it is impossible not to suspect some exaggeration in these statements. Without suspecting such men as Sir James Outram, or those employed by him, of intentional falsification of facts, nothing is more probable than that in a country so corrupt they may have, in many instances, been furnished with false information; and every one engaged in public affairs knows that if the inclinations of government are known to incline one way, there is never any lack of the most detailed information to establish the justice of the view then taken by it.

\* It was stated in the Governor-General's proclamation, as the reason for this annexation.—"One vital and chief stipulation of the treaty has been successively disregarded by every successive ruler of Oude, and the pledge which was given for the establishment of such a system of administration as should secure the lives and property of the people of Oude, and be conducive to their prosperity, has from first to last been deliberately and systematically violated. By reason of this violation of the compact made, the British

and obstinate character of the war in Oude is to be ascribed.

73. The war in the Punjab throws a bright light on those which preceded it in Gwalior and Scinde, and vindicates Lord Ellenborough's administration from the aspersions thrown upon it for the commencement of hostilities against these powers. Judging by the European standard, there can be no doubt that he was the aggressor on both those occasions; because, although the native powers were the first to engage in hostile *acts*, this had been rendered necessary by a course of encroachments on the part of the British. But it is now apparent that this was unavoidable. The opposite system was followed by the East India Directors and Lord Hardinge, who swore all hostile preparations against the Sikhs, and brought the Indian empire to the brink of ruin, in order to avoid giving a pretext even for hostilities; and what was the consequence? Two terrible wars, in which the utmost hazard was incurred, and in which salvation was earned only by heroic efforts, and the shedding of torrents of blood. What would have been the fate of these wars if they had occurred when the British flank was threatened by the insurrection in Scinde, and their communications cut off by the forces of Gwalior? In all probability India would have been lost. It was by anticipating the danger, and combating the hostile powers *in succession*, that the danger was averted, and India saved. For this immense service the country was indebted to Lord Ellenborough; and, according to the usual course of human events, it is not the least conclusive proof of the reality of the obligation that the East India Company requited it by his recall. So strong is the desire to economy of their own money, however anxious to get that of others, and so invincible the repugnance to make costly preparations against *future* danger, in the great majority of men, that whoever attempts or recommends it is certain to incur present obloquy, and, if his opponents have

the power to effect it, political downfall.

74. But though these considerations render it evident that any peace with the native powers of India is to be regarded only as a truce, and that any relaxation in the means of defence on the part of the European power will speedily become the signal of general onslaught, the same form of justification can scarcely be applied to the incorporation of Oude. Unlike the warlike powers in the north-west of India, the Government of Oude had engaged in no hostile designs or preparations against that of Great Britain. Through all the changes of fortune for a half-century, it had stood faithfully by our side. Whatever faults it had committed, and they were many, had been directed against its own subjects, and related to matters of internal administration. Other grounds of justification in the case of Oude must therefore be sought than that of hostility to Great Britain; and these are found by the defenders of the annexation in the fact that, by the treaty of 1801, there was expressly stipulated to the British Government a right of interference, in the event of such internal maladministration as was charged against the native authorities. Whether that circumstance could justify the invasion and annexation of a whole country, under pretext of a tender regard for its inhabitants, is a point on which it is easier to find reasons of expedience than authority in the law of nations.

75. As this encroachment was instrumental in bringing about the rebellion of 1857, and the terrible war which ended in the termination of the East India Company's rule in India, in conformity with the old Hindoo prophecy, in the hundredth year after its foundation by the battle of Plassey, it is a fitting opportunity to consider what was the extent and magnitude of the empire which in that period—short in the lifetime of a nation—had been formed by the energy and perseverance of the Company, and the courage of the nation which aided them by its

resources. India, then, contained, in 1858, when the direct rule of the East India Company was merged in that of the home Government, 180,367,148 inhabitants, extending over 1,465,322 square miles. Of these, 131,990,881 were under the direct dominion of the East India Company, and 48,376,247 the inhabitants of the protected states.\* The revenue (gross) of this immense territory was £30,817,000, of which £17,109,000 was the land-tax, £5,195,000 drawn from the monopoly of opium, £2,631,000 from that of salt, and £2,106,000 from customs. The cost of collection was about £6,000,000; the charge of the army, £11,000,000 annually; the interest of debt in India, £2,000,000; and £3,500,000 was remitted to this country for charges payable at home, or interest on the debt due there. The annual deficit had, on an average of the last four years, been £1,500,000 annually; in the year ending 30th April 1857 it was £1,981,062. The army amounted in the same month to 231,276 native troops, of whom 26,129 were cavalry, regular and irregular; 22,047 Europeans in the employment of the East India Company, of whom 6585 were artillery; and the Queen's troops in India before the revolt broke out were 31,800, all paid by the East India Company. The auxiliary troops, which the protected states were bound to furnish, were 32,211 more; in all, nearly 320,000 men. The public debt of India was £68,000,000, being somewhat more than twice its income. Nor had this

empire been acquired by conquest over unwarlike or barbarous nations: for if the inhabitants of Bengal were a timid race, the Ghoorkas, the Sikhs, the Affghans, the Mahrattas, and the inhabitants of Scinde, rivalled the ancient Germans or Parthians in hardihood and valour; and in the great revolt of 1857 the East India Company encountered 120,000 soldiers, armed, instructed, and disciplined by themselves, and inferior to none in the contempt of death when animated by religious zeal. This empire embraced a greater number of inhabitants than that conquered in five centuries by the Roman legions; double the number subjugated by the Russian arms in two centuries; and more than triple those won for France by the energy of the Revolution and the victories of Napoleon! And this mighty dominion, transcending any which has existed since the world began, had been acquired in one century by a pacific Company, having its chief place of business 14,000 miles distant from the theatre of its conquests—which had almost always been guided by pacific interests, and rarely engaged in wars, except from necessity and in self-defence—which began its career with 500 European soldiers, and seldom had so many as 50,000 collected around its standards! The history of the world may be sought in vain for a parallel to such a prodigy.

76. It may sound strange to British ears, but it will be evident to future times, and is already discerned by foreign nations, that the chief cause of this extraordinary and unparalleled phenomenon is to be found in the presence of constitutional energy in Great Britain during the period when the empire in the East was forming, and the absence of parliamentary control in its direction. The mother country furnished an inexhaustible supply of young men, drawn chiefly from the landed gentry of the middle class, to fill every department both in the civil and military service in the East, while the selection of candidates was exempt from the debasing effects of court favour or parliamentary influence. The

	Area in square miles.	Population.
* Bengal, . . . . .	126,133	37,262,163
North-west Provinces, . . . . .	72,052	30,271,885
Madras, . . . . .	119,526	20,120,495
Bombay, . . . . .	57,723	9,015,534
Punjab, Oude, Berar, Pegu, . . . . .	246,050	23,255,972
<i>Non-regulation—</i>		
Bengal, . . . . .	95,836	3,590,234
North-west, . . . . .	33,707	3,383,308
Madras, . . . . .	12,864	2,316,802
Scinde and Sattara, . . . . .	78,978	2,774,508
	837,412	131,990,901
Protected states, . . . . .	627,910	48,376,247
Total, . . . . .	1,465,322	180,367,148

—MILL'S *India* in 1858, p. 3.

command of this extraordinary aggregate of military and civil ability was practically vested in the Governor-General at Calcutta; distance and the necessity of self-direction on the spot having rendered nearly impotent for evil the division of power between the East India Company and the Board of Control, which the strange and anomalous constitution of 1784 theoretically established. It is to the unparalleled combination of circumstances, which gave British India the united advantages of democratic vigour in the classes from which its defenders were taken, with aristocratic perseverance in the senate by which its government was directed, and the unity of despotism in the dictator to whom the immediate execution of the mandates of that senate was intrusted, that the extraordinary growth of the British empire in that land during the last century is beyond all question to be ascribed. During that period Great Britain has often at home sustained serious reverses, from the ignorance and incapacity of those whom parliamentary influence or court favour had brought to the head of affairs, or the parsimony with which democratic economy had starved down the national establishments, during peace, to a degree which rendered serious reverses inevitable on the first breaking out of hostilities. But in India, though the usual intermixture of good and evil fortune in human affairs has been experienced, there have never been wanting, after a short period, troops requisite to repair reverses, and generals capable of leading them to victory.

77. The extinction of the rule of the East India Company in 1858, loudly applauded by the unthinking multitude, excited very different feelings in the reflecting portion of the community; and the following extract from one of the ablest of the daily journals on the Liberal side may be taken as a fair mirror of their feelings: "Proud and happy as the American colonists were at the achievement of their independence, there were many who gazed through tears at the last ship which

carried a royalist freight, as it put off from the shore. Haughtily as the martial Spaniards drove the Moors before them into the Mediterranean, punishing all who lagged in the final flight, the high-hearted among those Christian knights could hardly have paced the halls of Saracenic palaces, and climbed the pinnacles of the empty mosques, without some sadness and some tenderness for the departed people, so brave in their first intrusion, and so learned and accomplished in the midst of their heresy and bigotry. From the poor Indian remnant on the Missouri, who close up the burial-mound of their last chief, and take down their last wigwam, and turn their backs on the period when they were a tribe, to the train of Zenobia following their captive queen as she issued from the gates of Palmyra into the desert, before the eyes of a pitying foe, there is no human heart which can help suffering when human pride and greatness succumb to the ultimate destiny of all.

'So fails, so languishes, grows dim and dies,  
All that this world is proud of. From their  
spheres

The stars of human glory are cast down:  
Perish the roses and the flowers of kings,  
Princes and emperors, and the crowns and  
palms

Of all the mighty, withered and consumed !'

78. "We are now at the death-stroke of one of the ablest governments on record. Its monuments will outlive it long, and we must make the most of them, seeing that their nature is that of the highest order of monuments—the good works which follow the dead—first to praise them, and then to lapse with them into oblivion. Its imposing greatness appears now the least affecting part of it. There is no need to commend to English hearts the valour manifested on all occasions of need by individuals, from Clive to Havelock, and by the Government, from its defiance of Hyder Ali to its mastery over its mutinous Bengal army. We need not point out to English eyes the splendour of the whole panorama of Indian history, from the sailing of the first fleet into Goa, and the gorgeous embassies to

the foreign courts of Asia, to the final spread of railways, roads, canals, telegraph wires, colleges, village schools, and civilisation in all its forms. There can be no need to rouse the sensibility of British men to the dignity of such a hierarchy, and such a succession of ability as has been built up and drawn out within the dominions of the Company, from the first hour when it found work for its hand to do, to the present when its knell is struck. Not only Englishmen, but all other men who care about the doings of their race, are aware of the magnificent features of our Indian rule, as shown in war, in wealth, in power, and in genius. No one of the vast multitude of observers will say that in any one century of human history there has been elsewhere such a display of remarkable men, of work done, and of empire consolidated, as between the battle of Plassey and the victories of Havelock. But these kinds, and all other kinds of greatness, will grow dim hereafter in comparison with that which constitutes the special glory of our Indian rule,—its being planned and carried out for the benefit of India, and more and more expressly so from period to period of its history. It is here that we feel the most misgiving and the saddest regret. As we never saw before, we must naturally ask whether we shall ever see again, a great empire ruled, not only by a superior race for the benefit of an inferior, but a government planned and carried out at all, expressly for the good of the many. It may be true, and it is true, that the empire of the Company arose by ambition and cupidity, by encroachment and force of arms. But admitting all this and more, the fact remains that the Company has exercised the most beneficent rule ever exhibited for an equal length of time; and that it not only released the native population from the penalties of barbaric rule, but governed them for their own welfare, bestowing on the study of that welfare an amount of toil, solicitude, gene-

rosity, and magnanimous devotedness, more appropriate to an ideal republic than to the transaction of a despotic corporation."

79. The great danger to be apprehended from the transference of the direct government of India to an executive nominated by the House of Commons, is the removal of the break-water which has hitherto been interposed between that remote empire and the popular passions which sometimes agitate the ruling State, or the party influences which always regulate its administration. It is in vain to expect for a public service, directed by men chosen by ministerial majorities in the House of Commons, anything like the long line of illustrious statesmen and heroes who have conducted the affairs of the East during the last century—an array of names to which no other country, during the same or perhaps any period, can present a parallel. If India is to become the battle-field of party, as Ireland so long has been, or the theatre for experiments founded on vehement and ignorant popular passion, as the West Indies has become, or the preserve from which aristocratic cupidity is to be maintained, or democratic ambition gratified in return for parliamentary support in this country, we may expect a very different future for our empire in the East from what the past has been. Taught by these examples, the prudent observer, without absolutely despairing of the fortunes of the Indian dominions of Great Britain from the direct government of the House of Commons, will at least see that it will be fraught with dangers of a more serious kind than any by which it has yet been assailed; that it must be conducted with a prudence rarely witnessed in communities subject to multitudinous rule; and that the East India Company, in concluding their glorious reign, and handing over the magnificent empire they have won to the British executive, may well say, "HERE IS OUR BEQUEST; SEE THAT YOU KEEP IT."



## CHAPTER LVII.

FRANCE, FROM THE TREATY OF JULY 13, 1840, TO THE FEUCHÈRES  
SCANDAL IN THE END OF 1840.

1. VICTORIOUS over all his internal enemies by the suppression of every insurrection which had been attempted to overturn his government, and extricated by the wisdom of M. Guizot, and the recent pacification of the East, from the external dangers which had latterly been so threatening, Louis Philippe seemed in the beginning of 1841 to have overcome all his difficulties, and to be firmly seated on the throne. The bourgeoisie which had placed him on it, had maintained him there through every peril, with a perseverance which nothing had been able to overcome. The populace and *prolétaires*, by whose physical aid the victory had been originally gained, had seen, indeed, with indignation, its fruits snatched from their grasp, and the advantages and honours of office engrossed by a limited class who had contrived to concentrate in themselves the whole gains and powers of government. Unbounded had been the wrath and jealousy which this disappointment had occasioned, and it had exhaled in repeated insurrections, each more formidable than that which had overturned Charles X., accompanied by extreme temporary suffering, and violent effusion of blood. But all these efforts had been defeated: the Cloister of St Méri, the Rue Transnonain, the streets of Lyons, had successively witnessed their overthrow; and the successful termination of the recent *procès monstre* had extinguished at one blow many of the most determined and formidable of his enemies. The troops of the line had on every occasion stood firm, and seemed desirous of expiating their treachery to one government by their fidelity to another; the national guards, generally speaking, if not active support-

ers, were at least passive adherents to the cause of order. The press, how hostile soever, was for the time wellnigh worn out by repeated prosecutions; and a bourgeois Chamber of Deputies, elected by a limited class of society, by large majorities supported a government which showered down all its benefits upon themselves. Finally, the King, blessed with a numerous family, saw his throne surrounded by some who might be expected to prove its firmest support in the hour of trial, and had already signalled themselves by sea and land on many occasions; the heir to the throne, himself in the highest degree popular, had been recently married, and the Duchess of Orleans gave hopes of perpetuating, in a direct line, the descendants of Henry IV. and Louis XIV. Without and within, everything seemed to smile on the Throne of the Barricades; and not only had it acquired consideration in Europe, from the success with which it had repelled so many assaults, but by the mere lapse of time the revolutionary character of its origin was coming to be forgotten, and it was beginning to acquire the firmness and respect which always attend power long established and successfully asserted in the hour of danger.

2. The material prosperity of this period, and of the years which succeeded it, down to nearly the hour of the Revolution of 1848, fully corresponded to these favourable appearances; and if the title of a Government to loyal obedience is to be measured by the amount of physical well-being which it diffuses among its subjects, there never was one in French history more deserving of approbation. The pacific policy of the Sovereign, cordially supported by the Chamber,

whose interest was identified with it, was the main cause of this auspicious state of things. Assured of peace without, and triumphant over insurrection within, the Government was able to turn its attention mainly to objects of internal improvement, and the enterprise and industry of individuals was presented with a favourable field for exertion, during the whole remainder of his reign. Immense was the effect of this fortunate combination upon the population, wealth, and prosperity of the country. France shared to the very full in the flood of prosperity which, during the years from 1843 to 1846, invigorated England, and which realised itself in the immense network of railways which now overspreads the British Islands. The Government took the lead, as will immediately appear, in these beneficent enterprises on the other side of the Channel, and either was the sole promoter of many of the railways, or the chief shareholder in the lateral lines which were to support the main trunks. The sum expended on railways, either by the Government or private companies, between 1841 and 1847, amounted to no less than £86,000,000, a sum equivalent to at least a third more in Great Britain. The effect of this great expenditure, and of the general confidence in the stability of Government which was diffused, was immense. The population of the empire, during the five years from 1841 to 1846, was found, by the census taken at the close of the latter year, to have increased 1,170,000; it had advanced from 34,230,000 to

35,400,000. The produce of the national industry and means of enjoyment, as measured by the amount of exports and imports, was swelled during the same period in a still greater proportion; the former, between 1841 and 1847, increased from £40,000,000 to £47,000,000, the latter from £42,000,000 to £50,000,000. The cities all exhibited unequivocal marks of growing prosperity; the capital teemed with luxury and magnificence, and the general wellbeing reacted upon the Government in the most agreeable way, in the shape of a considerable increase of revenue, without any addition to the public burdens. In a word, judging from external appearances, the Throne of the Barricades was firmly established, not only in the general consent of the most influential classes of the community, but from the substantial benefits it had conferred upon those on whose industry and exertions it was mainly dependent.\*

3. This fortunate state of things not only diffused general ease and wellbeing through a large portion of the community, but it rendered government incomparably easier by giving a tried and less dangerous direction to the general objects of desire in all the more affluent classes of the community. Dazzled by the general appearances of prosperity with which they were surrounded, and by the rapid rise in the value of stock of nearly every description which resulted from it, nearly all those who were possessed of any capital, and not a few who were without it, adventured upon the

\* POPULATION, EXPORTS, IMPORTS, REVENUE, AND SHIPPING OF FRANCE, FROM 1841 TO 1847—CONVERTED AT 25 FRANCS TO £1.

Years.	Population.	Exports. General Commerce.	Imports. General Commerce.	Revenue.	Shipping— French Tons.	Total Ship- ping—French and Foreign Tons.
1840	—	£40,436,901	£42,091,440	£49,164,281	658,378	2,481,262
1841	34,230,178	42,614,304	44,856,969	48,487,000	693,449	1,980,837
1842	—	37,610,036	45,681,328	48,467,821	669,604	2,096,131
1843	—	39,678,488	47,476,366	51,142,381	690,416	2,120,965
1844	—	45,871,526	47,717,635	52,827,923	751,702	2,173,147
1845	—	47,497,548	49,695,649	54,463,821	828,753	2,329,231
1846	35,400,486	47,213,276	50,250,680	48,794,821	952,423	2,696,021
1847	—	41,972,000	51,612,000	54,293,733	968,596	2,923,987

tempting lottery of shares. Such was the success with which these speculations were at first attended, that great fortunes were in several instances realised in a few days; and numbers, without trouble or apparent risk, acquired an independence for life in a few months. As in the days of Law and the Mississippi Scheme, and more recently in the mania of 1835 and 1836, an insatiable passion for speculation seized upon the nation. Cabinet ministers, and ladies of fashion, aged generals, and youthful aspirants, shopkeepers and soldiers, merchants and manufacturers—the high and the low, the rich and the poor—all rushed forward to the course, and forgot all their former objects of ambition in the intense thirst for present gratification, or the belief of an immediate acquisition of fortune. That a whole nation could not in this manner rush headlong, and almost blindfolded, into one exciting chase, without the most imminent hazard, was indeed certain; but these risks were entirely overlooked in the intensity of the passions awakened by it; and every one, regardless of the future, sought only to convert the present into a source of pleasure or profit to himself, and indulged in the flattering illusion that he himself would draw the prizes, and his neighbours the blanks, in the great wheel which was revolving.

4. But there are two ways of viewing every question, and different classes of the State to be affected by every change, whether for the better or worse, in the condition of society. As much as the rise in railway shares, and the general prosperity of trade and manufactures, spread wealth and contentment through a large portion of the bourgeois section of the people, did they excite feelings of discontent and envy among a still more numerous class to whom these advantages were unknown. The immense mass of the working classes in the great towns were unable to do more than maintain themselves and their families, legitimate or illegitimate, by the produce of their labour. The peasants in the country, still more numerous,

were possessed of such small properties, and these for the most part so heavily burdened with debt, that so far from having anything to spare for speculation, they had the utmost difficulty in providing subsistence in the humblest way for themselves. Such was the weight of the interest of mortgages and public taxes in France, that out of £63,000,000, the annual free produce of the soil, no less than £45,000,000 was annually absorbed by them, leaving only £18,000,000 to be divided among all the owners, amounting with their families to as many millions of persons. In such a state of society the affluence and growing riches of the bourgeois class, derived chiefly from the expenditure of foreigners or speculations in railway shares, were a grievance the more, and tended to widen the breach which separated the different classes from each other. For, in their much-envied rulers—the shopkeepers and richer proprietors—they beheld the class which had reft from them the spoils of a revolution. Still worse, it had fearfully augmented the public burdens, and was now revelling in affluence and the enjoyments of luxury, while they themselves were pining in the penury of humble life.\*

5. Add to this, that flourishing as was the state of the Exchequer, so far as the income was concerned, it was

\* The official statistics of France in 1841 exhibit the following extraordinary state of the landed interest of the country:—

	Francs.	£
Territorial revenue in all, . . .	1,580,597,000	or 63,020,000
Taxes paid by land, . . .	562,094,084	„ 22,800,000
Interest of mortgages and <i>hypothèque</i> , . . .	561,533,288	„ 22,900,000

Left clear for proprietors, . . . 456,969,628 „ 18,720,000

—*Stat. de la France*, vol. vii. p. 91; and REGNAULT, *Histoire de Huit Ans de Louis Philippe*, vol. ii. p. 276. The separate landed properties in France at this period were 10,860,000, but it was calculated that they belonged to only 6,000,000 separate proprietors. Supposing this to be the case, and allowing 3½ to each family, we have 21,000,000 human beings among whom this £18,720,000 was divided, or less than 20s. a-head to each.

by no means in an equally satisfactory state when the balance of receipts and expenditure was taken into consideration. On the contrary, the floating debt and annual deficit, which had gone on constantly increasing ever since 1836, and which all the artifices of supplemental credits and budgets had not been able entirely to conceal, had now swelled to such an amount that they had become a source of serious embarrassment to the Government. The cost of the military preparations of M. Thiers, in contemplation of the war in 1840, and on the fortifications of Paris, had also been immense. This floating debt in 1833 amounted to 255,000,000 francs (£10,000,000), and a little more. It now amounted, in 1841, to 1,000,000,000 francs, or £40,000,000, of which no less than 175,000,000 francs, or £7,000,000, had been incurred since the formation of the administration of M. Thiers, on 1st March 1840. This deficit was brought to a perfect climax by a loan of 531,000,000 francs (£21,400,000), contracted in 1841, to be expended *on railways* in 1841 and 1842. In a word, the finances of the country were in a most alarming situation; and it was evident to all that Government, pressed by the dread of insurrection among the working classes, was resolved at all hazards to keep them for the time in full employment, and for this purpose to encroach to any extent, by anticipation, on the credit or resources of future years.

6. The existence and spread of those feelings of discontent among the working classes was the more dangerous that they had no *legitimate mode of expression*. Government deemed society safe, and the danger over, because the voice of treason or ultra-Republicanism was not heard in the Chamber, and insurrection no longer stalked abroad in the metropolis. So far, however, was this from being the case, that the danger was only the greater and more serious from no sound expressive of it being heard in the Legislature, and no visible symptom of it appearing in the streets. As in

England during the twelve years which intervened between the contraction of the currency and the Reform Bill, discontent was daily increasing among the people, because the expression of it could not find vent through their representatives. The cry was not against the Sovereign, but the Chamber; it was not the dethronement of the monarch, but the *Reform of the Representation*, which was demanded; and this, of course, was not to be expected from the Legislature itself, till absolutely constrained to it by external pressure. Thus, while the schism between the Government and the people was daily becoming greater, neither the debates in the Chamber nor the disorders in the streets gave any symptoms of its approach; and the future of France at this period is to be looked for neither in the proceedings of Parliament nor the sentences of the courts of justice, but in the speeches at the Reform Banquets.

7. Nothing, accordingly, presents so remarkable a contrast as the debates in the Chambers and the ideas fermenting in the great mass of the people between 1841 and 1847. If you read the speeches in the Chamber, the objects in dispute appear, for the most part, of the most trivial and insignificant description. They were not so much about things as words. Verbal amendments to addresses, or to ministerial bills, which, without involving any real difference of opinion, might afford a touchstone to the parties measuring their strength in the struggle for possession of the ministerial portfolios, were the great objects of contention. Upon them the rival orators, candidates for power, exhausted all their eloquence, and frequently, in support of their respective sides, they appealed to abstract principles, and gave expression to warm and eloquent declamation. But excepting on the few occasions when important questions of *foreign* policy were brought forward for discussion, the vote was almost always taken on a verbal amendment, involving no material political principle; and, in fact, the constitution of the Legislature could

admit of no other. On all questions of social or internal interest, the Chamber appeared to be substantially unanimous. Protection to native industry, diminution of public expenditure, enlarged provision for popular education, resistance to any further extension of the suffrage, or increase of ecclesiastical influence, were inscribed alike on the banners of the Liberal and the Conservative parties. The only real question between them was, whether M. Guizot or M. Thiers was to have the disposal of the 130,000 offices in the gift of the Executive, and on which side were the 166 placemen in the Chamber of Deputies to sit. And this was to be determined, not by divisions on any great social or political questions, but by such a skilful framing of the royal speech, or the amendment, as might succeed in detaching ten votes from the Right or the Left Centre, either of which was sufficient to determine the fate of an administration, and with it the disposal of all offices and emoluments.

8. While these were the objects of parliamentary division, and the prizes of parliamentary contest, very different subjects of thought were beginning to agitate the public mind in the immense mass of the working classes. Despairing of making their voice heard in a bourgeois-elected legislature, the workmen took their case into their own hands, and encouraged each other in those socialist and communist doctrines which are always agreeable to the sons of labour, and which they hoped, on the first favourable opportunity, to assert by force of arms in the streets. Experience had taught them where their real enemy was to be found; it was no longer on the throne, but in the legislature. A Chamber of Deputies elected by 150,000 of the richest proprietors in France was actuated only by one interest, and could be expected to support only one set of measures. Most of all, being almost entirely the representative of manufacturing and commercial wealth, it was seen on all occasions to show a determined front against any measures calculated, directly or indirectly, to

diminish the share in the profits of labour enjoyed by the masters, and augment that falling to the workmen. Thus the composition and character of the legislature insured alike, and at the same time, the spread of socialist principles among the working classes, and of devotion to the interests of capital in the legislature; and a revolution, based on the principle of *Liberté, Égalité, et Fraternité*, was, sooner or later, rendered inevitable from the moment when the bourgeois class became intrenched in the legislature by the convulsion which overthrew the legitimist monarchy.

9. This deplorable divergence of the objects of parliamentary contention from those of public and general interest was mainly owing to this, that the different classes of society were not represented in the legislature. As, with a few trifling exceptions, the immense majority of the voters was composed of those who paid direct taxes of two hundred francs and upwards yearly, *that class alone was, to any practical purpose, represented.* It was a most important portion of society, but it was not the only one; and it was the less entitled to the entire direction of the State, that its interests were in many respects at variance with those of the other classes. The aristocracy and greater proprietors were almost entirely unrepresented; not a dozen members out of 460 belonged to that class. The nobility, profoundly alienated by the Revolution of 1830, and usurpation of Louis Philippe, most unwisely retired altogether from the arena of parliamentary conflict, and awaited, in the solitude of the few châteaux which still remained to them, or in the haughty and exclusive circles of the Faubourg St Germain, the return they expected, by the general concurrence of the nation, to legitimate government. The clergy were alike unrepresented; a few adherents of the Church were grouped round the standard of M. DE MONTALEMBERT, who already had given token of those talents which have since rendered him so eminent; but their number was too small to give them any real weight in

the Assembly. The ecclesiastics, as a body, aware of the unpopularity of the Jesuits, which had early been evinced both under the Restoration and the present regime, kept aloof, and, without seeking to withstand the Government, simply awaited, like the nobles, the arrival of better times, when the Church might again cause its voice to be heard. Above all, the working classes were utterly and entirely unrepresented; and this was the more unfortunate, that their interests were often directly at variance with those of their masters, in whom the last revolution had vested the supreme direction of affairs. All this was the direct consequence of that revolution having been effected by the *bourgeoisie*, and, of course, worked out exclusively to their profit, and of the national representation having been fixed in 1814 on this principle of uniform representation—that principle which, apparently the most just, is in reality the most unjust of foundations, and inevitably ends in vesting the entire government of the State in a single class of society, and that the lowest portion of the enfranchised class.

10. The Chamber of Peers, as then constituted, afforded no counterpoise whatever to the fatal preponderance of the bourgeois class in the legislature. Deprived for the most part, by the confiscations of the Revolution, of their hereditary estates, it was impossible that they could, under the most favourable circumstances, have acquired anything like the influence or consideration which the English House of Peers possessed, in which the greater part of the landed property in the kingdom was still vested. — But the sway which they had obtained, in a certain degree, from the weight of historic names, had been seriously weakened by the fatal measure, the great triumph of the Revolution of the Barricades, which deprived them of their hereditary seats in the legislature. The moment this was done, they became a mere set of titled favourites of court, or partisans of ministers; and any little respect which might have still clung to them, some

of them from historical recollections, was entirely destroyed by the large creations of peers which signalled the advent to power of every successive administration. From that time, the Upper Chamber was to all practical purposes, and as an independent branch of the legislature, powerless, and the entire direction of Government was vested in the bourgeois-elected Chamber of Deputies. It would have been incomparably better, when their hereditary character came to an end, to have transformed them, as in America, into an elective Upper House, chosen by a different and more elevated class of voters than the Lower. Representing the dignitaries of the Gallican Church, and the royalist proprietors in La Vendée, Brittany, and the south, they might still have enjoyed some consideration, and in some cases even acted as a check upon the other branches of the Government. Chosen by the Sovereign, and augmented by large additions of party-men as the rival administrations came to power, they possessed no weight whatever in the community, and served no other purpose but that of the Roman Senate in the days of Byzantine servitude—to register the obnoxious decrees of the Sovereign, and thereby share their odium.

11. Founded on such an exclusive basis, the representative system, so far from being a blessing, must prove a positive curse to any country; instead of lessening, it materially aggravates the dangers which threaten society. It induces a false feeling of security on the part of Government, when it is slumbering on the surface of a volcano; it speaks peace to the rulers of men when there is no peace. Representatives of all classes are not only the constitutional organs by which they make their wants known, and their demands attended to by the Government, but they are the *safety-valves which let off their ill humours*. Reposing in fancied security on the idea of a *national* representation, M. Guizot forgot it was only the representation of a single class in the State, and that the discontents of the other

classes were just in proportion to the unanimity of opinion on all important questions which it exhibited. The dreams of the Socialists were unheard in the Chamber; the mighty voice of the Gallican Church no longer resounded in the State; but these interests, though silent, were not extinct, and the working classes embraced them the more readily, and clung to them with the more fervent devotion, that they formed their last refuge against the tyranny with which they were threatened by the Government and the bourgeois order upon which it rested in the legislature.

12. Another error had been committed by this bourgeois legislature in the direction they had given to the influence to which they had subjected the national system of education. It is a mistake to suppose that the Chambers during the reign of Louis Philippe did nothing for general education. On the contrary, they did a great deal, and established a system which, when it comes into full operation, will go far to take away the reproach of ignorance which has so long attached to a large part especially of the rural population in France. By means of public taxes they had assigned very considerable revenues to the purposes of education, and constructed for its cultivation a very extensive system. By the law of 28th June 1833, three centimes on each franc of valued rent were levied in each commune, and a centime and a half in each department, besides large grants in addition from the public treasury; and these sums were devoted specially to the support of education. With the ample funds thus provided they constructed 35,000 primary schools, endowed an equal number of schoolmasters, and established 76 normal schools, to instruct them in their important duties. So far they did well, and made a mighty step in the progress of civilisation, which entitles them to the lasting thanks of all the friends of mankind.\*

\* The law of 28th June 1833 required the communes only to settle on the schoolmasters the *minimum* of 200 francs (£8) a-year, to which the departmental contributions

13. Had this great establishment been connected with any system of religious belief, it would have satisfied the wants of the human mind, and proved a lasting blessing to society. But, unfortunately, the prevailing object of terror, especially with the bourgeois class at the time when that system was established, and, indeed, during the whole reign of Louis Philippe, neutralised all these blessings, and caused them, in the first instance at least, to turn into curses. The Jesuits had been the general objects of apprehension during the reign of Charles X.; and the friends of freedom were in an especial manner jealous of the undisguised efforts they were making to get entire possession of the education of the rising generation. This dread was the more general and intense among the *bourgeoisie*, that education thus directed would tend obviously to increase the influence of the priests instead of augmenting their own, by giving them powerful supporters in the humbler ranks of society. Influenced by this feeling, the Legislature carefully separated education from religion; and the schools of the "University," supported by public assessment and the State, were entirely subjected to lay direction, and admitted no intermixture even of ecclesiastical influence. By so doing they averted without doubt one danger, but they increased another still more serious and threatening. In their terror at falling under the government of the Jesuit with his cowl, they forgot the Socialist with his blouse. Mankind can never for any length of time dispense with religious influence, which is the chief engine by which the great majority must always be governed; and the only effect of separating primary education from the Church, was to cause the working classes, especially in towns, to *make a*

were added; but the whole did not exceed 400 francs, or £16 yearly. The teachers in all were 40,524, of whom 24,256 were married; and the members of the different religious congregations were 2136 of this number.—*Rapport sur l'Instruction Publique*, 1st Nov. 1841, par M. VILLEMAM; *Moniteur*, 1st Nov. 1841.

*religion of Socialism*, and embrace its doctrines, not only with the zeal of a political party, but with the fervour of a religious sect.

14. The Government, however, remained utterly blind as to the extent to which these feelings and principles prevailed. M. Guizot, fixing his eye on the Council of State and the Chambers, where such doctrines were discarded as soon as introduced, persisted in maintaining that no change was called for; that Reform was a mere party toy got up for factious purposes to embarrass or displace the Government; and that, the liberties of the nation being now fully secured, unbending resistance was all that was required to baffle the efforts of the extreme Liberals and Revolutionists. So far did this illusion go that it was shared even by the Conservative and Royalist leaders, who, finding their most powerful and successful enemy in the bourgeois class, openly countenanced the most wild and extravagant doctrines of the Socialist school. By so doing they flattered themselves they would succeed in conciliating the working masses, and secure their support in any contest which might ensue with the middle class, at present in possession of power. The thing was done, and the Revolution of 1848 proclaimed its results; a warning to those who think that the working classes are, under all circumstances, the natural allies of the higher, and that a *Tory democracy* is the best guarantee against the evils of the undue ascendancy of the middle ranks of society.

15. Thus blind to the dangers with which they were threatened, the Government of Louis Philippe persisted in their system of governing France by means of the Chamber and the army, and by a profuse distribution of the immense patronage at the disposal of the executive. M. Guizot put in practice his favourite maxim, that "real progress, in a certain stage, consists in resistance to further change." The bourgeois class, whose ideas he represented, cordially supported these views; having gained the command

of the State, they were in no hurry to share their dominion with others. The prevailing egotism and thirst for gain, which invaded all classes, with the railway mania of 1844 and 1845, favoured to a wish the Government system of ruling by influence. In France, as in England, at this period, the thirst for gold, roused to a perfect frenzy by the rise in railway shares and the rapid fortunes made by fortunate speculators on the *Bourse*, had become so general and violent as to have absorbed the entire national mind, and superseded almost every other object of desire in a large portion of the people. Government, charmed at any change which took the pressure even for a time off themselves, gave every possible encouragement to the prevailing mania; and a large portion, as already shown, of the public debt (£27,000,000) had been contracted to set on foot the all-absorbing speculations. When the minds of men were in this state, and every other passion was absorbed by one, and that of a selfish character, it became comparatively an easy task, for the time, for a Government possessed of immense patronage, to rule the State. But exactly in the same proportion was the danger of violent discontent breaking out, if the prevailing passion came to be thwarted, and the numerous speculations by which every one hoped to make a fortune proved to be the certain means by which the greater part of them were to lose one.

16. Taught by bitter experience, the ruling Liberals of France, during the last seven years of Louis Philippe's reign, entirely changed their method of attack upon the Government. They no longer thought of openly assailing a power possessed of a decisive majority in the Chambers, supported by a numerous and faithful army, and resting on a girdle of strong forts encircling the metropolis. Despairing of success in an open assault on a monarchy thus intrenched, and taught by the repeated failures they had already experienced, as well in the streets as in the courts of law and the Chambers, they bent all their efforts to



one object, and that was to DISCREDIT IT IN GENERAL OPINION. The tactics pursued were, to represent the Government on all occasions—in the press, at public banquets, in the daily journals—as utterly and irretrievably corrupt, and the State as ruled by a combination of greedy electors, shameless representatives, and barefaced ministers, who for their own selfish purposes maintained peace at any hazard, and ignominiously surrendered themselves to the dictation of England, the ancient rival and eternal enemy of France. It must be confessed that several revelations which the proceedings in the courts of law made at this period, as well as some diplomatic transactions, gave too much countenance to some of these reproaches, and sufficiently demonstrated that, whatever benefits France may have gained by its revolutionary governments during fifty years, purity in the administration of public affairs could not be reckoned among the number. On the contrary, it may safely be affirmed that, characterised as it was, at least in the towns, by great material prosperity, there is no period in French history when the administration of affairs was so generally based on corruption, and selfishness so much pervaded every department of the State, as that which elapsed from the accession of M. Guizot to power to the fall of Louis Philippe. It may be conceived what a handle this discreditable state of affairs afforded to the declamation of a numerous party embracing the greater part of the talent in the State, at present excluded from all this lucrative patronage, and which was desirous of overthrowing the present dispensers of it, in the hope that on the next change its distribution would fall into their own hands.

17. An eloquent liberal writer, himself in the outset a great supporter of the Revolution of 1830, has left the following picture of the state of society engendered by its success: "Whatever may have been the baseness of Rome under the Cæsars, it was equalled by the corruption in France in the reign of Louis Philippe. Nothing like

it had ever been witnessed in history. The thirst for gold having gained possession of minds agitated by impure desires, society terminated by sinking into a brutal materialism. Talent, energy, eloquence, genius, virtue itself, were devoted to no other end but the amassing of a fortune. Renown acquired by money, was turned only to increasing it. Literary or scientific, military or civil, everything was venal; glory itself had its price. O the degradation, never to be forgotten, of that noble France, which had furnished to ancient times their most illustrious chevaliers, and to modern their brightest genius, their most heroic martyrs! Everything was brought to the market; suffrages counted by crowns. They made, as in a new species of bazaar, a scaffolding of venal consciences where honour was bought and law sold. This fearful degradation of France was not the work of a day. Since 1830 the formula of selfishness, 'Every one by himself and for himself,' had been adopted by the Sovereign as the maxim of states, and that maxim, alike hideous and fatal, had become the ruling principle of government. It was the device of Louis Philippe, a prince gifted with moderation, knowledge, tolerance, humanity, but sceptical, destitute either of nobility of heart or elevation of mind, the most experienced corrupter of the human race that ever appeared on earth. It resulted from his government, that during eighteen years the poison was let in slowly, drop by drop, from high places, in an unobserved but continual flow. In the latter years of the reign of Louis Philippe every one surrendered himself with his eyes shut to the torrent of corruption. If a revolution was vaguely apprehended by a few, it was only when Louis Philippe was dead; and every one replied by a shrug of the shoulders to those who said, 'This silence is fatal, this repose is ominous, death is germinating beneath dishonour.'" Unquestionable evidence proves that the picture thus drawn by Louis Blanc was too well founded. But it is equally true, what he has

not said, that corruption was thus universal, because the preceding revolutions, which he had so cordially supported, had both extinguished all elevated feelings in the majority of the nation, and left the Government no other mode of ruling it but by a constant appeal to their selfish desires.

18. The second engine for effecting the overthrow of the Government, which was worked by the Liberals during the concluding years of the reign of Louis Philippe, was by the incessant spread of Socialist principles among the working classes. Two causes contributed to the immense success with which this attempt was attended. The first was, the profound feeling of discontent which had arisen from the failure of all previous convulsions to effect any real amelioration in the condition of that portion of society. This the Socialist demagogues universally ascribed to their having not gone far enough—stopped short at the precise point where practical improvement in their condition would have been effected. The capitalist was their real enemy, even more so than the bondholder and tax-gatherers were of the class of proprietors. No social amelioration could be expected till this monster that preyed on their vitals, and reft from them more than half the fruits of their toil, was abolished, and, by the general introduction of the principle of *association*, the entire profits of labour were divided among those actually engaged in it.

19. The next cause which contributed to the immense spread of Socialist principles at this period was, the real and most serious grievance immediately affecting the wages of labour, arising from the inadequacy of the currency. This evil, which is the subject of such ample commentary in the chapters narrating its application to Great Britain, was still more sorely felt in France, from the want of any bank-notes in that country below 200 francs (£8), and the consequent entire dependence of the population, so far as the wages of labour were concerned, on a metallic currency, seriously di-

minished over the whole world by the injury done by the South American Revolution to the mines of the precious metals in those regions. It was an evil, too, which was attended by this peculiar and aggravating circumstance, that it was increased by the growth of transactions, and the augmented numbers and industry of the people. The consequence of this was, that while more money was every day required to meet the necessities of the nation, no more could be obtained, and consequently what was in circulation rose in value, and everything else, and with it the wages of labour proportionally fell. The working classes felt this, and felt it sorely, but they did not know to what it was owing, and ascribed it all, at the suggestion of their demagogues, to the middle classes who had usurped the government, and, by the odious principle of competition, were daily wrenching more from the wages of labour, and adding to the profits of stock, to their own great benefit and the general ruin.

20. The influence and predominance of these causes appeared in the clearest manner in France, during the summer of 1840, when M. Thiers was in power, being the precise period when, from the same circumstances, distress and discontent were most rife in the British Islands, and the Whig Ministry was about to fall a sacrifice to their intensity. Combinations to effect a rise of wages were then almost universal in all the trades of the metropolis and other great towns, and, as usual in such cases, came at length to be attended with serious intimidation and violence. The democratic leaders skilfully took advantage of this state of things to urge upon the excited and suffering working classes the belief that there was but one remedy for their manifold evils, and that was Parliamentary Reform. Once admitted into the legislature, they assured them they would have the remedy for the evils under which they suffered in their own hands. The combination of masters, by whom they were oppressed, would then yield to the aroused might of millions. Till that was ef-

fect, all attempts to ameliorate their condition by a bourgeois-elected representation, which was enriched by their labour, and interested in beating down its remuneration, would prove nugatory. So sedulously was this doctrine inculcated, so exactly did it fall in with the prevailing idea of the age, that it obtained universal credit with the working classes; and the *National* newspaper gave expression to the general feeling when it contained these words, on the 7th May 1840: "At this moment, reform appears to all the world, and even to the Chamber itself, the inevitable result of the disordered state of society."

21. It is justly observed by M. de Carné, in his very able and interesting history of representative institutions in France, that although the French people are, like every other, more in reality affected by domestic alterations than foreign events, yet it is much more easy to excite them by the latter than the former, so that more changes in French history are to be ascribed to this influence than to internal suffering. The case is just the reverse in England: foreign events are there chiefly interesting as they affect domestic wellbeing and comfort. The reason is to be found in the opposite character of the two people. Essentially military and aggressive in their nature, the French are actuated by no passion so strongly as the love of glory. The desire for equality itself is but an emanation from it. Men sought to be equal that they might start abreast in the race for distinction. The most popular monarchs who have ever sat upon their throne—Clovis, Philip Augustus, Henry IV., Louis XIV., Napoleon—were those who ministered most strongly to, and gratified most completely, this prevailing desire. The English are not insensible to military glory, and at times feel it as strongly as their neighbours; but it is not their prevailing passion. With them it is the exception, not the rule. With the French it is the rule, not the exception. It may readily be conceived what a handle the treaty of July 1840 afforded to an Opposition whose main reliance

was on discrediting the Government in general opinion, and knew that they could never do this so effectually as by representing it as the creature and the vassal of England. The announcement of that treaty had thrilled the national heart as the sound of a trumpet; the threatened invasion of France, in 1793, had scarcely roused the patriotic feelings more strongly. The ministry of M. Thiers, which went out on that question, carried with it the sympathies and gratitude of the nation. That of M. Guizot, which succeeded it on the footing of accommodation with the European powers, like the dynasty of the Bourbons at the Restoration, bore the mark of Cain on its forehead. This, accordingly, formed the second great ground on which the Liberals sought to rouse the national feelings against the Government; and it was difficult to say whether the cry of internal corruption or external humiliation resounded most loudly, or excited most violently the vast and unrepresented classes of the community.

22. In the midst of these grave and serious dangers, it was lamentable to behold how entirely the attention of Government and the legislature was fixed on objects which, however important or laudable in themselves, unhappily ran directly counter to the general feeling and wishes. Seated on a throne founded on a revolt of the middle classes, and supported in the streets by their arms, in the legislature by their representatives, Louis Philippe held with invincible tenacity to two opinions: the first, that it was by sedulous attention to their material interests that their attachment could alone be secured; the second, that the real enemy, both of himself and them, was to be found in the anarchical faction which sought to subvert the existing Government, in order to establish themselves on its ruins. It was by external peace that the first was most likely to be promoted; by internal resistance that the last could alone be coerced. Thus a fixed policy, both external and internal, was in a manner forced upon the Government by the circumstances of its origin and present

situation; and that policy, however beneficial in many respects both to France and to Europe, was unfortunately one which daily estranged it more and more from the great numerical majority of the nation, and thwarted more violently their two prevailing passions—the desire of equality and the thirst for glory.

23. While this was the condition of society and views of parties during the reign of Louis Philippe, another influence, overlooked at the time in the vehemence of political strife, was quietly and unobtrusively extending its sway over a large portion of the people. The CHURCH, which had made so many attempts to regain its political influence in the latter years of the reign of Charles X., and so powerfully contributed to his fall, driven from the field of conflict by the Revolution of 1830, withdrew altogether from the strife. Abandoning, for the time at least, the visions of temporal ambition, it devoted itself exclusively to the discharge of its religious functions. Respectful towards the possessors of power, it asked nothing from them, and sought only to extend the blessings of the Christian faith among the immense, and in great part suffering, flocks intrusted to its charge. It surrendered none of the rights it formerly enjoyed, but simply kept them in abeyance, and reserved their assertion for future times. Immense was the effect of this change in augmenting its influence, especially in the rural population. Detached from the jealousies and asperities of political ambition, no longer ostensibly interfering either in the government, the legislature, or the education of youth, the Church escaped from the vindictive abuses of its enemies, and in solitude and silence regained its influence over the people.

24. Following out the plan of agitating for parliamentary reform, and making that the great lever which was to displace the Ministry and overturn the Government, several political banquets took place, in the course of the summer of 1840, which elicited speeches from the leading Liberal characters of the metropolis, that clearly evinced

both the extension of the movement and the direction it was taking. A motion for parliamentary reform had recently been thrown out by a majority of 6 to 1 in the Chamber. At a great meeting held in the twelfth arrondissement, when M. Lafitte was present, M. Arago said: "The efforts we have made in favour of electoral reform, in former days, cannot receive a more flattering recompense than that which we now enjoy, nor our future exertions a more exciting stimulus. Let us not deceive ourselves; the task we have undertaken is arduous; it will require all our perseverance. But the end is glorious; in such a case, to estimate the cost or pains would be a dereliction of national duty.

25. "Some there are who are discouraged at the result of a recent discussion in the Chamber. What say they?—a year of efforts, 240,000 signatures to the petitions, have terminated only in a debate of two hours, in interruptions without end, explosions of anger, ill-natured innuendoes, and a vote, all but unanimous, against any modification, even the most inconsiderable, of the electoral law. Can any one, then, have the simplicity to expect any other result? In what country, in what age, has privilege ever consented to abandon the positions which it occupies, without a vigorous attempt to defend them? For my part, I laboured under no such illusion; I never expected any other result than what has actually occurred. I must add, however, that if we are to judge from the violence of the diatribes to which we have been exposed, our strokes have been well directed. Is it nothing to have described in the tribune the cruel sufferings which millions of our fellow-countrymen are enduring—to have caused these words, *prophetic of the future*, to be heard in the Chamber, 'We must organise labour'? Is it nothing to have proved, by numerous examples, that the large portion of our non-military population, at present deprived of civil rights on account of its pretended incapacity, has given to the world incomparable mechanics, illustrious writers, great poets, and the

most renowned generals of our revolutionary wars? No, my fellow-citizens! the campaign we have gone through has not been sterile in results. Can the Reformers refuse to close their ranks when they have heard the minister of the 1st March (M. Thiers) declare that men, as men, have no rights; after noting the historian prime-minister, can they forget the celebrated words of Bossuet, 'There are primary truths, against which whoever strives only wounds himself;' and the still more memorable fact, that an Assembly, illustrated by its knowledge and the eloquence of its members, decided, after the example of the famous American Congress, that the declaration of the rights of man should *precede* the formation of the constitution.

26. "I say it in the most profound conviction of my soul, the only sure and safe remedy which I can discern for the evils which are consuming us, is reform. Would you ameliorate the condition, at present so precarious, of the working classes? Demand reform! It is by reform that public works can alone be directed to objects of general utility; that merit can take the lead of mediocrity and favouritism; that we can get out of that ocean of intrigue, egotism, avidity, and corruption, in which the country is now labouring; and that the French nation can resume the rank which belongs to it as a great power. Such are the effects of reform considered as a means; let us not disdain it, at the same time, as an end. Everything which can elevate the majority of the nation in its own eyes, engender and develop noble sentiments, efface from our laws insulting distinctions, is worthy of the attention of every good citizen, for our country, our dear France, will profit by them.

27. "There is one class in the country which is the prey of peculiar suffering, and that is the manufacturing. That evil, rely upon it, will continually go on increasing. Small capitals in these branches of industry cannot contend with large capitals; industry which is exercised with the aid of machinery will always have the advantage

over industry which works only with the natural strength of men; the capital which puts in motion powerful engines will always crush that which makes use only of little ones. There is here a cruel evil, to which it is necessary to apply a remedy. Murmur at the expression as some will, there is a necessity to organise labour—to modify in some respects the actual condition of industry; and if you say there is something monstrous in that idea, I answer that the Chamber of Deputies have already entered upon that career when they have considered a law to regulate the labour of children in manufactories. But do not expect such views from the Chamber as at present constituted. Hear what a man who knows them, and who has always been applauded at the tribune, says of the middle classes: M. Guizot says, 'The bourgeois have no turn for great enterprise. When fortune throws them into circumstances where they become necessary, they feel disquieted, embarrassed; responsibility troubles them; they are conscious they are out of their sphere, and would gladly re-enter it; they will readily come to terms.' Gentlemen, these words of M. Guizot contain the condemnation of the present electoral system in France. Our fellow-citizens may ere long find themselves involved in great events, and the political destinies of the country ought not to be *exclusively* intrusted to the hands of those who will be embarrassed by them—who will treat on easy terms."

28. It may readily be supposed that, among the willing and enthusiastic hearers of M. Arago at the Reform Banquet, there was no one to controvert the principles contained in these eloquent words. But when the petitions on the subject were presented in the Chamber of Deputies on the 16th May, M. Thiers made a speech which may be considered as presenting the opposite side of this great debate. "We are often told," said he, "of the national sovereignty, as if by that were meant the sovereignty of mere numbers. I affirm that that doctrine is the

most fatal in the world. In constitutional language, when you speak of the national sovereignty, you mean, and can only mean, the sovereignty of the King and the two Chambers expressing the sovereignty of the nation by regular votes—by the exercise of their constitutional rights. I know of no other national sovereignty. Whoever comes to the door of this Assembly, and says, 'I have a right,' is legally wrong; for there are no rights but such as the law has conferred.

29. "Is it not evident that, in the unlimited extension of the suffrage which is proposed, the advocates of such a change are themselves obliged to admit some limitation? They speak of thirty-four millions of inhabitants in France. You speak of that large number, and confessedly you are obliged to reduce the numbers of qualified persons to eight millions. Whence the necessity of this great reduction? Because you must deduct the women, minors, infatuous, and insane persons. You exclude certain classes by reason of natural necessity, admitted by all nations. You exclude certain classes by the force of reason and the necessity of the case; we exclude them in the name of the law."

30. It is evident to every one who dispassionately considers the subject, that M. Arago had the better in this debate, and that, if the argument in opposition to universal suffrage rested on no better grounds than those stated by M. Thiers, the demand for it would be irresistible. To say that certain classes are not entitled because they are excluded from it by the law, is an argument which would go to vindicate any imaginable legal electoral abuse, and would preclude legislative reform even in the most despotic countries where it was most loudly called for. It is evident that, in resting his case on so narrow and untenable a ground, M. Thiers was influenced by his habitual respect for revolutionary principles, and overawed by the dread of the majority which is shared by all who adopt them. He did not venture to say that the majority of the nation must be excluded from the suffrage by

reason of their not being qualified by nature, or their circumstances in society, to exercise it; what he said was, that they were excluded by positive law. This ground is wholly untenable; no man will ever successfully meet the revolutionary argument founded on natural right, but by going back to equally fundamental principles. The real answer to M. Arago's argument is, that mankind are *not equal* by nature, but, on the contrary, *enormously unequal*. Some have the intellectual strength of giants, some the mental weakness of pigmies. Some have the energy which can move mountains, others the feebleness which is turned aside by molehills; some the industry which defies misfortune, others the indolence which sinks under the first difficulty. The majority are always mediocre, and wholly unfit to govern society if not directed by its few really able members. This is the law of nature, conclusively evinced in the various capacities of men. Society could not exist without it: government has everywhere arisen from the experienced necessity of getting out of the multitudinous rule of mediocrity, and giving authority to the small phalanx of ability. The attempt often fails; the persons chosen prove frequently unworthy; but men cannot exist for an hour without again feeling the first of necessities—that of being governed. Universal suffrage is not a restoration of the rights of men; it is their decisive and ruinous abrogation; for it deprives them of their first right and most pressing necessity—that of being well governed, and subjects them to the risk of their greatest danger—that of being ruled by fools, or plundered by knaves.

31. The strength of the feeling in favour of Reform, which the general distress of the working classes had produced, was soon evinced in a manner still more alarming to the Government. On the 14th June the National Guard of Paris had been summoned for a great review, and the pageant, extraordinary in these days, excited an unusual degree of interest. When they defiled past the King, several

companies of the 4th, 5th, and 6th Legions, and entire battalions of the 8th, with their officers at their head, shouted "Vive la Reforme!" These ominous words, coming from such a quarter, excited a great sensation, which was increased by the proofs of an organisation in the partisans of the movement, which were every day afforded, and by the perpetual holding out of Reform as the only remedy for the sufferings of the working classes. M. Odillon Barrot had now openly joined the section of members in the Chambers who were headed by Arago and Lafitte, and advocated Radical principles and universal suffrage. This promised to give increased weight and parliamentary influence to their party. The effects soon appeared. France became the theatre of a pacific Reform agitation, very similar to that of the monster meetings which at the same time, and for some years after, shook Ireland to its foundation. Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulon, Metz, Nantes, and most of the great towns of France, had their reform banquets, at which the sentiments emanating from the capital were repeated and exaggerated. At length Government took the alarm; they saw that the docility of the Chamber, chosen by less than 200,000 electors, was no guarantee for the contentment and tranquillity of the country. The eighth arrondissement, which embraced the Faubourg St Antoine, was preparing a banquet, which was to take place at St Mandé, near Vincennes, beyond the limits of Paris, on the 14th July, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. Above 3000 persons had already accepted the invitations of the committee, embracing 2600 of the National Guard; the ground was hired, and the consent of the mayor of the commune had been obtained to the meeting, when, on the 10th July, an order was issued by the prefect of the police, forbidding any assembly of more than a thousand persons. The committee and officers of the National Guard of the district remonstrated strongly against the interdiction, but in vain. The Minister was firm; and the leaders of the move-

ment abandoned their intention and for the time gave up the banquet, contenting themselves with publishing a protest, in which they signalled the measure as "a stretch of authority, inspired by distrust and fear, and founded on an entire abuse of legal enactment." The banquet, however, was not permanently given up, but only adjourned till the ensuing month of August.

32. It took place accordingly on the 31st August, in the plain of Châtillon, in a private field, to which the power of the police to interfere did not extend. Six thousand persons were present; the chairman, M. Recart, though he had lost a child only a day before, felt it his duty to preside on the occasion. The speeches were very violent, but perfect order prevailed, and the Government had not the advantage of representing it as a riotous assembly. This banquet, the largest which had yet taken place in France, had an immense influence; and it was immediately followed by others of a similar character at Limoges, Metz, Moulins, Lille, Rouen, Marseilles, Tours, Dijon, La Chatre, Auxerre, Grenoble, Bourges, Perpignan, Toulouse, Le Mans, Blois. At these assemblies, which passed over without riot or anything discreditable, in addition to the usual topic of Reform, as indispensable to elevate the condition and assuage the suffering of the manufacturing operatives, there came latterly to be conjoined the still exciting topics to French patriotism, of the necessity of the change to restore France to its just position among the nations, and avenge the insulting humiliation they had recently received from the treaty of 15th July 1840, which shut it out from any share in the direction of the affairs of Europe.

33. The immediate cause of this extraordinary effervescence, the precursor of that which eight years afterwards overturned the throne, and during which the seeds were sown which then ripened to maturity, undoubtedly was the miserably low wages to which the manufacturing classes were reduced. The forms of the

French Chamber prevented any one from making a motion or bringing on a subject for discussion, except that proposed by the Government; and they were careful not to introduce anything which touched on the wages of labour. But as an amendment, it was not possible always to exclude it; and it was forced on, as it were, when the discussion had begun on widely different subjects. On the 9th May, in the course of a debate on the duties which should be imposed on home-grown sugar from beetroot, M. Gauguieux, a Liberal member, alluded to the "numerous *workmen* who took an interest in this debate." Hardly was the word "*workmen*" pronounced in the Chamber, when the clamour which arose on all sides was such, that the orator was obliged to descend from the tribune. "You will not," said he, "allow me to speak of *workmen*; will you then charge yourselves with giving them work?" "We are here," said the president, M. Sauzet, "charged with the making of laws, and not with giving employment to *workmen*."

34. "Are you then ignorant," said M. Arago in reply, "that it is the first duty of a government to afford means to every able-bodied man of working and earning wages adequate to the support of himself and his family? That is the object of all laws and society; if it is not attained, we had better go back and live in the woods, where the strongest will kill and eat the weakest. Your first duty as legislators is to attend to this object; to attend to it with patience and perseverance. If lives are lost from lack of the means of engaging in labour or earning bread; if there are intellects which fail in bringing forth their destined fruits for want of instruction, moralities which yield to the pressure of misery, you are responsible for it, for you cannot pretend inability to remove these evils. Neither money nor power are wanting to enable you to be good; and never did a nation provide with so much generosity as France to all the conditions requisite to form a strong government.

35. "Can you shut your eyes to the fact, that the questions of wages and of subsistence are daily becoming more urgent and important for our miserable social order? When the poor are terrified by the competition to which they are exposed by machinery—when they break these machines, or seize a few sacks of flour to save themselves from starving, you address to them all the commonplace phrases on the subject to be found in the books of the economists. But how can you expect that they will attach any weight to your exhortations, when they see from the official journals that the ruling party in the State count their interests as nothing, in discussions falsely styled relating to the public interest? By refusing reform, you negative their claim to political rights: nothing remains but to deny them also all social rights, by declaring that no interest can be recognised in the Chamber but that of an elector or an elected. It is not without reason, therefore, that the Radicals declare that social amelioration can flow only from reform. The evil, they exclaim, is monopoly; the cause of the evil is the vicious organisation of political power. It is absolutely necessary, if we would heal the social wounds, to change in the first instance the base of our political institutions. When this is done, the evil proceeding from it will disappear in its turn. The child of monopoly and of the oppression exercised by capital over labour, misery, will diminish with the disappearance of its parent—with misery, vice—with vice, crime." The movement, stimulated by the distress in which it originated, continued without abatement during the whole summer and autumn. On the 24th May, a deputation of a thousand workmen, the representatives of the whole artisans of the capital, waited on M. Arago at his residence in the Observatory, to thank him for the defence of their interests in the Chamber. Arago answered in these words, which subsequent events rendered prophetic: "Your cause—I am wrong—*our* cause, is just; *it will triumph at no distant period*. Ever rely, my dear fellow-



citizens, on my warm sympathy, under all circumstances. Believe me, I will never desert the holy mission which has been allotted to me, that of defending with ardour and perseverance the interests of the working classes."

36. When words of this encouraging description were spoken by the first in intellectual strength and talent to workmen already suffering under an extreme depression of wages, it was impossible that combinations to raise them, and all their consequent evils and disorders, should not take place. This, accordingly, very soon ensued. Combinations, followed by extensive and alarming strikes, took place among all the principal trades of the metropolis, and continued during the whole summer. The journeymen tailors, to the number of three thousand, met and appointed delegates at the Barrier du Roule. The boot and shoe makers, in equal strength, immediately followed their example. The workers in ornamental paper, a very numerous class, struck work in a body, in consequence of a dispute with one of their employers, M. Seviste, about wages, and remained idle two months. The cabinetmakers in great strength assembled to appoint delegates at the Barrier du Maine, and were violently dispersed, before they had broken into any acts of violence, by a detachment of the municipal guards. Nearly all the trades in Paris soon struck work; the stone-masons met and appointed delegates; the blacksmiths did the same: and as the French law, unlike the English, holds the mere act of striking work in a body an indictable offence, numerous arrests took place, and the prisons were soon filled with parties awaiting trial. As the persons apprehended were the office-bearers of the different trades, who were generally persons of respectability, their fate excited great commiseration, and was anxiously watched by the whole working classes in the metropolis.

37. At length, in the beginning of September, matters came to a crisis. On the evening of the 5th of that month great crowds of workmen on strike assembled at the Port St Denis

and Port St Martin, and as they refused to disperse when summoned to do so by the police, they were assailed by the municipal guard, and numbers of the most refractory arrested. This only made matters worse; the injustice of being prevented from meeting, when not as yet guilty of any overt act of violence, was so evident, that it brought over numbers to their side who had hitherto been neutral or indifferent. On the evening of the 7th the whole workmen of the Faubourg St Antoine, who had struck work in the morning, assembled in menacing crowds on the Place of the Bastille; and in such strength that the town sergeants and municipal guards sought in vain to disperse them. Vast numbers of spectators assembled to witness the struggle, and filled the whole place and adjoining streets, and, for the most part, ere long joined the people. At this moment an omnibus came past; in the twinkling of an eye it was stopped, overturned, the horses taken out, and with some planks and furniture hastily brought out of the adjoining houses, speedily was formed into a BARRICADE. At the sight of that well-known symbol of insurrection, a large body of the municipal guards *à cheval* were brought up, and by a rapid charge succeeded in dispersing the people, and pulling down the barricade before it was entirely completed. At the same time an assemblage of 1200 workmen in the Place Maubert and the Faubourg St Marceau was dispersed by the police, and the municipal guards everywhere cleared the streets, and would nowhere permit more than a few persons to assemble together.

38. Seriously alarmed, the Government now took the most vigorous steps to guard against the danger. The garrison of Paris, already 40,000 strong, was rapidly reinforced during the night by fresh troops, marched in from Versailles, Fontainebleau, St Cloud, Courbevoie, and all the adjoining towns; and at daybreak on the following morning all the principal posts in Paris were strongly occupied. In the place in front of the Hôtel de Ville,

in the Carrousel, the Place Louis XV. and Vendôme, on the Pont Neuf, the Marché des Innocents, and the Place of the Bastille, large bodies of troops, horse, foot, and cannon, were placed. The *général* beat in all the streets to summon the National Guard to their posts; those from the *banlieue* were hurried in as they had been when they rendered such effective service on occasion of the insurrection in the Cloître de St Méri in 1832. The spirit of insubordination was repressed by this display of military force; and Government, taking advantage of the general alarm, subjected the persons brought to trial to very long periods of imprisonment. On the 12th September forty-six combined workmen were condemned in the short space of three hours; and on the 15th, thirty-three stone-masons were convicted, and sentenced to various periods of imprisonment. All the sentences were confirmed by the Cour Royale on the 1st October. By these severe measures the danger was surmounted for the time; but the root of the malady was not extracted, and it remained festering in the working classes till it at length acquired such strength as to become irresistible.

39. Various causes contributed to produce this general and violent outbreak among the working classes in France at this time; and the recurrence of a similar crisis eight years after is eminently descriptive of those which were most instrumental in bringing it on. In the first place must be ranked the extreme subdivision of landed property, the result partly of the old consuetudinary custom of the country in some provinces anterior to the Revolution, partly of the effects of that convulsion, which overspread the land, as a similar subdivision of farms had done in Ireland, with a vast and indigent peasantry. In the next place, the want of any *legal* provision for the poor in the country drove the working classes in undue proportion into the towns, where the numerous and magnificent hospitals and public establishments for the relief of suffering promised to afford that succour which

they could not find in their own districts. In the third place, owing to the confiscation of the landed estates, and the almost total destruction of commercial wealth and realised capital during the Revolution, the money to be spent in these towns, when the people did arrive there, was much less than it should have been, or than was adequate to take off the surplus hands of the country.

40. But in addition to these, which may be called the permanent causes that lowered the remuneration of labour in France, there were two of temporary influence, but surpassing strength, which operated at the particular time when these disturbances broke out. The first of these was the cessation of the conscription, and of the sanguinary wars of Napoleon, by the peace of 1815. Between 1792 and 1815, four millions of young men had been drawn into the army, and cut off, in France, of whom above a million had perished in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814.\* These prodigious drains, amounting on an average to above 200,000 a-year, had had a very great effect during the war in producing a scarcity of hands, and consequently elevating the wages of labour, not only while it lasted, but *for twenty years after it had come to an end*, from the lessened number of those who during that period rose up to manhood, from the diminished marriages which had gone on during the war. The conscription all at once ceased in 1812 and 1813 to be productive, because it then came to be levied among the generation whose fathers and mothers were married during the great levy of 1,200,000 men in 1793. The converse of this now took place. In 1840, and a few years preceding, the effect of the cessation of the conscription, and consequent multiplication of marriages from 1815 to 1820, appeared in a great and unexpected increase of young men from 18 to 23 years of age; that is, at the very time when their presence was most likely to affect the labour market, and aug-

\* *Hist. of Europe*, c. lxxxix. § 66; where the numbers are given.

ment the general competition for employment.

41. The second cause of a temporary nature which at this time depressed the wages of labour, and enhanced the competition for employment in France, was the monetary crisis, already made the subject of ample commentary in connection with the history of England during this period. As the drain of the precious metals to the United States, which that in some measure produced, brought both the Bank of England and that of France to the verge of insolvency, the effect was immediate in producing a violent contraction of the currency in both countries, and proportional reduction in the price of commodities of all sorts, and in the general remuneration of labour. The people felt, and felt in the most sensible way, the general depression of wages, but they were ignorant of the causes to which it had been owing; and, guided entirely by the Liberal leaders, ascribed it all to the monopoly enjoyed by the capitalists in the legislature, and the absence of that check upon their encroachments which an extensive measure of parliamentary reform could alone afford.

42. How much soever Government, supported by a large majority in the Chamber, might despise the impotent clamour of the unrepresented labouring classes, they were too well aware of the danger of "Stomach Rebellions," as Lord Bacon calls them, and violent commotions among the labouring population in the metropolis, not to feel the necessity of doing their utmost to augment the employment which might be afforded to them. The railways presented the most obvious resource in this emergency. Hitherto they had been chiefly if not entirely intrusted, as in Great Britain, to private companies. But whether it was that the management of them had been faulty, or that capitalists were distrustful of the returns to be expected from the lines, they had been for the most part unsuccessful; the requisite subscriptions could not be got, and France was still almost en-

tirely without this great element of modern civilisation. Here, as in everything else in that country, it had been found that Government must take the lead, otherwise the undertakings would fall to the ground. One line only of the eight magnificent ones which had been contemplated in 1838, that from Paris to Bâle, had been completed. All the rest were unfinished or abandoned. Even the one from Paris to Orléans had been made only as far as Juvigny. What rendered this deplorable state of things the more humiliating, and even dangerous to France, was, that all the other Continental states—Prussia, Austria, Saxony, Bavaria—had constructed lines through their territories, which not only threatened to divert a large part of European inland commerce from France, but, in the event of hostilities, might give them a great military advantage, by enabling them to accumulate their forces in a few days against any point of the frontier which they selected for attack.

43. Impressed with these ideas, Government, soon after the accession of M. Thiers to the head of the administration, resolved to step forward and revive this great branch of national industry by itself undertaking the chief part of the work. The original plan was to take two-fifths of the shares of the chief lines, and to advance the requisite funds at 4 per cent, from the resources of the State. These proposals were very considerably modified in the committee to which they were referred, and were not finally voted till the 16th June. At length, after a very long discussion, and the consideration of repeated modifications, it was agreed by both Chambers to undertake on the part of the State such engagements as would secure the completion of the principal lines. The Government was to guarantee the interest in advances requisite to complete the Orléans line; to provide funds for those of Bâle and Roanne; to undertake the one from Nismes to Montpellier, and that of Lille and Valenciennes to the Flemish frontier, and to advance 14,000,000

francs (£560,000) towards the completion of that from Paris to Rouen. At the same time, a canal was voted by the Chambers to unite the Aisne and the Marne; the improvement of the navigation of the Saône from Verdun to Lyons was undertaken; and the canal of the Upper Seine completed. 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) were voted to set on foot lines of steamers from Havre to New York, from Nantes to Brazil, and from Marseilles to Mexico. The steamboats on these lines were accordingly established, but they have never been able to rival the magnificent steam-packets started by private enterprise in Great Britain, and which have done so much to shorten the passage to the United States, until at length it has been reduced to eight or ten days.

44. The burdens thus undertaken by the French Government, however wise or unavoidable in the circumstances, were attended with very great embarrassment to the Treasury. The budget of 1840, accordingly, exhibited a large and alarming deficit. The estimated expenditure amounted, including 72,000,000 francs for public works, to no less than 1,411,885,000 francs. The revenue was only 1,341,885,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 170,000,000 francs, to be supplied by additions to the floating debt, which already amounted to 700,000,000 francs. This deficit was still farther augmented in the following year, both by a great extension of the railway lines, and the enormous armaments which M. Thiers had prepared to withstand the European coalition, the charges of which fell upon that year, though the necessity for them had passed away. On 15th April 1841, M. Humann, the late finance minister, made a most alarming statement of the finances, which, however, was nowise surprising, seeing that the troops voted amounted to 640,000 men, and the sum required for public works was 534,000,000 francs (£21,600,000).

45. "It is in vain," said M. Humann, "to attempt to disguise the difficulties of our financial situation.

The unproductive charges of late years have threatened to become permanent, and assumed a forced place in our budgets. The Grande Livre of the public debt must soon be reopened; the budgets of former years, far from bequeathing to us any resources, daily absorb more of our present funds; and you have to consider a budget commencing and ending with an alarming deficit. The deficit of 1840 was 170,193,780 francs; that of 1841 was still higher—it amounted to 242,603,288 francs; and as the income of 1842 is only 1,160,516,000, while the expenses of the year will be 1,275,435,000, the financial year of 1842 will present a deficit of 114,936,000 francs. In addition to this, the extraordinary public works require 534,269,000 francs; to which the finance minister must set his face, with the resources of the budget, the funded debt, and the floating debt. But little can be expected from the last resource, as it is already engaged for 256,000,000 francs of debt contracted anterior to 1833, and which has formed an incubus on the resources of the State ever since that period." To meet these charges, the finance minister was obliged to contract a loan for 450,000,000 francs (£18,000,000) in a period of profound peace, besides leaving a floating debt of 81,000,000 to be provided for by Exchequer bills or other temporary expedients. Thus was the Government of Louis Philippe, despite his anxious and strenuous efforts to preserve peace, rapidly approaching a state of insolvency—a striking and painful contrast to the prosperous state of the finances during the Restoration. The necessity for these prodigious expenses arose from the unhappy circumstances of its origin. Founded on treason, and a violent revolt of the lower orders against the Government, it was necessarily, in foreign affairs, in a state of antagonism with the great Continental powers, and could only maintain its independence by keeping vast armaments on foot. And in domestic it could not hope to preserve tranquillity, and prevent a second revolution, by annually making an immense addition to the public

debt, to give the working classes that employment which the unaided circumstances of society could not afford.

46. Scarcely less unfortunate was the Ministry of the 29th October, from the cloud which overhung its origin. Marshal Soult and M. Guizot succeeded to the helm immediately after the signature of the treaty of 15th July 1840, which was taken as so great an insult by France; and the principle of their administration was concession to the four Powers on a matter in which strenuous resistance was thought indispensable to the national honour. England had been entirely successful in the affairs of the East; her statesmen had shown more courage, capacity, and influence, than those of Louis Philippe. The bombardment of Acre had been as decisive in the Levant as the battle of Waterloo in the West. Indescribable was the sensation which these events produced in France, and weighty the load of opprobrium which they affixed round the necks of the new Ministry, which agreed to the subsequent treaty. In fact, they never altogether recovered it, any more than the ancient princes did the stain of entering Paris in the rear of the allied armies. With the usual tendency of men to judge of events by their final result, not the cause which had preceded them, the multitude ascribed the whole disgrace, as they deemed it, of these events, to the minister who had extricated the country from its difficulties, not to him that had plunged it into them; in the same way as they ascribed the shame of the treaty of Paris to Louis XVIII. and the Duke de Richelieu, who signed it, not to Napoleon, who had rendered that signature unavoidable.

47. This inauspicious commencement of the new Ministry not only imposed on it from the very outset the greatest difficulties, but proved a serious impediment to the measures which the enlightened and pacific Foreign Ministers of France and England, at that time M. Guizot and Lord Aberdeen, were endeavouring to bring about, with a view to alleviating the sufferings of humanity, and preserving the peace of the world. Everything which was

done in concert with England was represented as a humiliating concession to a rival power, and a disgraceful acknowledgment of vassalage on the part of France. This feeling extended even to an attempt made by the united cabinets of the Tuileries and St James's to eradicate that infernal traffic, the disgrace of humanity, the slave-trade. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that, after it had been formally abolished by law in Great Britain, the English Cabinet made the most persevering efforts to conclude such arrangements with foreign powers as might tend to the entire and final suppression of that traffic. It has been already mentioned, that so early as 1817 the British Ministry purchased, at the cost of £400,000, a treaty with Spain, agreeing, under certain limitations, to the extinction of the slave-trade in Spanish vessels; and they endeavoured, at the same time, to get from the Duke de Richelieu a similar renunciation on the part of France, though unhappily without effect. Afterwards they made the most vigorous efforts to obtain from the Congress of Verona a similar declaration, but could obtain nothing more than a vague act condemnatory of its existence. Though abundantly disposed to be humane in the abstract, the minister of France at that assembly, M. Chateaubriand, was too well aware of the indelible jealousy of England which pervaded his country, to adventure on any efficient practical measures which might really tend to the abolition of the traffic; and it continued to be carried on under cover of the French flag during the whole government of the Restoration.

48. Intently set, however, upon effecting the entire abolition of a trade which was a general reproach to Christendom, the British Government made a fresh effort, after the accession of Louis Philippe, to effect this object, and happily on this occasion with more effect. On the 30th November 1831 a convention had been signed between France and England, by which the two Governments mutually conceded to each other the right of search within the latitudes necessarily traversed by

the slavers in their passage from the coast of Africa to the West Indies or the American shores. A separate convention was to be signed every year, regulating the number of cruisers which were to be kept on the station by the two nations respectively. By a second convention in pursuance of the former, concluded on 22d March 1833, certain stipulations were mutually agreed to, which provided for the mode in which the vessels deemed liable to seizure should be brought before a judge of the country to which they belonged, and many other details as to the mode of seizure and condemnation. In these mutual stipulations the most entire reciprocity was observed, and nothing was exacted by England from France but what she cordially consented to submit to in her turn. This *mutual* right of visit was totally different from the old right of search claimed by England against neutrals, when she was engaged in actual hostilities with any other power. That was a right *claimed* by one party to search neutral vessels on the high seas for articles contraband of war, and disputed by the other; this was a right, *agreed to by both*, to search vessels of their own subjects, within certain limits, for slaves, without which all attempts to put down the slave-trade would of necessity be defeated.

49. These treaties were concluded between Great Britain and France alone; but it was self-evident that all such conventions would fail in the object for which they were concluded, unless the whole civilised powers concurred in a mutual right of the same description. Any one which refused to recognise it, would soon find the whole slave-trade of the world run into its bottoms, or carried on under cover of its flag. England, however, had in the interim made very great efforts to get other powers to go into the same system, and at length with considerable success. By the exertions of her statesmen, Denmark, Sardinia, Sweden, Naples, Tuscany, the Hanse Towns, had been successively induced to enter into similar treaties. Nothing remained to be done but to get the

accession of the great powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, to a similar convention. But although the cabinets of these powers expressed an entire willingness, and even anxiety, to join in the great work, yet they considered it inconsistent with their dignity to *accede* to a treaty which, without their concurrence, had previously been concluded between other powers. They invited, therefore, the formation of a new treaty, entered into between all the *five* powers, including, of course, France, which by common consent might put matters on an efficient and durable foundation. Great Britain willingly acceded to this proposal, which promised to put the object for which she had so long been contending on the footing of European law; and M. Guizot, on the part of France, gladly joined in the same views, the more especially as it marked the full readmission of his country into the European family, from which she had been separated since the treaty of 15th July 1840, and exhibited a proof to the world of the restoration of harmony among the whole European powers. The result was the conclusion of the treaty of 20th December 1841, signed at London by the ambassadors of the five powers, which established, on the most equitable footing, a mutual right of search, with a view to the preventing of the slave-trade.

50. By this treaty it was provided "that a mutual right of search, on the part of the whole contracting powers, should be conceded with regard to every ship pertaining to the subject of any of the contracting parties, which on reasonable grounds (*des présomptions fondées*) shall be suspected of being concerned in the traffic of negroes, or of having been equipped for that purpose, or having been devoted to that traffic during the voyage when it may be met by any of the cruisers of the said powers; and that the said cruisers might arrest and send the said vessel to be adjudicated upon, in the manner hereinafter specified." Each of the contracting parties was to arm as many cruisers as it deemed expedient, to navigate within

the limits agreed on for the suppression of the slave-trade; the cruisers of each of the contracting parties were mutually to lend each other assistance in carrying the treaty into execution, and the vessels seized were to be sent to harbours of the nation to which the seized vessel belonged, there to be adjudicated upon, according to the mutual law provided by the treaty. The most minute regulations were laid down for carrying the provisions of the treaty into effect, in the manner least likely to give offence to any of the nations whose vessels were seized; and also as to the articles found on board, which were to be held as *indicia* of being engaged in the slave-trade, such as manacles, chains, or wristbands, planks to form a false deck to conceal slaves beneath, a larger supply of water or provisions than was required for the use of the ostensible crew, and many other particulars.

51. Nothing could be more equal, just, or reasonable, than these provisions; and not only were they such as were evidently indispensable for the entire abolition of the abominable traffic in human flesh, but they were such as, when rightly considered, tended to the establishment of that very freedom of the seas for which France and the neutral powers had so long contended. For not only did they establish a *mutual* right of search on the footing of entire reciprocity, without the slightest assumption of superiority on the part of Great Britain over any other power; but as they rested that right on special treaty, applicable to the contracting parties alone, to be exercised only within certain limits, and in a prescribed way, they afforded some countenance to the argument that, even in case of war, neutral powers could not legally be searched by the cruisers of the belligerent powers but in virtue of some such agreement, expressed or implied, with the power whose vessels were seized. But all these considerations, as well as the obvious importance, and indeed indispensable need, of such a treaty, to secure the abolition of a

traffic which was a disgrace to humanity, were overlooked in the jealousy of the powers which were most likely to be affected by it in their maritime operations. This appeared in an especial manner in France and America, the countries in the world next to England which possessed the largest commercial navies. In France one universal cry of indignation burst forth from one end of the country to the other, the moment the obnoxious treaty appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur*. It was worse than Leipsic, a greater disgrace than Waterloo; a bowing the neck to England, for which no precedent was to be found in the former annals of the country; an open abandonment of the object for which all the sovereigns of France, from Louis XIV. to Napoleon, had contended, and which even the Government of the Restoration had refused to concede. So violent was the outcry, so strong the indignation, that, in spite of all the efforts of Sir R. Peel and Lord Aberdeen to get the treaty ratified, the French Government did not venture to take so hazardous a step; and the temper evinced by the Chamber, when the subject came under discussion in the debate on the Address, a few days after the treaty was published, was such, that it was indefinitely adjourned. On their side, the Americans were not slow in taking the same view of the treaty, for on the 13th February 1842 their Minister at Paris presented a note to the French Government, remonstrating against the treaty, and representing that, if attempted to be carried into execution by stopping American vessels to verify their alleged nationality, it would inevitably disturb the peace between the two countries.

52. The fixed policy of the democratic leaders to concentrate all their efforts, in order to render the Government unpopular, received a fortunate opportunity for exercise from a measure of police adopted in the end of November, on occasion of a proposed banquet of the Poles in Paris in commemoration of the revolt which, ten

years before, broke out in Warsaw on the 29th of that month. Such a festival had been annually held since that event without attracting much notice; but on this occasion it excited a more than ordinary attention as it was to be presided over by General Rybinski, the last commander of the Polish army; and M. Arago, Garnier Pagès, Bastide, Buchez, and several other of the most eloquent and leading French radicals, were to take a prominent part in the proceedings. It was interdicted accordingly by the Prefect of Police, upon the ground that it was illegal for any Frenchman to take a part in such an assembly. This stretch of authority, which appears to have been by no means judicious, afforded a fair ground for the declamations of the Republicans, who represented M. Guizot as alternately the tool of England and the vassal of Russia, and as degrading France by depriving her of the last privilege left to her—that of evincing sympathy with heroism in misfortune. So violent were the declamations of the Liberal press on the subject, that several prosecutions were instituted against the leading journals. On 16th December the *National* was seized, and the editor sent to the Chamber of Peers for trial, by whom he was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 francs; and on the 26th, M. Lamennais was convicted and sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 2000 francs. Terrible inundations in the valleys of the Rhone and the Saône supervened at this time (November 4), which did immense damage to Lyons, Maçon, and the principal towns on their banks, besides laying waste sixty square leagues of territory, and utterly destroying a hundred villages. With praiseworthy liberality the Chamber, on their first meeting, voted 6,500,000 francs to relieve the sufferers by these disasters, which did not, unhappily, cover a tenth part of the losses sustained.

53. Ere long the public appetite for scandal and abuse of the Government received still more fortunate subjects on which to feast. In the end of 1840,

Madame de Feuchères died, whose name had been so intimately connected with the death of the Duke de Bourbon some years before. This event revived all the scandalous reports regarding her accession to that catastrophe which had received such strong confirmation from the favour shown to her by the royal family, after the magnificent succession which opened to them from the deceased. But a more serious subject for conversation was soon afforded. On 24th January the *Gazette de France* published three letters, professing to be from Louis Philippe, when king, to Lord Stuart de Rothesay, the English ambassador, under the exciting title of “*La politique de Louis Philippe expliquée par lui-même.*” The purport of these letters was to reveal the intimate connection which subsisted between the French Minister and the English Government; and the object of their publication was to represent him as in effect, and by his own admission, the mere vassal and puppet of Great Britain. How such strictly confidential documents found their way into a public journal, especially one of ultra-Legitimist principles, was not explained. But their contents were too important to the two great parties which were in opposition to the Government, to permit a doubt to be thrown upon their authenticity. They were immediately, and by common consent, hailed as genuine alike by the Republicans and the Legitimists; they appeared next day in the columns of the *National*, the *Quotidienne*, and the *Echo Français*; and the effect of their publication was such that the Government felt themselves constrained to adopt some steps to counteract it. The same day a short notice appeared in the *Moniteur*, saying “that several journals had published fragments of letters *falsely and criminally* ascribed to the King. Prosecutions have been ordered for the crime of forgery, and a criminal attempt on the King.”\*

\* The most material parts of these letters were as follows: “*En thèse générale, ma résolution la plus sincère et la plus ferme est*



54. Nothing could be more injudicious than to bring the matter to this issue, especially when the extreme hostility against the Government of the two great parties which entered so largely into the composition of every Paris jury was taken into consideration. So it turned out accordingly on the pre-

sent occasion. The *Gazette de France* was prosecuted by the Advocate-General on the part of the Government, and the defence was conducted, with his wonted ability, by M. Berryer. After a long trial, and an hour's deliberation by the jury, a verdict of "Not Guilty" was returned, to the utmost satisfac-

de maintenir inviolables tous les traités qui ont été conclus depuis quinze ans entre les puissances de l'Europe et la France. Quant à ce qui concerne l'occupation d'Alger, j'ai des motifs plus particuliers, et plus puissants encore, pour remplir fidèlement les engagements que ma famille a pris envers la Grande Bretagne. Ces motifs sont le vif désir que j'éprouve d'être agréable à Sa Majesté Britannique, et ma conviction profonde qu'une alliance intime entre les deux pays est nécessaire, non seulement à leurs intérêts réciproques, mais encore à l'intérêt à la civilisation de l'Europe. Vous pouvez donc, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, affirmer à votre Gouvernement que le mien se conformera ponctuellement à tous les engagements pris par S. M. Charles X. relativement à l'affaire d'Alger. Mais je vous prie d'appeler l'attention du Cabinet Britannique sur l'état actuel des esprits en France, de lui faire observer que l'évacuation d'Alger serait le signal des plus violentes récriminations contre mon gouvernement, qu'elle pourrait amener des résultats désastreux, et qu'il importe à la paix de l'Europe de ne point dépopulariser un Pouvoir naissant et qui travaille à se constituer."

2d Letter.—"Il paraît que vous n'avez pas encore réussi à faire comprendre, ni à Vienne ni à St Pétersbourg, que, sans la non-intervention, l'Europe était ébranlée, que l'Autriche eût perdu l'Italie comme on a enlevé la Belgique à la Hollande. A-t-on pu ou dû oublier que, lors du Gouvernement Czartoryski, la Pologne en masse, sous l'influence révolutionnaire eût été débout, et que, sans notre sage et salutaire influence, elle se fût unie à la France pour repousser, pour écraser, qu'on n'en doute pas, la Russie, malgré ses forces colossales; parcequ'il est immortellement vrai que lorsqu'un Peuple, vraiment Peuple, est debout pour la liberté, il n'y a aucun Pouvoir absolu qui suffise pour le dompter. J'avais mieux espéré des éclaircissements que vous avez dû donner sur l'immensité du service que nous avons rendu à la Russie, à l'Autriche, et à la Prusse, service qui ressort du fait, puisque la Pologne a succombé, et non pas sans quelque péril pour nous. N'avez-vous pas les deux lettres de Lafayette, contenant les reproches à notre Ministre d'avoir paralysé par ses conseils et ses promesses les moyens de défense de la Pologne? En faut-il plus pour les Cabinets de Vienne et de St Pétersbourg, et peut-on ignorer tout le danger qui existait pour la Russie dans les plans et le système de défense adopté par les Polonais sous le Prince Adam, et voudrait-on oublier ce qu'on nous doit, à nous, comme unique et puissant moteur des mesures qui

ont paralysé ces résolutions, neutralisé le système, et réalisées les paroles prophétiques de Sébastiani?"

3d Letter.—"C'était du temps qu'il fallait gagner, et au lieu d'irriter les esprits, il fallait endormir le civisme en activité pour le préparer au salutaire moment où une ordonnance nous eût fait justice de tout récalcitrant. Du reste, rien ne me fera renoncer à un projet si sagement conçu, à l'exécution duquel, dans l'état des choses où se trouve la France, s'attache en quelque sorte non seulement la durée de la monarchie constitutionnelle, mais la perpétuité de ma dynastie, ce qui sonne mieux et vaut mieux pour la France. Qu'on se persuade bien que moi seul je pouvais affronter, diriger, et vaincre l'hydre révolutionnaire. Qu'on nous sache donc un peu de gré. On ne tient aucun compte de nos efforts constants; on ne sait pas à quel peuple nous avons affaire, et que depuis quarante ans on peut regarder Paris comme étant la France. Qu'on s'assure donc que je ne renonce pas à mon projet, ni à celui de maîtriser la presse, notre plus dangereux ennemi. On a gagné une grande partie des écrivains; les autres suivront, et le calme succédera aux excitations malignes et journalières de ces plumes guerroyantes. Qu'on pense à ce que Juillet eût pu attirer sur l'Europe en 1830; que l'on voie ce que notre siècle et notre forte volonté ont fait de cette effrayante ébullition populaire; que l'on juge par là de ce que nous ferons; et surtout qu'aucune des Puissances n'oublie que nous seul nous pouvons faire, pour sauver la France et l'Europe, ce que nous avons fait.

"Il y a d'épouvantables conséquences à redouter dans les crises politiques lorsqu'une volonté sage et prévoyante se trouve en inévitable contact avec l'obstination d'un zèle qui peut, dans ce cas, se réputer hardiment de mauvais vouloir. Si au lieu d'en finir brutalement avec les artilleurs civiques, l'on eût suivi mon seul avis, qu'on eût flatté, cajolé ces hommes; qu'on leur eût fait entrevoir que si l'on pensait à construire des forts, c'était pour leur en confier la garde; si on leur eût persuadé qu'en cas d'invasion, Paris ne pourrait devoir son salut qu'à de pareils défenseurs; si, enfin, au lieu d'une décision brusque, on eût pris ces citoyens par la vanité, Arago et les siens n'eussent pas été admis à prouver que les forts, bien loin d'être destinés à repousser une invasion étrangère, deviendraient, dans ce cas, une ressource victorieuse pour maintenir dans le devoir et la soumission la très-turbulente population de Paris, et de ses aimables faubourgs."—REGNAULT, ii. 84, 87; *Ann. Hist.* xxiv. 388.

tion of a crowded court, and the unbounded joy and excitement of the public generally. The sensation produced was the greater, that the Advocate-General had most imprudently, in describing to the jury the purport of the letters alleged to be forgeries, characterised them in these terms :—“ Were the letters genuine, it would result from them that the King, who had been elected in 1830, to answer the wishes of the nation, has betrayed them on every point; that he has consented to the crushing of Poland in order to advance the interests of Russia; that he was disposed to abandon Algeria in order to promote those of England; that with him the preservation of his dynasty was the sole object, and not the maintenance of the constitutional government; in fine, that the project of fortifying Paris was, in the hands of the King, a device only for oppressing the citizens; that it was directed, not against the stranger, but against his own subjects. Such is the true import of the passages libelled upon as criminal. How could a man be called a king who could engage in such projects? Should he not rather be styled one of those tyrants who move only under the mask of dissimulation, and who establish their empire, not on the sincerity of their language, but on the violation of their engagements?”

55. It may readily be believed that letters containing such sentiments, and openly ascribed to the reigning sovereign, made an immense sensation, and that every one believed or disbelieved them, according as it suited his private interest or political prepossessions. The accusation of forgery connected with those letters, which was at first preferred against two persons of the names of Lubis and Montour, failed; but as the originals were not produced, and alleged fac-similes only

were in the publisher's hands, no direct evidence tending to establish the genuine nature of the documents was got. The celebrated lady known in more than one character to many of the Parisians, “*La Contemporaine*,” was said to have furnished these fac-similes. Thus the matter was left to rest very much on the internal evidence which the letters afforded, and the probabilities of the case; and, viewed in this light, as usual in such instances, there was much to say on both sides. On the one hand, the ideas contained in the letters were not only the same, but the expressions used were almost identical, word for word, with those ascribed to Louis Philippe by M. Sarrans, in his work, published in 1834, on the fall of Charles X., which had never been contradicted, or formed the subject of prosecution. They were also such as corresponded very nearly with expressions which were known to be often used by Louis Philippe to those with whom he was on intimate terms, and which conveyed his fixed ideas. On the other hand, it was very improbable that so prudent and astute a monarch would have hazarded the committing of such sentiments to writing, especially to a foreign ambassador. In this state of uncertainty, every one was at liberty to adopt his own conjectures and draw his own conclusions; but the great majority of men firmly believed, and still believe, in their authenticity; and the allusions to the subject in the British Parliament render it more than probable that some letter of a similar import, detailing a conversation of Louis Philippe with Lord Stuart de Rothesay, really exists in the Foreign Office. Be this as it may, the publication of these alleged letters answered all the purposes for which it was intended, in adding to the unpopularity of the French monarch.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

FRANCE, FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE FEUCHÈRES SCANDAL TO  
THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS IN JULY 1842.

1. THE all-important subject of parliamentary reform was only glanced at by a side-wind in the Chamber in the session of 1841, and on moving for a grant of secret funds, the usual trial of strength of all administrations, M. Duchâtel, in making the motion, said: "Culpable associations are at work in the shade, and menace not only the existence of Government, but of society. Pains are taken to spread doctrines among the working classes subversive of all order; organisation is attempting mysteriously to attack the social system in its essential base—the right of property. Security and repose are wanting to the Government; there is no fixed *to-morrow* for any one in the whole of France; the present is continually tottering, the future is an enigma. Complaints are made of the dregs of society striving to subvert its foundations: that audacity is the work of the Chambers; it is the consequence of the instability of the ministerial majority. Whence comes this instability? whence is it that, when the great principles are decided, every one is impassioned for small distinctions as formerly they were for fundamental points?" — "Immobility," exclaimed M. de Courcelles in reply,—"is that your remedy for existing evils? You tell us that the Government cannot acquire external force, or internal consideration, by reason of its instability; that no one can prophesy of *to-morrow* in France—that the present is tottering, and the future presents an enigma. In such circumstances, you tell us, there is nothing to be done but to execute the laws with rigour, and to oppose a firm resistance to all efforts at constitutional change. You are all agreed on the necessity of this resist-

ance, and yet you yourselves tell us it is against a disunited and vacillating country you are obliged to combine." — "The majority in the Chamber," said M. Guizot in reply, "is composed of a body firmly united to maintain external peace and internal tranquillity; it finds itself in presence of a great danger; and is it surprising that, when its objects can only be attained by a firm adherence to its fundamental principles, it should resist all attempts to shake the constitution or introduce disunion into its ranks? This is not the time to hazard the existence of society by stirring unnecessarily fundamental questions." — "Talk not of this not being the proper time," rejoined M. Odillon Barrot; "it is always a proper time to reconsider legal government and constitutional rights. Could any opportunity be so really desirable as that of honouring your administration by a return to the scrupulous and respectful observance of the constitution? But your policy is to put off one by pleading that the times are inopportune for change, to get quit of another by sacrificing your principles. That is not the conduct of a frank or courageous Government." The motion was agreed to without the Opposition amendment by a majority of 235 to 137.

2. The question of literary property underwent a very long discussion in this session; and M. de Lamartine, the reporter of the commission to which it was referred, in an elaborate and eloquent report, proposed to limit the exclusive right of publication to fifty years. This long period met with a very fierce resistance, in which several literary men took the lead; and M. Villemain, in hopes of conciliating

the Chamber, proposed to restrict it to thirty years after the death of the author, being an extension of ten years from the term of twenty, which had been adopted in the preceding years by the Chamber of Peers. This compromise was at first adopted by the Chamber; but, after a long discussion of eight days, they reversed this decision, and rejected the law altogether, leaving the right of literary property to rest on its present foundation, which was that of twenty years after the author's death.\*

\* "The produce of intellectual and manual labour may differ," said M. de Lamartine, in the Report of the Commission; "but the title to its exclusive enjoyment is the same. The time has now arrived when this title should be recognised by law. By a generosity worthy of its nature, Thought, which creates everything, forgets itself; it asks only of men to be permitted to serve and enchant them; it demands only from Glory the fortune of a name destined to immortality, leaving in poverty or destitution the family of the philosopher or poet whose works form the intellectual riches of a nation. But the press has made of these intellectual riches a material wealth, which is capable of being seized, consecrated, and regulated by law. That press, which renders Thought palpable as the character which engraves it, and commercial as the copy which forms the subject of sale, must sooner or later form the subject of a legislation which is to recognise its legality, and distribute equitably its fruits. The feeling of justice which prompts this on the part of the legislator takes nothing from the dignity of the writer, or the intellectual character of his labours. It noway lowers the book in its inestimable and inappreciable character of a service spontaneously and gratuitously rendered to the human race. It leaves its recompense to time and the memory of men. It does not touch Thought, which can never fall under the provisions of an infirm pecuniary law; it only relates to the book which has become the object of an impression—become an article of commerce. The idea comes from God, and returns to God, after leaving a trace of light on the forehead of him to whom it has been communicated, and on the name which his son bears; the book becomes the object of commercial circulation, and becomes a property capable of producing revenue and forming capital. . . . One man expends a portion of his strength—a few easy years of his life—with the assistance of capital transmitted to him by his fathers, in fertilising his fields, or in exercising a lucrative industry. He accumulates riches on riches, produce on produce; he enjoys all the luxuries of life, and you secure to him their possession during all the days of his life, and after him, to the

3. The session of 1841 was distinguished by the first attempt to introduce into France those principles of Free Trade which, at the same time, were taking such strong root in England. Early in February, Government

heirs of his blood, or the beneficiaries of his will. Another expends his whole life, consumes his moral strength, enervates his physical frame in the oblivion of himself and his family, to enrich the world after his death, either with a *chef-d'œuvre* of the human mind, or with one of those ideas which change the face of the world. He sinks under his efforts: he dies; but his work is done; his *chef-d'œuvre* is produced; his idea is evolved; the intellectual world seizes hold of it; industry, commerce, make it a subject of gain. It becomes, by degrees, often after the author's death, a source of wealth; it casts millions into circulation and the rewards of industry; it is worked out for the benefit of others as a natural produce of the soil. All the world has right to it except the widow and children of that man who created it, who may be begging their bread beside the colossal fortunes which have owed their existence to the unrequited toil of their father. Such a state of things can never bear the light of conscience where God has inscribed the ineffaceable code of equity. Entire Europe at this moment is inspired with these ideas; it belongs to France to take the lead in their development. Her great place in the world has been wrought out for her by the hand of her artists, the pen of her writers, the sword of her soldiers. Can she leave in a state of negligence and spoliation those great powers which Thought and Genius have won over the human mind? Ingratitude often turns to the advantage of glory, for it renders it more touching; but it never, in the long-run, enriches nations. What do we owe to those five or six men whose heritage we have so long been bespoiling? Five or six immortal names are all that is left to us of nationality in the past. Poets, philosophers, orators, historians, artists, rest alone in the memory: the brilliant remains of a nation's history! . . . The serious and legal constitution of the right of individual artistic and literary property is a change eminently in harmony with the democratic principles which are specially characteristic of our times. That species of property carries with it all that is wanting to democracy. It confers éclat without privilege, respect without constraint; grandeur to some, without abasement to others. Nobility has been suppressed, but not glory; that shining gift of Nature is like all the other gifts of God—accessible to all classes. Genius, which is born everywhere, is the great leveller of the world; but it is so by elevating the general level of the people. Literary property is, in an especial manner, the embodiment of the spirit of democracy; glory is the nobility of equality."

—Rapport par M. DE LAMARTINE; *Ann. Hist.* xxiv. 175, 176, 181, 182; *Moniteur*, Feb. 21, 1841.

introduced a measure which, under the modest title of "Loi des Douanes," in effect tended to introduce a lower system of import duties, and in some degree to lessen the protection to native industry. In this instance, however, the views of Government were in advance of the age, or rather, they belonged to a stage in civilisation at which France had not yet arrived. The commission, accordingly, to which the project of Government was referred, reported *against* it. When this report came to be discussed in the Chamber, a perfect chaos of opinions was advanced, singularly descriptive of the various interests at work, and of the sturdy resistance which the principles of Free Trade, when seriously advanced, would meet with from the representatives of the infant native industry of France. Every place of any manufacturing note made its representative vote for the protection of its peculiar branch of industry, though it was quite willing to yield up its neighbour to the spoiler. Nantes fought the battle of oil in opposition to St Etienne; Bordeaux contended for protection to wine; Rouen for shelter to cotton goods; the north struggled for the interests of stuffs; the west for those of metals. In the midst of such a confused *mêlée*, when the opposition was actuated entirely by separate interests, there was no possibility of united action; and the Ministry, resting on general principles, obtained an easy victory over so many and such divided opponents. But the struggle was long and violent; every separate branch of the tariff underwent a minute discussion; and it was evident, from the vehemence of so many detached oppositions, that if they once came to act in concert, they would obtain the undisputed command of the legislature.

4. The disastrous state of the finances led to a most alarming representation of M. Humann, the finance minister, and to a fiscal regulation which excited most serious opposition in France, and went far to shake the throne with a class which had hither-

to been its firm supporters. The finance minister thus expressed himself: "Our situation has become such that it cannot long endure. It is in vain that we strive to provide for former deficits, when we are condemned every year to see new deficits arise. Now, deficit is another word for discredit, impotence, anarchy. Is it possible to escape from such a result at no distant period, when we do nothing but accumulate loans upon loans, the sad expedient of prodigality reduced to its last shifts? Credit itself has its requirements; it refuses its aid to those who abuse it. And observe, that when it has become necessary to make loans for *annual* expenses for permanent charges, they are worse than a disorder; they amount to an injustice committed by one generation upon another. Loans, in truth, are nothing but deferred taxes; the interest they bear becomes an immediate addition to the capital, which must one day or other be provided for. Thus the abuse of credit saddens the present, and prepares a still more melancholy future. Is it, then, possible, by the single resources of economy, to establish a balance between the income and expenditure? Is it possible that we are to be presented with a budget for 1843 containing a deficit of 116,000,000 francs? If so, the necessity for economy was never more imperative than at this time; but to render it effective, it must be judicious and real; I have no idea that by anything short of that a balance can be established between income and expenditure. A country which has been over-excited is not calmed in a day, and can never enter suddenly on the path of economical reform; the *errors of days of excitement hang for long a heavy load on the public finances*. On considering the budget for 1843, and detaching from it all the expenses which can be considered as transitory, the deficit cannot be less than 60,000,000 francs."

5. It was more easy, however, to depict the alarming state of the finances, than to point out a mode in which

the existing dangers were to be obviated. For the existing taxes could not be increased without the greatest danger of exciting discontent, if not disturbances; and to lay on new ones would be still more hazardous. In this dilemma, it occurred to M. Humann, as the only possible way of getting out of the difficulty, to make a new valuation of taxable property of every description, in hopes that, by raising it, an increased revenue might be obtained without incurring the odium of laying on new taxes. This accordingly was the expedient resorted to; but it proved most unfortunate, and led to a dispute between the Government and the municipal authorities which threatened more grave consequences than the imposition of any new taxes, how oppressive soever, could have done. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that, by the existing practice of France, the valuation of properties was made in four successive stages, and by different authorities in each: 1st, A division among the departments, made by the Chambers or those appointed by them; 2d, A division among the arrondissements, made by their councils-general; 3d, A division among the communes, made by the councils of the arrondissements; and, 4th, A division among the citizens, made by the municipalities. The first division was, by the law of 11th July 1838, to be made every ten years; the three others every year. But how was the first to be made? It could only be done by the officers of the taxes, who alone possessed the requisite materials to form such a general distribution. The three last stood in a different situation. They were all intrusted to the different grades of the local authorities, beginning with the councils of arrondissements, and descending through that of the commune to the municipality. Here each was intrusted with an important duty in its own sphere, and possessed the materials to discharge it. But to suppose that the local authorities could partition the burdens among the departments, was as ridiculous as it would be to charge a

parish vestry, or county quarter sessions, with the laying on of the property, assessed, and land taxes, over the whole kingdom.

6. Although, however, all this was abundantly clear to men of business, and all acquainted with the working of the machinery by which the direct taxes were raised in the country, yet unfortunately it was not equally palatable to the persons, amounting to many millions, who in the last resort were to *pay* them. On the contrary, being accustomed to be brought in contact only with the subordinate authorities appointed by the municipalities, or the councils of the arrondissement, or the departments, they not unnaturally came to imagine that they were intrusted with the entire making up of the valuation. When, therefore, they saw the officers of the Exchequer setting about the preliminary surveys which were to form the basis of the whole, and still more, when they learned that the new surveys *generally ended in an increase of the valuation*, the belief became all but universal that a serious infringement of their constitutional rights was in contemplation, and that the officers of Exchequer were illegally employed on the preliminary surveys, because it was thought they would prove more docile than those nominated by the local authorities. This mistake was carefully propagated by the Radical press, which universally maintained that the agents of the central power had no right to make the obnoxious surveys, which were expressly reserved by law for those appointed by the municipalities. The consequence was, that wherever it was attempted to carry the orders of the Treasury into execution, they were declared illegal by the municipalities, and an open resistance to them was recommended. This was, in particular, the case at Strasbourg, Grenoble, Aix, Albi, Auxerre, Bayonne, Caen, Clermont, Bordeaux, Lille, Cahors, Châtelherault, Montpellier, Mont de Marsan, Provins, Troyes, and a multitude of other towns and districts. One half of France refused to admit the Govern-

ment surveyors into their houses, and was in a state of passive insurrection against the Government.

7. At length in the month of July matters came to a crisis at Toulouse. The prefect of that city, M. Floret, foreseeing that the survey of the Government officers could not be carried into execution without a sanguinary struggle, as the municipality had refused to assist them in their labours, and it was known that, in doing so, they were supported by the whole body of the National Guard, demanded instructions from the Government how to act, and, in the mean time, suspended the execution of the Treasury orders. Twelve days elapsed without any answer being received, and when it did come, it was a simple dismissal of M. Floret, and appointment of a new prefect, M. Mahul, in his room. The whole magisterial and municipal authorities warmly sympathised with the dismissed prefect, and indeed the entire population did the same. Both parties commenced operations: the municipality voted a sum of money to carry on the valuation by their own officers; the prefect interdicted them, and went on with the survey by the Treasury officers. In this excited state the transition was easy to acts of violence. Menacing crowds assembled round the hotel of the prefect; the horse-artillery sallied out to disperse them; chains were drawn across the principal streets to arrest the charges; blood flowed on all sides, and barricades were thrown up in several parts of the town. So far from attempting to check these disorders, the National Guard took part in them with the insurgents. To such a height did the insurrection proceed, that after several days' fighting, and the erection of above twenty barricades in the narrowest parts of the town, the insurgents were everywhere victorious; the National Guard were all ranged on their side; the artillerymen and Chasseurs of Vincennes, the most obnoxious part of the military, were shut up in their barracks; both M. Mahul the prefect, and M. Plaongolm the procureur-general, were constrained

ignominiously to desert their posts and leave the city; and General Saint-Michel, the general of division in the district, was so intimidated that he did not venture to direct the forces under his command against the insurgent city.

8. Matters had now proceeded so far, that Ministers could not recede without sharing in the disgrace of the civil and military officers, who had suffered themselves to be so ignominiously defeated. The measures of Government, in consequence, were vigorous and decided: the whole authorities, civil and military, at Toulouse, were changed; M. Maurice Duval was sent down as extraordinary commissioner, with unlimited powers; General Saint-Michel was replaced by General Rulhières, an officer of capacity and resolution, and such a body of troops concentrated on the city as rendered farther resistance a matter of impossibility. By royal proclamation, the National Guard of Toulouse was dissolved; General Rulhières made his entry into the city at the head of an imposing force; artillery, with lighted matches beside the guns, were planted in the principal square; and, with the dagger at their throats, the whole National Guard were disarmed. Under protection of this military force, the new valuation was resumed and completed by the officers of the Treasury. Similar scenes occurred at Lille, Clermont, and many other places, where resistance was in like manner attempted, barricades erected, and blood shed. At length the steadiness of the military prevailed over the desultory and unconnected efforts of the citizens; the tumults were crushed, and the Government valuation completed. But these events left a very painful impression on men's minds, and diffused a general feeling of distrust of the future, which had not been felt since the accession of the present dynasty; for disaffection had now reached a class which had hitherto been most exempt from it, and it had become necessary to disarm the National Guard, which had always shown itself the firmest support of the throne.

9. The summer of this year witnessed the death of one of the brightest ornaments of French literature, M. Garnier Pagès (the father). The rude combats of the Chamber, and excessive anxiety consequent on them, proved too much for a constitution naturally frail, and by no means adequate to the support of his ardent and intrepid spirit. He died on the 23d June in the full lustre of his talents and fame; ten thousand persons attended his funeral, and he carried with him to the grave the ardent affections of the Liberals, the respect of all parties in France. He was succeeded in the representation of Mons, for which he had sat, by a man by no means of the same genius, but more suited to the taste of the extreme Liberal section, and better adapted for the stormy scenes which were approaching. M. LEDRU-ROLLIN was a man of robust health, vigorous intellect, considerable powers of popular eloquence, unflinching energy, and unscrupulous ambition. Drowned in debt, he entered public life in the hope of gaining something which would enable him to discharge it; but though he had unbounded ambition, he had not the firmness of character, or mental resources, to qualify him to play a great part on that stage. He was passionately fond of theatrical display, and desired rather to repeat the dramatic scenes of the first Revolution than advance its principles or secure its objects. His personal appearance and countenance corresponded to this character: a robust and corpulent figure, thick lips, large and heavy eyes, and a harsh, disagreeable voice, made him resemble rather a chief of brigands than the leader of a great political party in the State. His character was well known in the clubs, where his first eminence had been attained; in them he was regarded as a man of words rather than deeds, and their members gave him and M. Flocon the nickname of "paper-manufacturers and merchants."

10. Though deficient, however, in the qualities required to form a lasting revolutionary leader in troubled times,

Ledru-Rollin possessed the ready elocution and courage *in words* which in the outset of convulsions are generally found to be all-powerful with the multitude. In an address delivered to the electors the evening before his election, he expressed himself in no measured terms on the leading questions of the day, and rudely threw the gauntlet down to the depositaries of power. It made, accordingly, an immense impression; the more so that so undisguised an expression of republican sentiments had for long been unheard, at least from those destined for the legislature. It accordingly soon became the subject of a prosecution, which was directed also against M. Haureau, the chief editor of the *Courrier de la Sarthe*, in which it had first appeared. This state trial was the making of Ledru-Rollin's fortune. The accused were both in the first instance convicted; but a formal error caused the conviction of M. Ledru-Rollin to be set aside in the Court of Cassation, and by the new jury, to whom he was sent at the assizes at Mayenne, he was acquitted. The editor M. Haureau, however, was not equally fortunate; the formal objection did not apply to him, and thus the final result was that the author of the libel escaped without punishment, while the mere publisher was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and a fine of 3000 francs. Another libel of a still more audacious description, published by the *National*, was soon after made the subject of three successive prosecutions, in every one of which the accused was acquitted.

11. Another of those atrocious attempts at assassination of some members of the royal family, which had so often disgraced France during the reign of Louis Philippe, occurred at this period. On the 13th September the Duke d'Aumale made his public entrance into Paris at the head of the 13th regiment of infantry, with which he had made a successful campaign in Algeria. The Duke d'Orléans and the Duke de Nemours went to meet him; and the cortège, in great pomp, was returning into Paris, accompanied



by the Governor of Paris and a brilliant staff, when, at the corner of the Rue Traversière, an explosion was suddenly heard, and a ball struck the horse of General Schneider, who was riding immediately on the left of the Duke de Nemours. The assassin was seized by a workman, and soon after by the police officers, and secured after a violent struggle, during which he repeatedly called out in a loud voice, "*A moi, les amis.*" He turned out to be a lawyer, named François Quénisset, who had formerly been in the army, and having been sentenced to three years of imprisonment and hard labour for mutiny, had succeeded in making his escape from the galleys in 1837. It was clearly proved, in the proceedings which ensued, that the assassin belonged to one of the secret societies, by whom a vague plan of a general insurrection against the Government had been formed, which was to be commenced by cutting off the heir to the throne. After a long trial the three chiefs of the conspiracy, Quénisset, Bourrier, and Colombes, were found guilty, and sentenced to death; and a number of others to various degrees of transportation and imprisonment.

12. So far all was right, and the most vehement Republican, if not dead to every sense of justice, or every generous feeling, could not but admit that the pains awarded was not disproportioned to the offence. But in the eagerness of prosecution, and under the influence of feelings highly exasperated by these repeated attempts at assassination of the royal family, the crown lawyers went a step further, and mooted a question, in itself of very doubtful legality or justice, and which only widened and rendered irreparable the breach between the press and the Government. Profoundly convinced of what was obviously the fact, that it was the incessant declamation and provocation of the press which produced these constantly recurring attempts at assassination, they took up the idea that the authors of such articles might be *included in the charge* for the last criminal act, which their

words tended to recommend. Their idea was that they were in a manner "accessories before the fact," although nowise cognisant of what was actually intended, or accessory to the preparations for carrying it into execution. They called this "*complicité morale*;" and however repugnant such a doctrine may be to natural justice or legal principle, it met with a ready reception from the Chamber of Peers. M. Dupoty, editor of the *Journal du Peuple*, in which a violent article had been inserted five days before the attempt of the 13th September, was convicted "*d'une provocation suivie d'effet*," and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. There can be no doubt that this was an arbitrary and illegal stretch. The authors of such inflammatory articles are guilty of an offence, and liable to punishment; but without something more to connect them with the perpetration of, or preparation for, the last act, they are not accessories before the fact. Such a doctrine is worse than the "constructive treason," so firmly repudiated by the best English lawyers. So great was the indignation of the Parisian editors at this decision, that the majority of them immediately adopted a resolution from that day forward to report none of the proceedings of the Chamber of Peers.

13. At length the great question of Electoral Reform assumed such proportions that it could no longer be postponed. A solemn debate on the subject was held on the 17th January 1842 in the Council of State, in presence of the Duke of Orléans and the principal officers of the Government. The chief objection to any change originated with the King himself. He persisted in maintaining that "the cry for reform is a malady of the age, but it will pass away; we must know, however, how to treat it. The Kings of the Continent preserve themselves from it by terror; for my own part I prefer the homœopathic method, and I find it succeeds." He frequently said, "Am not I too a grandson of Louis XIV.?" M. Guizot thought with him that the cry for reform was "a ficti-

tious one, got up for party purposes; that it had no foundation in the real interests or durable wishes of the country; and that reform might be withheld without endangering the public tranquillity." Several of the Ministry, however, who had been brought more in contact with the middle classes, entertained different views, and strongly advocated the expedience of dividing the Liberals by making some considerable concession to the most reasonable of their number. The opinion of the Duke of Orléans in this divided state of opinion was anxiously looked for; and as his connections had hitherto lain chiefly among the Liberal party, and he had on many occasions expressed in public ultra-Liberal sentiments, it was expected he would declare for the same side. To the surprise of every one, however, he did the very reverse. He ranged himself with the King, and this determined the council, by whom it was resolved to resist all concession to reform. So much was this opinion of the Duke of Orléans at variance with his known preconceived sentiments and political connections, that it was generally surmised that the change was instigated by M. Thiers, with whom he was certainly in close communication, and who was desirous of signalling his own future administration by a liberal measure of electoral reform.

14. Notwithstanding this decision of the Council of State, which rendered hopeless any movement in favour of Reform in the Chambers, it was brought forward, though in a very modified form, by two members of the Chamber of Deputies, MM. Ganneron and Ducos, who were actuated by anything rather than a spirit of hostility to the Government. A motion was introduced by the former to the effect that members of the Chamber of Deputies, who were not office-bearers at their election, should be disqualified from receiving appointments during the period when they sat in the Chamber, or within a year after its expiry. The latter moved, that the list of electors should be extended to all those who stood on the rolls of de-

partments to act as jurymen. These were very moderate proposals, and obviously of a beneficial character; for the first tended to limit the overwhelming influence of Ministers in the Chamber, while the second introduced a new element into the electoral body, composed of persons whose capacity to discharge its duties could hardly be doubted, since they were already invested with the right to judge in cases involving the lives and liberties of their fellow-citizens. The debate which followed was not very long, but it was eminently descriptive of the present temper of men's minds, and prophetic of the future of France.

15. On the one hand, it was argued by M. Guizot: "We hear complaints on all sides of the agitation which exists in all classes of society; of the passion for places and honours which has seized all ranks of citizens, even the humblest; of the obloquy which surrounds functionaries, even the most respectable and eminent. Gentlemen, there is but one way to remedy these evils. Establish salutary rules; cause eligibility to office to be the result of years of preparation and study; make it the reward of a life of honour and usefulness, and you will soon surround it with the respectability which should form its safeguard. Doubtless you will not remedy the evil completely, for it springs from the principles of human nature; but you will alleviate it in a certain degree, and at any rate you will clear yourself of responsibility, by showing that you have done what you can to limit it. But to do this with effect you must begin with yourselves; your interests, your dignity, the maintenance of your power, alike demand it.

16. "It is in the fundamental principle of the French government—democracy—in its sovereignty, in the organs of general opinion, that you can alone find an antidote to this great and growing evil. The only effect of the proposed law would be to lower the character of the legislature, to impoverish the administration, to enervate the public service, to retain only in its lowest grades those whom talent or merit have pointed

out as qualified to enter it. Are you prepared to take away from the electors all self-esteem, all respectability in the eyes of Europe, by openly proclaiming that they are governed in their choice only by selfish or corrupt considerations? Are you content to hold out France, within and without, as a country overrun with a moral gangrene and political corruption, where the Ministers are unworthily swayed by the deputies, the deputies by the electors, the electors by their vile personal ambition and their lowest local interests; and where, in order to obtain the shadow even of honest representation, you must put a precautionary law on the side of each conscience, and a law of distrust beside every vote?

17. "The real danger of the country, its prevailing vice, is not corruption; *it is the want of great public men*, of those men who are the living and immortal expression of great ideas, of great passions, of great courage. Placed midway between the ardent youth who are striving to bring back the Republic, and the great proprietors who regret the ancient order of things, where can Government recruit its ranks if not in the property of the middle classes, in the ability of the liberal professions, in the intelligence, activity, and patriotism of the great and laborious central mass of the country? Is it at such a moment that you propose to cripple its resources, to lessen its respectability, to abridge its usefulness, by cutting off from its political support all that intermediate class which participates in the administrative functions? You have not the elements of adequate support to Government in France if you deprive it in the Chambers of the most powerful of these classes. Recollect the deplorable consequences which ensued from the self-denying ordinance, passed by the Constituent Assembly. Figure to yourselves the great voices thereby doomed to impotent silence,—Barnave without a voice, and unable to ascend the tribune at the very moment when an insane faction was precipitating France into the abyss.

18. "The demand for an increase in the number of electors is equally unfounded. By the extension of the suffrage which resulted from the law of 1831, which reduced the qualification from the payment of 300 to that of 200 francs direct taxes, the number of electors swelled at once from 99,000 to 168,000, and since then it has gradually advanced to 224,000. In these circumstances, what reasonable ground is there for a further extension of the suffrage? Are you desirous to swamp the education, intelligence, and property which now form the foundation of the electoral body, by the immense mass of uneducated persons, destitute of property or intelligence, which any considerable extension of the suffrage would admit into its ranks? The present moment is eminently inopportune for the mooted of any such question. The effervescence produced by the treaty of 15th July has not yet subsided; and if the idea once gets afloat that the Chamber is prepared to entertain a project of electoral reform, it will immediately be concluded that the career of innovation is again opened, and it will turn into a National Assembly.

19. "That such a change would be perilous must be evident to all, but is it not evident that it is as uncalled for as it is hazardous? The noise made on the subject is a merely superficial and artificial cry got up by the journals and the committees, but which does not spring from the real wishes of the country, its interests, its wants, its necessities. No genuine motive exists for the movement—nothing which should influence the sensible portion of the nation. Unity is the great characteristic of the French monarchy—not merely a geographical unity, but a moral internal principle of homogeneity. The envy produced by rank, the rivalry of classes, has disappeared. There are no longer any interests profoundly at variance in society. There is no line of demarcation between the electors paying 300 francs of taxes and those paying 200 or 50. Their interests are at bottom the same; they live under the same

laws, they are subject to the same conditions of civil society. Unlike what has ever before happened in the world, the similitude of interests is allied to the diversity of professions and the inequality of conditions. From this it follows that the distribution of political rights is not, and could not be, the object of perpetual strife, as is the case in societies differently constituted. On this account the passion for political rights can never be very strongly felt in our society, because, how powerful soever may be the springs of vanity in the human breast, how strong soever the desire for the enjoyment of political power, when its exercise is not required for the defence of daily interests, the security of property, the defence of life or of liberty—when its possession, in short, is not necessary to the social state—it will fail in awakening the same ardour in the masses.

20. "The cry for Reform has been raised by the enemies of the Government, by those who desire the overthrow of the social order; but neither among the Republicans nor the Carlists does it embrace any honourable men, although at the first signal of distress all the factions will precipitate themselves on the Government, to profit by its difficulties. It is your first duty to close every access to their approach, to take from them all pretexts, and to defend the inexperienced public against the illusions which they never cease to propagate. We have a task to perform, more difficult than has ever yet been imposed on any people. We have these things to found: a new society composed of the great democracy, heretofore unknown in the history of the world; new institutions, the representative system, heretofore a stranger to our country; in fine, a new dynasty. Never was such a duty imposed on any people. Nevertheless we approach our object. The new society is preponderating, victorious; no one contests it; it has demonstrated its strength, it has taken possession of the social land, it has conquered at once the institutions and the dynasty which befit it. The great conquests are all made; all the great

interests are satisfied; our first, I may even say our sole duty, is to take possession of the ground we have gained—to secure its complete and lasting enjoyment. But to do this, which is the real enterprise and duty of our times, we require two things: in the first place, stability; and in the second, a prudent administration in the daily affairs of the State. These are the true requirements, the real wants of France. But instead of this, what are the Liberals doing? They are doing just the reverse of what good policy and the real national interests require. They are striving to undermine our laws, our institutions; to sow distrust where there should only be confidence; to shake the stability of the electoral body, of the Chamber, of the Government. And why have they adventured on so perilous a course? Is it to meet the wants of a great majority of the country, the imperious demand of a predominant section of the community? No: it is to satisfy a few ambitions, to gratify a craving felt only by a limited number. And it is for such a miserable factitious object, which springs from individual selfishness, not general interest, that you are called on to endanger our laws, our institutions, our liberties."

21. M. Lamartine thundered in strains of prophetic eloquence in reply: "In all countries, and in all ages, there are men, honourable, well-intentioned, but blind from political passion, intrenched in a numerical majority, who shut their eyes to all new ideas, however good, mature, prepared. In vain have you served these men in their legitimate interests; in vain have you joined them in the days of their dangers and difficulties; in vain have you supported them in those struggles which Government must always maintain with the factious; in vain have you stood forward, to defend or perish with them, to preserve the peace of the world, or the constitutional authority with which you yourselves have invested them, and to which they fly for refuge in the tempest. All is forgotten! You may enjoy their esteem;

but from the moment when you propose a measure of innovation, the most prudent, the most wise, the most advantageous to the conservative spirit of the Government, from that moment you become their enemy. I am not indulging in personalities in saying this; I am recounting the history of all the great epochs in our history, those of 1789, of 1815, of this time. It is in vain, with such men, that powers are altered, decomposed; that the moral forces of a country are corrupted, demoralised, under their very eyes. They foresee nothing, they will provide for nothing. Their only resource is to shroud themselves in the immobility of despotism; they would even make use of its burning fetters rather than admit of the smallest agitation. If you listen to such men, you would arrive at the conclusion that political wisdom consists only in one thing,—to rest in any situation on which hazard or revolution has cast them, and to remain there immovable, inert, implacable—yes! implacable even against any amelioration. And if that were really all that was requisite for statesmanship, a man of superior mind would not be required for the discharge of its duties; the most limited capacity would suffice for it.

22. "You have long inscribed on your banners 'Resistance, — Eternal Resistance.' I understand this policy during the period which immediately followed the Revolution of July, and down to the close of 1834. During all that period, resistance was the first duty of the Chamber, and you have worthily, gloriously discharged it. But after 1834 the danger was over, the necessity for resistance no longer existed; and then arose a variety of questions, on which the ideas of our leading statesmen were not abreast of the spirit of the age. I grieve to say there exists in France, not a feeling of national degradation—the nation will never be degraded; but of important interests strangled, of impassioned desires thwarted. Beware of increasing this painful feeling in that class which you call intelligent, political, and which is certainly more *impressionable*

than the territorial body in whom, at present, power is chiefly vested. For the best interests of this great country, you should not lightly reject a proposal which goes to recruit the electoral body with active, living, patriotic forces, which will communicate a new life to its decaying members, and will give it additional strength to resist the underhand but undying coalition of the European powers against our liberties and independence."\*

23. Memorable in many respects, both from the talent displayed on either side, and the exposition it affords of the views of the two great parties which divided the State on the vital question which soon after overthrew the monarchy, this debate is still more remarkable from the *entire ignorance* of the disposition and social necessities of the country to which it referred which was evinced by the orators on both sides. M. de Lamartine, with the warm and sanguine ideas of a poet, had no doubt that the opinion of the electors, if their ranks were enlarged, and placemen excluded, would bring forward to the Chamber men of superior capacity and power; forgetting that *jealousy of independence of character or originality of thought*, is the great characteristic of all large bodies of men, and never fails, after a short struggle, to banish self-acting genius and intrepid ability from the legislature,—a jealousy to which he himself, after the Revolution of 1848, so soon became a victim. And M. Guizot was clear that the great questions which divided society were now settled, that all interests were identical now that feudalism was abolished, and that the 200-franc votes shielded the 100, the 50, and every other class of society; forgetting that the terrible question of *capital* versus *labour* still remained to distract the world; that the landed aristocracy had been abolished only to give place to the moneyed, a still more powerful

\* The divisions on these two proposals were as follows: That for the exclusion of placemen was rejected by the narrow majority of 198 to 190; that for the extension of the suffrage, by 234 to 193.—*Ann. Hist.*, xxv. 73.

and dangerous body; and that if the working classes were no longer openly bespoiled by the armed retainers of a feudal lord, they were often still more effectually stripped of the fruits of their toil by the unseen and unobserved operation of monetary laws, which enhance the value of money and lessen the rewards of labour, or rigorous bondholders who openly wrenched it from them.

24. Faithful to his system of consulting the material interests of the country, while he resisted any extension of its political power, M. Guizot brought forward in this session a magnificent project for a general system of railways, which was to cover France, and would, it was hoped, secure for its inhabitants the advantages which the more advanced system carried out on the other side of the Channel had already given to those of Great Britain. The plan which was adopted by the Chamber was, that Government should be at the whole expense of purchasing and levelling the ground, constructing the viaducts, bridges, and sleepers; while the companies should buy and lay the rails, and bear the whole charges of working the lines and keeping them in repair. It was proposed to make the railway system very complete in France; so much so, indeed, that the scheme has hardly yet been fully carried into execution. The plan was to establish lines,—1st, From Paris to the Belgian frontier; 2d, From Paris to the shores of the Channel, on the road to London; 3d, From Paris to the German frontier, by Nancy and Strasbourg; 4th, From Paris to Marseilles, by Lyons; 5th, From Paris to Bayonne, by Orléans, Tours, and Bordeaux; 6th, To Nantes, by Tours; 7th, From Paris to Bourges; 8th, From the Mediterranean to the Rhine, by Lyons, Dijon, and Mülhausen; 9th, From Bordeaux to Marseilles, by Toulouse. It is remarkable, and highly characteristic of the social state of France, and its industrial inferiority to England, how large a proportion of these lines terminate in Paris, and how few led from one part of the country to the other. Such as it was,

however, the project was grandly conceived; and being under the entire direction and control of Government, it was free from the ruinous competition of rival lines, which has proved fatal to so many undertakings of a similar kind in Great Britain. The charges it entailed upon the Government, however, were extremely heavy, and largely contributed to swell the floating debt which had now come to hang as so heavy a load on the French finances. The deficit of this year amounted to 63,289,000 francs (£2,520,000), of which no less than 29,500,000 (£1,180,000) was for railway advances.\*

25. This was the last act of the session, which closed on the 11th June, and two days after appeared an ordinance dissolving the Chamber, and directing the electoral colleges to meet on the 12th July. The elections were conducted with sufficient keenness to give serious alarm to the Ministry; but, on the whole, the Conservative majority was decided, though not so much so as to remove the danger of being thrown into a minority, in the event of any considerable defection of their adherents in the Centre. The increased growth of Republicanism in the great towns was very apparent. Paris returned two decided leaders of that

\* During the discussion of these railway bills, a tragic event occurred on the line from Paris to Versailles, which exceeded in horror any which has since occurred on either side of the Atlantic. On the 8th of May, a train which was taking a crowded company from Paris to a fête at Versailles, ran off the line, and the carriages, in consequence of the sudden shock, ran one above another, and were almost instantaneously piled *four deep* in a narrow cleft in the line. Unfortunately the fire in the front carriage spread to the next carriage, and being fanned by a strong breeze from the rear, soon communicated to those above, and in a few minutes the whole superincumbent mass was in a blaze. The doors being locked, escape to the greater part of the passengers was impossible, and no less than fifty human beings, a great proportion of them women and children, perished in the flames. A more frightful catastrophe is not recorded in history.—*Ann. Hist.*, xxv. 247; *Chron.* A young mother had a cord passed to her by which she might have escaped, but she would not leave her child which was with her, and perished with it in the flames! —*Ibid.*

party, M. Carnot and M. Marie. Dupont de l'Eure was elected by three colleges; Ledru-Rollin was returned without opposition for La Sarthe, M. Garnier Pagès (the son) for the Eure. On the whole, although the Ministers had still a considerable Conservative majority, it was not so compact or well-disciplined as that of the Chamber which had preceded it; and this, in the circumstances of the country, was equivalent to a defeat. A schism appeared for the first time on this occasion in the Legitimist ranks, similar to that which ere long divided the Conservatives of Great Britain. Some adhered to the old and established idea, that any extension of the suffrage was to be avoided as dangerous to the throne; others, better informed as to the social state and real wishes of the vast majority of the *rural* population of France, saw in their steadiness and desire of repose the only guarantee against the turbulence and ambition of the inhabitants of towns, and did not hesitate to invoke universal suffrage as the last and only secure sheet-anchor of the State.

26. This state of things was big with prospect of change, and perhaps disaster, in future times; but a sudden and most afflicting event occurred at this period, which shook the very foundations of the throne, and induced it sooner than might otherwise have occurred. On the 13th July, the Duke of Orléans set out at noon to go to Neuilly, in order to bid adieu to the King before his departure to St Omer to review the troops there assembled. He was alone in an open carriage, called "*à la Daumont*," drawn by two horses, the vehicle in which he usually drove round Paris. When passing the gate of Maillot, the horse which the postilion rode took fright and ran off, and by a singular coincidence turned into the *Chemin de la Revolte*, so styled from having been formed, in the beginning of the first Revolution, for the royal family to go quietly to St Cloud from the Tuileries. The Prince, on seeing that the postilion had lost command of the horses, called out, "You can no longer stop

them?"—"No, your royal highness," he replied, "but I can still direct them." Seeing that they still went on at the full gallop, the Prince stood up in the carriage, and called out again, "Can you not stop them?"—"No, my lord," was the reply. Upon this the Duke, who was very active, opened the carriage-door, and, standing on the step, leapt out. He lighted with both his feet on the ground, but the rapidity of the motion caused him to fall with great violence on his side, and occasioned such a shock to the brain that he was taken up in a state of insensibility, and a few hours after breathed his last in a small house adjoining the roadside, into which he had been carried. The King, Queen, and all the royal family, except the Duchess of Orléans, who was at the Eaux des Plombières, formed a mournful assembly around the heir to the throne, as he expired in the humble dwelling which had become the last resting-place on earth of one torn from such brilliant destinies.

27. The death of the Duke of Orléans was an event of such importance that it was equivalent to a revolution. Not only was the direct heir to the throne cut off, and the succession opened to his son, the Count of Paris, a child yet in his nurse's arms, but the Prince, who was thus prematurely lost, was one who enjoyed deserved popularity, and was eminently qualified to have steered the vessel of the State through the shoals and quicksands upon which it was drifting. Grave in manners, reserved in character, his secret opinions were known only to his most intimate friends, and were judged of by the world chiefly from the political complexion of his friendships, which were for the most part among men of science and art, or of the Liberal party, and from a few answers to addresses he had delivered in public, which were decidedly of that character. It was known, however, to those who enjoyed his confidence, that he was much alarmed at the dangers which were accumulating, in consequence of the decided resistance to progress made by his

father, and his recent declaration against Reform had in some degree shaken the confidence of the Liberals in his intentions. It added to the general regret at this catastrophe, that the postilion pulled up the horses a few seconds after the Prince had leapt out, so that, if he had only sat still, he would have sustained no injury; \* and that, in a remarkable passage in his testament, he had expressed his earnest wish that the Count of Paris, if he succeeded to the throne, should be himself a "man of his time and of the nation; that he should be a Catholic, and zealous exclusive defender of France and the Revolution." The ultra-Royalists and Romish party beheld in his death the just punishment of Heaven for the sins of the father in usurping the throne, and observed on the singular coincidence that the blow was dealt out to the heir-apparent "*sur le Chemin de la Revolté.*"

28. The will of the Duke of Orléans named the Duke of Nemours as the Regent, in the event of his death during the pupilarity of his son. This, however, required the sanction of the Legislature, and the democratic party deemed the opportunity favourable for asserting in the loudest terms the great principle of the national sovereignty. The Government, on the other hand, brought forward a law, the principle of which was, that the regency, in default of a male heir of the full age, belonged of right to the next heir to the throne after the minor heir, who in this instance was the Duke de Nemours. Ledru-Rollin, who led the Opposition, protested against such a doctrine, which, he maintained, was subversive of the whole rights of the people, who were entitled, through the Chamber of Deputies, and without the concurrence of any other power, to nominate a regent on such an event.

\* A short time before this, the Duke of Wellington's horses ran away with him in his chariot; as he was driving to Ascot. The old veteran calmly let down the windows and sat still, desiring his servant to do the same, observing, "The first hill will bring them up," which accordingly was the case.

29. Guizot and Thiers concurred in supporting the proposal of Government. "If," said the former, "you assert that there are in the nation two powers, one constitutional, another constituent—one, so to speak, for working-days, the other for holidays—I answer, that what you assert is a mere dream. I have seen in the course of my life only three really constituent powers in action: one in the year 1800, by Napoleon; one in 1814, when it was exercised by Louis XVIII.; one in 1830, by the Chamber of Deputies. All the rest, the appeals to the people, their ratifications, are a mere fiction and shadow." "The law itself," said M. Thiers, "is open to no exception. It is precisely the law which I would have made; and most certainly I was not consulted on it. Even were the law different from what it is, I would vote for it as I shall now do. Had the law contained something which I deemed objectionable, and only applicable to present circumstances, as substituting the regency of women for that of men, I should have voted for it with the same sincerity; for, in the present circumstances, I will not say of peril, but of anxiety for the monarchy, the first duty of every good subject is, not to propose amendments, but to give in his adherence."

30. "The dynasty of 1830," continued M. Guizot, "has received a rude shock; but out of its very misfortunes has arisen evidence of its strength, the most decisive guarantee for its stability, the most touching conservation of its future! The more grave the trial which it has undergone, the more vividly has the necessity of its presence and the grandeur of its mission become manifest to all the world. It has received everywhere in the country the baptism of tears; and the noble Prince who has been torn from us has demonstrated, in the moment of his departure, how deep were the foundations of which he seemed destined to be the firmest support. There is a joy in that worthy of his great soul, and of the love which he bore to his country. We feel that we have no need to carry to the sup-



port of the dynasty which we serve any borrowed strength, any fictitious lustre. It has struck its roots into the earth; there we shall find the foundations of its power. We ask your concurrence only to a law which wisdom sanctions, which patriotism approves, and we desire that it should be considered with all the calmness which befits so solemn an occasion.

31. "When an unforeseen event occurs in the history of a great people, in what way does common sense say that it should be decided? Evidently by the most instructed powers, and those best acquainted with the wants and exigencies of society. The first conditions of good government are, experience and the authority which proved experience confers. When you have at hand such power already located in its proper place, charged with its appropriate functions, master of its peculiar duties, it is mere folly to put it aside on any special occasion, and invoke a new power as extraordinary as it is inexperienced. If from the powers to be intrusted with the decision you pass to the subject-matter of it, there is still less room for difference of opinion. The first thing to be considered in any extraordinary contingency is, to put everything as much as possible into the established channel of society; to bring it as soon as can be done into harmony with what was yesterday, what will be to-morrow. The spirit of natural sequence, the prudent management of transitions, the maintenance of the bond which should unite all the acts, all the days of the life of society, is an imperious duty.

32. "The peculiar merit, the invaluable force, of a constitutional government, consists in the due distribution of the powers of the State. It is the important mission and peculiar duty of royalty to carry fixity and strength into the Government; it is the representative of stability and perpetual power, as well as the executive authority. Whoever considers our institutions and social state with attention, must perceive that the Crown has by no means too great strength to accomplish this double object. When

the king is in minority, royalty necessarily becomes weakened, both as the perpetual and executive power; it is, both in reality and opinion, less considerable than was foreseen or designed by the authors of the constitutional system. At such a moment, shall we proceed to weaken it still more—to strengthen the movable principle at the expense of the fixed? Yet this is what is really demanded of you when an elective regency is proposed. We, in resting the regency on hereditary right, preserve all the powers in their appropriate place, and give each the function, duty, and place which the Charter has assigned to it; we maintain the balance of powers, such as the complete constitutional regime has established. You, on the other hand, in establishing an elective regency, would dislocate these powers, and overturn their constitutional balance; you would introduce into one of the powers an additional strength, and do that at the very moment when it did not require it, from the natural weakness under which the hereditary powers are labouring."

33. M. Lamartine, contrary to general expectation, took a prominent part in the debate on the other side, and strongly contended for the regency being conferred, by a vote of the Chamber, on the Duchess of Orléans. "I am not, you know well, the partisan of revolutions. *I detest them*, and will combat, with all the energy of which I am capable, those who foment them. I mean violent revolutions—revolutions by main force. But where revolutions which I may call regular take place—that is to say, the results of a gradual, pacific, progressive change of power—it is necessary only to open your hands and receive them. He is a timid man who hesitates in this way to receive the *apprenticeship of power* which is thus, in a manner, forced upon him. I have combated with the Conservatives when I thought the monarchical principle was in danger; but when, by the consequences of a fatal event, the parliamentary power is called to the inheritance—the exercise of one of the

duties of which the Legislature cannot devolve to another without dispossessing itself—it is shameful to abdicate the power which fortune has placed within your reach. To take refuge timidly, in such circumstances, in dynastic succession, is to proclaim openly to the world that France is incapable of governing itself. I would not make the nation subordinate to the dynasty, but the dynasty to the nation. I would not make the first dynastic; I would make the last national.

34. "The proposed law is neither conservative nor dynastic. You call it conservative—it is big with revolutions; you call it dynastic—it is charged with usurpations. It chases a mother, the natural guardian of her son, from his cradle, to place in his stead the competitor for the throne! Such a violation of natural justice and common sense on the subject receives no countenance either from the history or institutions of France. The Salic law, which excludes women, has so little influenced this matter, that, out of thirty-two regencies which we have had, no less than twenty-six have been those of women; the Salic law has never been able to prevail against the law of God and of nature, which says that a mother can have no other interest but that of her son, and that she, and not his heir, is his natural guardian. If we would find an instance in which the guardianship of the mother has been excluded, we must go back to barbarous times, when no law or principle was acknowledged but that of force. Doubtless a female regent cannot command an army; but has it not always been found that, in case of peril to a monarchy, a woman and a child form the standard round which the soldiers and the people most enthusiastically combat? Need I refer to the Strelitzes vanquished by the courage of Elizabeth of Russia, or the war-cry of the Hungarians—'Let us die for our *King*, Maria-Theresa!'

35. "Without doubt, divisions and jealousies, during a minority, will get up in the palace, especially when the discord incident to a constitutional

government is fomented by the press and parties in the legislature. But in separating the regency from the guardianship of the infant king, is it not evident that the door is opened much wider for the admission of such distractions? Is not this to render inevitable perpetual war between two powers, each contending for the government of the mind and heart of the young prince? If the regent carries the day, the heart of the young king is rendered unnatural; if the mother, the acts of the regent are discredited, and the future reign becomes nothing but a continued revenge for the regency. Two rival equal influences, disputing the command of a crowned infant, can end in nothing but a suspicious or submissive prince, an idiot or a tyrant, a Philippe II. or a Louis XV. By your bill you will condemn France to receive as kings those whom you would despise as sons. It is possible that the regent may be a woman of a different religion from the majority of Frenchmen, but that could be no objection. On the contrary, the principle of religious toleration, embodied in the person of the chief ruler of the State, would be a guarantee the more for its firm and lasting establishment. The regency of a woman is the government of the country, and parliament its representative. It is the dictatorship of the nation, instead of the dictatorship of a family or a man."

36. This debate, and the part taken in it by the leaders on both sides, is singularly characteristic of their respective dispositions, and prophetic of the side they were severally to espouse in the great struggle between the sovereignty of the nation and that of the dynasty which was evidently approaching. The vote at the moment gave a decisive majority in both Chambers to the Conservatives. The division in the Deputies was 310 to 94 in favour of Guizot's bill, conferring the regency on the Duke de Nemours; in the Peers, it passed without a division. But notwithstanding this triumphant majority, the division was ominous of the

future, and big with the foreshadows of ultimate disaster. Lamartine had now openly joined the Liberal party; he had addressed the Chamber in accents which powerfully thrilled the national heart. It was easy to see that he was destined to be for a brief space the leader of the Revolution. On the other hand, Guizot, with unswerving firmness, had taken his post on the other side, and advocated the descent of the regency to the next heir, because the Crown, during a minority, was naturally weakened, and it required support. Differing from either, Thiers had entirely failed in his design of conciliating the Government by supporting it on a momentous crisis; the majority was too large to oblige them to court his adhesion; and he retired from the debate discredited with the one party, rejected by the other. His last words, on descending from the tribune, were very remarkable: "For my own part, I see nothing but the counter-revolution in rear of the Government; *in its front an abyss*; between them I rest on the narrow space which the Charter has covered. I conjure my friends to bring upon that narrow strip a band which knows how to construct, and not to destroy. These words are the result of my sincere conviction; it has cost me much to pronounce them; they will cost me more when I descend from this tribune."

37. The character of M. Guizot as a philosopher and historian has already been drawn; but he was much too remarkable as a statesman and an orator not to deserve a permanent place in any historic gallery of the nineteenth century. His policy, founded on experience and matured by reflection, was fixed and immovable, and wholly independent of the mutations of passing events. Untainted by vanity, uninfluenced by personal ambition, it was based entirely on public principle; and in the maintenance of that he was guided by the courage of an intrepid, the wisdom of a learned, and the disinterestedness of a patriotic mind. It was his firm belief that the utmost limits of safe concession had been reached

in the construction of the monarchy of July; that to yield anything farther would be to precipitate the Government and the nation into the abyss. He was not blind to the dangers with which such a policy was attended, but he deemed it indispensable to face them, to avoid the still greater peril arising from the entire disruption of society. He was willing to stand forward as the champion of order, though it might end in his becoming its martyr. The only way in which he thought it possible to effect this object, was to group around the throne a firm compact majority in the Chambers, which might confer upon it authority, and protect it from all the assaults of the revolutionists; and it was from the dread of weakening or destroying this majority that it appeared to him indispensable to resist at all hazards every advance towards Parliamentary Reform. In the Opposition of all shades he beheld, and as the event proved with justice, not a body of patriots, desirous of correcting abuses in the State, but a band of conspirators watching for an opportunity to overturn the monarchy and seat themselves on its ruins; not the English Opposition of the nineteenth century, but the Jacobite chiefs of the first half of the eighteenth. He was destitute, as all really great men are, of personal vanity or selfish desires. He was ambitious, but it was for his country and the cause of order, not himself; he desired justice, but it was that which was reflected from the institutions he had conferred on France, not that which shone from his own exploits. His great defect, but it was a very serious one, was a want of practical knowledge of society—a deficiency common to him with nearly all men, in whatever grade, who have not been trained in the actual collision of the world.

38. As an orator he is entitled to a very high place, perhaps the highest as a real statesman in the whole parliamentary history of France. Without the brilliant genius or power over his audience which was enjoyed by Mirabeau, he was incomparably more of a statesman; and in his speeches the

political student will find far more that is applicable to the actual state of human affairs. Indeed, no such decisive proof is to be found of the great advance that France had made in real freedom under the Restoration and Citizen King, as in the immense difference between the speeches even of the first-rate men at the commencement of the Revolution, and those of the Ministers of Louis XVIII. and Louis Philippe after a quarter of a century of constitutional government. The first are brilliant Arabian tales, about as applicable to human affairs as Aladdin's Lamp; the last present the result of experience and reflection, which will furnish subject of interest and instruction to every future age. We admire the first as a brilliant dream, where the eye is fascinated as by a phantasmagoria of gorgeous colours but of transient splendour; we turn to the last for lessons of wisdom in real life, where everything is tinged with the hue of nature, and has a bearing upon the future concerns of man. Albeit bred at Geneva, and first brought into notice by his activity in the professor's chair, Guizot had none of the blemishes as a parliamentary orator which such a training is generally found to produce. He was neither tedious nor pedantic; he did not prelect as from the professorial chair, nor descant as to a circle of admiring auditors. His early introduction into public life, and discipline in the rude conflicts of the tribune, had taught him the first and most important lesson for a debater—the necessity of condensing his thoughts, of abbreviating his expressions, and addressing himself not to a standard of ideal perfection, but to that very inferior standard which was the measure of the intellects of those around him. Nevertheless, he was rarely commonplace or superficial; he never forgot principle; he had the valuable faculty of addressing himself to everyday concerns and passing interests, without deviating from the lessons of wisdom matured in the closet. Hence, though a philosopher and a historian, he did not cease to be an orator; and he kept alike the attention of his hearers, and

was listened to with as much interest from the tribune as ever he had been from his didactic chair.

39. Never was contrast more complete than was exhibited by the great rival of the Conservative minister, M. Thiers. Often regardless of principle, he was always devoted to ambition; careless of consistency in thought, he was set only on elevation of self. There is no side in politics which he has not embraced at some time in his long career; but in these varied espousals of different interests, there was not only no inconsistency, but there was the most thorough uniformity in the motives of action. There was no side for which he ever contended, there was no motion to which he ever gave his support, in which he had not clearly before his eyes the Polar star of interest. Yet such was the versatility of his talents, and his power of admirably supporting every newly-embraced shade of opinion, that M. Thiers never failed, amidst all his inconsistencies, to attract very great attention, and form a large party both in the Chamber and among the public. His early training as a journalist had given him the power of suddenly turning his talents to any subject, and discoursing plausibly on any theme, or on any side. At the tribune he was rarely eloquent, and never carried away by that flood of oratory which flows from strong internal conviction. But he was always pleasing. He seldom rose above his audience, but never sank beneath them; his ideas were always those of a part at least of his hearers; and he enjoyed the success which seldom fails to attend those who put our own thoughts into better language than we can ourselves.

40. M. Thiers was the true orator of the middle classes; and it was to the ability with which he followed out that career that his popularity and influence were chiefly owing. He never attempted to lead, and rarely opposed them: he put himself in the rear of opinion, not in its front. A man of expedients—light, airy, plausible—he seldom appealed to principle, and never to the great foundations of morality or religion. But he rarely failed to put in

the very best language, and often to adorn with novel and felicitous expressions, those common ideas which had been previously embraced by a large portion of the nation, and therefore met with a ready reception from his lips. Hence he preserved, even in his crosses and failures, a very great empire over public opinion; while M. Guizot, who was always firm, consistent, and conservative, was never popular even in the highest period of his power.

41. Notwithstanding his suppleness, ambition, and popularity, M. Thiers was on the whole unfortunate as a statesman; he never was able to retain power for more than a few months at a time. He was set above all things upon becoming and remaining Prime Minister; but his restlessness and love of interference in foreign affairs precipitated him from the helm; first on occasion of the Spanish intervention, and then on the Eastern question. This arose from his love of distinction and thirst for general popularity at all hazards—a disposition which was entirely at variance with the prudent and pacific policy of the King. With all his talents, he wanted the most essential one in a Minister of State—the faculty of reading correctly the signs of the times. This appeared equally in foreign and domestic affairs. In the former, he brought Europe to the verge of a general war in the pursuit of the vain chimera of French domination on the banks of the Nile—a result which, if attained, could have had no other effect but that of increasing the Muscovite power, and precipitating the terrible contest which was approaching between the Western powers and Russia on the shores of the Euxine. In the latter, he was surprised, in 1848 and 1851, by two revolutions, the former of which he had a large share in promoting, but neither of which he foresaw, and of both which he was the victim. For nearly ten years he waged an almost incessant war with the Crown and its ministers; but nothing was farther from his intention than really to impair the royal prerogative. He desired only to wield it himself. He hoped to carry

the premiership by assault in the course of the war waged in the Chambers, and in the prosecution of that object he was little scrupulous as to the means employed. His mind was microscopic, not telescopic; he saw present events with the keen eye of a journalist, but he had not the distant glance of a statesman to discern whither they were tending.

42. LAMARTINE differed widely from both these very eminent men, and in his public career is to be discerned the clearest proof of the unfitness of the “literary character” to meet the dangers and withstand the temptations of real life in arduous times. Never did genius appear in brighter colours; never was lofty and chivalrous sentiment couched in more eloquent and touching language than flowed from his persuasive lips; never was courage more determined, sustained by feeling more exalted. Descended from an ancient and noble family, he inherited from his ancestors the feelings of disinterested loyalty. Abreast of his age in thought, he had inhaled the whole spirit of modern philanthropy, without losing the elevated principles of the chivalrous ages. Monarchical in principle, religious in sentiment, benevolent in feeling, brilliant in conception, eloquent in expression, enjoying unbounded popularity, he seemed to unite all that was venerable in the associations of the olden time, with all that was required by the wants of the present. He stood forth apparently as the predestined champion of the monarchy in arduous times—the bridge which should unite the feudal age with the spirit of the Revolution. Yet did he prove the worst enemy of the monarchy when the crisis arrived, and by his single influence overturned the regency of the Duchess of Orléans, which he had so eloquently supported in the Chamber, and the throne of her son, of which he had declared himself the Protector. Nay, more, by his brilliant historical romance, the *History of the Girondists*, he had done everything which genius and fancy could effect to clothe in brilliant and deceitful colours the history of the

leaders of the first Revolution, and prepare the public mind for the advent and success of the third.

43. The secret of this discreditable tergiversation not only in action, but in thought, is to be found in that common and lamentable weakness of men of genius, *personal vanity*. After having earned for himself a high and honourable place in the Chambers, by several years' service as representative for Maçon, he aspired, in 1841, to become its President. Had he succeeded in that object, he would without doubt have attached himself permanently to the throne, and been found alongside of M. Guizot when the Revolution broke out. But having been opposed by Government, and failed in attaining the object of his ambition, his next move was to win a place of distinction by taking the lead of the Opposition. This it was which made him support the regency of the Duchess of Orléans; he aspired to be her prime minister, in the probable event of the crown opening to her son during minority, by the demise of Louis Philippe. He himself tells us, that by a word in the Chamber, on 23d February 1848, he could have put the Regent's Crown on the head of the Duchess of Orléans, and secured the succession for her son. But being blinded by vanity, and dazzled by ambition, he then aspired to nothing less than becoming Dictator himself, and for a few weeks he actually enjoyed a perilous and divided share in the Government. His punishment was swift, his fall irrecoverable, and he remains a melancholy example of the insufficiency of the most brilliant parts to compensate the want of steadiness and consistency of character.

44. M. ODILLON BARROT, who also took a prominent part in the convulsions which were approaching, was a man of a very different character and habits from M. de Lamartine, though at bottom he was misled by similar self-sufficiency. An advocate of distinction and celebrity at the Bar of Paris, he had for long been a distinguished leader of the Opposition, and accustomed for above twenty years to

the rude conflicts of the Bar and the Tribune. Thus he was not ignorant of affairs like Lamartine, and not liable to be misled by literary celebrity or the admiration of coteries; but from his long success as a chief of the Liberals, he had become impregnated with an illusion little less dangerous. He had unbounded confidence in his ability to direct the mob of Paris; and, while flattering himself he was doing so, he was in fact the dupe of others more designing or ambitious than himself. He was an honest man, of a mild temper, and a benevolent disposition; but it was his misfortune to render himself the agent of others with ulterior designs, which he was far from sharing. He said, in 1846, "I am a supporter of the dynasty *quand même*," yet he was the dupe of M. Thiers in advocating the fortification of Paris. He became the dupe of Duvergier d'Hauranne, in signing a compact with the Republicans; of the editors of the *National*, in becoming the apologist of the tumults; of his own vanity, in thinking he could rule Paris by his influence as minister, instead of the guns of Marshal Bugeaud. He was in some respects happily characterised by the celebrated expression of Royer-Collard, on occasion of the sack of the archbishop's palace in February 1832, "I knew you forty years ago; you then bore the name of Pétion." Yet was this character in some respects unjust; his intentions were upright, his heart was pure. If he shared the whole illusions of the Girondist mayor as to his ability to coerce the Parisian mob, he was far from being stained by his crimes, and would never have been implicated in the massacres in the prisons in September 1792.

45. Another man of literary celebrity who rose to eminence in the convulsion of 1848 was M. MARRAST. Like nearly all the persons who attained brief authority during its fervour, he was a journalist. Originally a professor of philosophy, he had come some years before to Paris, under the auspices of General Lamarque, and in the first instance he tendered the aid of his pen to the Government. But

with that jealousy of superior ability, *not entirely pliant*, which unfortunately characterises not less the cabinets of kings than the committees of democrats, his advances were rejected, and he was thrown into the arms of the Opposition. He was soon discovered by the *National*, in whose ranks he was afterwards enlisted. Marrast proved the most inveterate and formidable enemy of the throne. Not only were his education and acquirements of a much superior cast to that of the other democratic leaders, but he was a determined man of action, resolutely set on overturning the Government, and establishing a Republic on its ruins. In the Revolution of 1848, he was the leader who stood forth, and by his decided counsels brought on the crisis which subverted the throne. His early prepossessions were all on the Conservative side; and throughout the struggles of faction in which he was afterwards engaged, he preserved a certain refinement of thought, and delicacy of expression, very different from the coarse and brutal characters by whom he was surrounded. His respect for talent, and candour of disposition, often led him to express in the galleries a great admiration for the speeches of Guizot; nor did he always restrain his sarcasm from those of Ledru-Rollin. But it was for a few minutes only that these his genuine sentiments found vent. When he sat down to the journalist's desk, the necessities of his situation, and cravings of his readers, drove him into indiscriminate abuse of every one on the opposite side.

46. M. LOUIS BLANC belonged to a different school from either Lamartine or Marrast, but it was one which in the end proved more formidable to society than the ambition of either of these men. A philanthropic fanatic deeply impressed with the social evils around him, ignorant of the real cause to which they were owing, and without any of the practical knowledge which might have served to correct his visionary speculations, he aimed at founding a new sect in politics, and establishing a hitherto unknown order

in society. His ideas were taken partly from the community of all things which was established among the *aristocratic* Spartans, each of whom was attended by six helots; partly founded on the precepts of universal charity which are contained in the Gospel. He entirely forgot two things: first, that the Spartans formed a *war caste*, which was maintained by the labour of ten times their number of servants; and that, while our Saviour incessantly inculcates the *giving* of their goods by the rich to the poor, there is not a word to be found in the Gospel authorising the *taking* of their goods from the rich by the poor. Overlooking this obvious and vital distinction, Louis Blanc thought he was following out the precepts of Christianity when he advocated a social system similar to that of Lycurgus, which should, in its practical results, *forcibly* divide all the property of the State, and distribute it to every man in proportion to his wants and necessities in the form of daily wages. He advocated the co-operative system, which would entirely exclude the capitalists, and divide the whole profits of stock with the wages of labour. He promised the working classes, in his own words, in a period of extreme disaster, "at present, the means of subsistence during periods of difficulty, wages *equal to those enjoyed during prosperity*, with a participation of profits; in future, the free exercise of their faculties, the entire gratification of all their wants, and *even their desires*; in fine, the maximum of happiness." These doctrines, which betrayed an entire practical ignorance of human affairs, were sufficiently perilous without imputing to him the formation of the *ateliers nationaux*, which, as will be shown in the sequel, he opposed, though they flowed almost necessarily from his principles. Under his system the whole territory of France was to be divided as among the fellahs of Egypt, or the ryots of Hindostan, among certain communities or convents, by whom everything was to be enjoyed in common; and the last stage of European civilisation was to be the general establishment of

Asiatic socialism, and the despotism of the Pharaohs.

47. To this long list of able and dangerous men who formed the leaders of the "*Extrême Gauche*," must be added another, not less formidable, though belonging to an entirely different class of politicians. It could not be said that M. BERRYER was the leader of a party in the Assembly, for the Legitimists had so generally kept aloof from the elections, that not a dozen votes were ranged under his banner; but his oratorical power was so great, and his private character so respected, that when on any casual question he spoke on the side of Opposition, he proved a serious addition to the forces which Government had to encounter. And though the orators of the *Gauche* were far indeed from approving his principles, they were fain to borrow the aid of his eloquence, when an occasion occurred on which they could act in common. He had not a very powerful intellect, and none of the robust mental strength which bears down opposition in a popular assembly; but he had a sonorous voice, and elegant language at command, and great power of moving the feelings. The influence of these qualities was much enhanced by his noble countenance and courtly manners, and the respect which, even in a corrupted age, had been won by a known life of private disinterestedness and public consistency.

48. To oppose this formidable band of varied talent, M. Guizot had no adequate parliamentary forces at command. M. DUCHATEL was intrusted with the arduous duty of forming and disciplining the majority in the Chamber; and his mild character, pleasing manners, ready oratory, respectable character, and ample fortune, peculiarly qualified him for the task. He was a valuable ally, and good everyday debater at the tribune; but he was not a great orator, and unequal to a serious crisis. On all such occasions, the weight of the conflict fell on M. Guizot. It is true, he had the support of the veteran military experience of Marshal Soult, and of the noble

manners and courteous character of Count Molé. But though both of these gave weight to the administration, and were of essential service in the Cabinet, they could not be relied on as likely to be of much use in the conflicts in the Chamber. The veteran Marshal was no orator, and was listened to in the Chamber of Peers, rather from respect for his character than the influence of his arguments; and though Count Molé was a ready speaker, he had neither the practical acquaintance with affairs, nor the vigorous intellect necessary to give him an ascendant in the Assembly. He was an agreeable companion, an elegant nobleman, a distinguished converser; qualities admirably fitted to give him the lead in the saloons of fashion, but little likely to qualify him to sustain the conflicts of a robust democracy, in the daily conflicts in the forum.

49. Such were the men upon whom was now to devolve a conflict, upon which the destinies of France, and with them, in a great degree, those of the civilised world, were to depend. But in addition to the weakness in debate, the Administration of M. Guizot had to contend with two still more serious difficulties, arising from the construction of the Chambers, and the temper of the civic force upon which, in a conflict in the streets, it would have principally to depend. The first of these was the entire discredit into which the Chamber of Peers had fallen, in consequence of the loss of its hereditary character, and the absence of any great fortunes among its members, or any other qualification for admission but court favour or ministerial necessities. So powerful had these causes of degradation become, that the votes of the upper Chamber were scarcely ever thought of or inquired after in any political question; and if any one was accidentally pushed to a decision, the division was usually 118 to 3 in favour of Ministers. Thus everything had come to depend on the Chamber of Deputies; and though the ministerial majority there was very decided, yet it was doubtful whether



the influence of the Crown in the country was not rather weakened than strengthened by its composition. The needy circumstances of the greater part of the Deputies, and the universal thirst in France for official appointment, were the main causes of this discreditable state of things. Both were the direct consequences of the Revolution. The great territorial and mercantile fortunes having been destroyed by that convulsion, while at the same time the colonies and outlets in trade and manufactures had been almost entirely swept away, nothing remained for the rising youth of the country but government appointments either in the civil or military line. To secure these for themselves, their relations, dependants, or constituents, was the chief object which men proposed to themselves by going into parliament; and the success which attended the step to several, was sufficient to excite a universal thirst for these highly advantageous situations. Before we stigmatise the French as corrupt or venal on this account, we would do well to consider the circumstances in which they were placed when it occurred, and to ask ourselves whether, if Australia, India, our foreign trade and manufactures, were swept away, less competition for office would exist in the British House of Commons and among their constituents throughout the country.

50. But it is easier to see to what cause the corruption of the elective Chamber and universal thirst for official employment in France was owing, than to palliate its enormity, or overestimate its effects. These were only the greater, from all the world being so thoroughly disposed to engage in the same practices, and the fortunate intrants being the object not only of political animosity but of personal envy. The most vehement declaimers against the corruption of the legislature, both in the press and in the Chambers, the loudest approvers of the purity of election, were themselves the most abject petitioners for favours, and not unfrequently the most successful in obtaining them. The system of buying off the Opposi-

tion by offices, as well as going into Opposition in order to be so bought off, was brought to even greater perfection on the south than it had been on the north of the Channel. One Opposition chief, who had been particularly loud, in a circular to his constituents, against the traffic in places, had modestly demanded only THIRTY-FIVE for himself and his brother. Another, equally virtuous and indignant against the prevailing vice, had solicited THREE HUNDRED AND FOUR PLACES for himself, his family, and constituents. A third deputy went still further; he had actually obtained THIRTY-FIVE places for himself and his friends, and he had the effrontery to move for an electoral inquiry into the corruption practised by the Government. Farther, to crown the whole, on 22d February 1848, he signed the demand for a formal accusation of the Ministers from whom he had received such favours! In a word, it was difficult to say whether the King's Government or the King's Opposition was most thoroughly steeped in corruption, or most ready to sacrifice everything to the attainment of the grand object of universal ambition, the gaining or retaining of offices under the Ministry. The great extent to which this tendency proceeded in France, under the system of uniform suffrage which there prevailed, suggests a doubt whether it can by possibility be checked by any other mode than a representative system, based on *different interests*, which may set one selfish motive to counteract another.

51. The second great and serious danger which at this period had come to threaten the monarchy was the demoralisation which had seized upon the great majority of the National Guard of the metropolis. If there is any one truth more than another clearly demonstrated by experience, it is the utter inadequacy of a civic guard to avert the dangers or crush the violence of a revolution. From the time of its first institution in 1789, till its final revolt against the King in 1848, the National Guard of

Paris proved itself utterly inadequate to coercing the excesses of the people. United by no common bond, animated by no patriotic feeling, inspired by no generous sentiments, it yielded to every passing influence, and, instead of forming a barrier against perilous change, became the chief and most dangerous instrument by which it might be carried into effect. The deep game so long played by the Revolutionists had at length come to tell with fatal effect on its dense battalions; *the Government was utterly discredited*, and every act of those in power was, by ingenious sophistry, twisted into an argument against them. Was peace preserved—it was the result of a base submission to England, which degraded France into the rank of a second-rate power; were the armies victorious in Africa—they were fighting the battles of the dynasty, not the country, and shedding their blood in a cause alien to that of their fatherland; was commerce flourishing—it was enriching the urban aristocracy by the produce of the sweat and labour of the people. All the efforts of Louis Philippe to conciliate the burgher class, which had placed him on the throne, his support of the undiminished *rentes*, his resistance of all measures tending to free trade, his anxious and successful maintenance of peace, were, by the bitterness of faction, used as so many subjects of reproach against him, and considered as such by the vast majority of the citizens. Sixty thousand of these, with arms in their hands, were enrolled in the legions of the National Guard of Paris alone—a formidable force, not so much from its courage or discipline, as from its moral influence, and the grave doubts which existed as to whether, under any circumstances, the regular troops could be brought to act against it.

52. Such was the state of France, socially and politically, at this period. The peasants in the country, forming two-thirds of the entire inhabitants of the realm, were ground down by the weight of debts and taxes, and not

practically in the enjoyment of a third of the fruits of their labour; the bourgeois in towns, though prosperous so far as material interests went, were generally discontented, and yielding without resistance to the declamations of the Liberal press, which aimed by their means at subverting the Government; the urban working classes were impoverished by excessive competition, and seeking refuge from their sufferings in the dreams of the Socialists; the National Guard had lost all the feelings of honour belonging to soldiers, and was rapidly turning into an armed body of janissaries, capable of controlling or overturning the throne. The finances of the nation were in extreme disorder; and Government, to give the idle and discontented bread, was obliged to add every year several millions sterling to the floating debt of the State, to be expended on public works, from which no immediate return could be expected. The press had become the inveterate and venomous enemy of the Government, and the majority of talent in the Chamber was ranged on the Liberal side. But, on the other hand, the country, generally speaking, was tranquil; external peace was preserved; the army was splendid and numerous, and had proved itself on every occasion faithful to its duty; and those formidable conspiracies which, for long after the Revolution of July, had disturbed the State, had come to an end. A large majority in the constituencies was inclined to support the existing order of things, and they secured not only a working, but a considerable majority in the Chamber, which the immense patronage at the disposal of Government enabled it to retain in willing obedience. Apparently, and so far as appearances went, everything was tranquil and prosperous; but many deep-rooted seeds of evil existed in the bosom of the State, only the more dangerous that Government, relying on the fidelity of the army, and the strength of its majority in the legislature, was ignorant of or disposed to ignore their existence.

## CHAPTER LIX.

WARS OF THE FRENCH IN ALGERIA, FROM THE REVOLT UNDER ABD-EL-KADER  
IN 1840 TO THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN 1848.

1. THE northern part of Africa, in which the French have now formed a lasting settlement under the name of ALGERIA, is divided by nature into three separate districts or zones, which, beginning with the blue waters of the Mediterranean Sea, stretch southward till they are lost in the Great Desert. The first of these is the level country known by the name of the Tel, probably derived from the Latin word *Tellus*; the finest part of which, the Metidja, extends over about 1,500,000 acres of arable land lying between the sea and the first slopes of the Little Atlas range. The soil there is of incomparable fertility, peculiarly adapted for the raising of wheat crops. It was from its rich fields that the Romans drew the vast quantities of grain which for so long formed the staple supply of the empire, and at length overwhelmed Italian agriculture by foreign competition. From this rich and level plain extends to the south a series of eminences, which gradually rise in elevation until they come to the pastoral region, and reach the rugged ridges of the Great Atlas. This uneven surface, watered by the plentiful rains which are precipitated from the clouds that strike against its rocky peaks, is almost entirely devoted to pasturage. Vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep feed on the immense plateaux, at the height of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet above the level of the Tel, and the produce of which is exchanged for the grain which ripens on the sunny fields in the plain beneath. This region is called the *Sahara*; though that word is in common European parlance applied to the desert, which lies still farther to the south, and extends, with the interrup-

tion of a few oases, to the banks of the Niger, eight hundred leagues from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The latter immense region consists of plains of level sand, and varied only by green and wooded spots, where water is to be found, in which the palm raises its graceful summit above the umbrageous thickets which form the resort of lions and other beasts of prey.

2. The portion of this vast territory which forms, properly speaking, the French province, is about 250 leagues in length, with a mean depth of 40 leagues, and is divided from one extremity to the other by the chain of the Little Atlas—the superior region, or Sahara, lying between the Great Atlas and the Little, and the inferior or maritime between the latter and the sea-coast. The communication between these two regions is formed entirely by three or four dark ravines between overhanging rocks, by which the waters of the first district find their way to the ocean. From the Little Atlas stretch out several lesser ridges like lateral ribs, which divide the intermediate plains on either side, and form so many separate detached valleys, the inhabitants of which are nearly shut out from communication with each other. The whole maritime zone, when the mountains of the Little Atlas approach the Mediterranean, is composed of narrow valleys, the waters of which run towards the sea, and which, ranged side by side, resemble the stalls of a stable. The valleys of the superior region are more extensive than in the lower, by reason of the streams which, kept back by the barrier of the Little Atlas, have formed vast basins; these have in process of time become drained, by the

rocks which retained them having given way under the constant action of the water. Each of these valleys forms a little world within itself, having scarcely any communication with the adjoining one; and to get the command of two lying contiguous, it is necessary to establish a force on the ridges which separate them. From the sea-coast to twenty leagues inland the country forms the Tel or arable district, and it presents an extent of about 40,000,000 English acres, a surface equal to two-thirds of the whole of England, and second to no part of the world in natural riches and fertility.

3. It follows from this peculiar conformation of the country, that the power which holds the Tel must always be in a great measure the ruler of the pasture or desert tracts beyond it. The inhabitants of these inland regions depend on it for their daily bread, the strongest bond which can unite man to man; the dwellers in the Tel only depend on those in the Sahara for wool, cattle, and fruits, which, however agreeable or useful, are not essential to human existence. Hence the tribes of the desert have a proverb: "He is our lord who is lord of our mother, and our mother is the Tel." Nearly all the Sahara tribes, in consequence, pay an annual visit to that fertile region. During winter and spring they in general find water and vegetation in the desert; and they roam about from place to place in search of pasture and streams for themselves and their flocks. But towards the end of spring, when the wells begin to fail and the herbage withers, they are obliged to resort to the towns which, from the long-established influence of this necessity, have sprung up in the oases of the desert. They arrive in them with their horses and camels laden with wool, dates, and stuffs, which they exchange for such articles of rude clothing as they may require. From thence they move northward to the Tel, where they appear in harvest time in the beginning of summer, and pitch their tents, and remain till the approach of winter reminds them that

they will again find water and grass in their native wilds. Thither, accordingly, they return, laden with corn for their winter food, and some small articles of luxury or comfort which they have earned by their labours in getting in the harvest. In the middle of October they in general reach their sequestered homes, and gather in the dates from the palm-groves which are then ripe. Before the winter storms have set in they migrate still farther into the desert, where they roam about from well to well, from grove to grove, till the heat of the ascending sun again parches the earth, and sends them back to their great parent, the level fields of the Tel.

4. Unlike what is generally supposed of the African deserts, the varieties of heat and cold experienced in the Sahara and the Atlas are very great. This circumstance augments in a fearful degree the difficulty of carrying on war in the country. The soldiers must be proof alike against the burning heat of the tropics and the severity of the arctic zone. In the higher regions of the Sahara and the Atlas it almost constantly rains, while in the valleys and the desert the rays of the sun descend with a ceaseless and intolerable ardour. The soldiers who in July and August have been toiling under a cloudless sky, with the thermometer at 92° in the shade at night, are called on in December to bivouac on the snow under a cold of 20° Fahrenheit, which often continues for weeks together.

5. The name of *Kabyles* is given indiscriminately to all the mountain tribes of Algeria in every direction. But in the military annals of France this appellation is applied chiefly to the inhabitants of a mass of mountains forming part of the Atlas, lying to the west of the province where the hills come down to the sea. Great part of it can scarcely be approached, at least by an army, except by sea; and the Romans, to secure their hold of the country, accordingly constructed some spacious harbours in the magnificent bays which are sheltered by the rocky ranges which project into the ocean.

The inhabitants of this mountain-range are poor, hardy, and industrious; living in peace in their native villages in the uplands, and for the most part maintained by the labours of agriculture. If attacked, however, by a foreign enemy, none can defend themselves with more resolution; and as they are all armed, and perfectly acquainted with the means of improving the advantages which the inaccessible nature of their country has afforded them, there is none whom it is more difficult to overcome, or whom it cost more to the Romans in ancient and the French in modern times to reduce to subjection. The courage and perseverance with which these mountaineers often defend their native land is worthy of the highest admiration, and would enlist our warmest sympathies in their behalf, were it not disfigured, as is the case with most savage nations, by frightful habits of cruelty, which lead them always to massacre their prisoners, sometimes even to burn them alive.

6. The European population of Algeria consisted in 1846 of 110,000, of whom no less than 68,734 were in the province of Algiers immediately around the capital. The native inhabitants, of whom an enumeration has been made, were 1,983,000—in all, nearly 2,100,000.\* But to these must be added the migratory tribes of Arabs, of whom no enumeration was practicable, who were loosely estimated by Marshal Bugeaud at 1,000,000 more. These tribes are eminently warlike, and can on an emergency bring 200,000 fighting men into the field; some of them admirable horsemen, mounted on swift and hardy steeds; in part hardy mountaineers, skilled in defending their fastnesses, and in the use of their long matchlocks. Whatever advantages the French may have derived from this colony, riches cannot be considered among the number. In 1840 the revenue from it was only 5,600,000 francs; and even in 1846,

after sixteen years of conquest, it was only 24,773,000 francs (£964,000). Like other Asiatic tribes, the Arabs in this part of Africa are extremely simple in their habits, without artificial wants, and content with the rudest fare; but they are nevertheless passionately desirous of gold, which, when gained, they bury in the earth, or invest in arms or costly ornaments for their persons. This habit may in some degree account for the heavy expenses of the colony, which has proved a serious drain on the French treasury ever since their arms first obtained a footing in the country. Between the years 1830 and 1846 the colony had swallowed up no less than 1,000,000,000 francs of French treasure, over and above the scanty revenue extracted from it. The annual expenses of the establishment, including the immense military forces required to keep it in subjection, are not less than 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000).\*

7. Unlike the Transatlantic and Australian colonies of Great Britain, Algeria has never proved a successful field for emigrants. This is no doubt in part owing to the vicinity of the Arab tribes, whose natural condition is now, as it has been from the earliest times, a state of ceaseless warfare with the peaceful and comparatively rich indwellers in the plains. But it is in some degree also owing to the extreme poverty and inefficient habits of the emigrants themselves who have attempted to settle in the country, and to the neglect or inability of the Government to give a title to the lands assigned to them. So powerful has been the operation of these causes, that in the years 1845 and 1846 the total number of emigrants, French and foreigners, who settled in the colony, was only 1172 and 1882 respec-

\* REVENUE OF ALGERIA FROM 1840 TO 1846.

Years.	Francs.
1840, . . . . .	5,610,707
1841, . . . . .	8,859,190
1842, . . . . .	11,608,478
1843, . . . . .	15,964,425
1844, . . . . .	17,695,996
1845, . . . . .	20,425,423
1846, . . . . .	24,773,625

\* By the census in 1861 the population was 2,806,378 natives and 192,746 Europeans—in all, 2,999,124.—*Almanach de Gotha* for 1864, p. 547.

—*Stat. de l'Algérie*, 1845-46, 350.

tively, although every possible encouragement had been given to them by the grant of free passages across the sea, and otherwise. The consequence is, that labour is extremely high in the colony; and though the waste lands are assigned by the Government for a mere trifle, yet, as two or three years' toil are in general necessary before any return is obtained, it is long before the colonist can reap any fruit from his soil. The condition of the settler is in general miserable in the extreme. Perched upon arid spots, distant from water, the poor tenants lie panting under the rays of the sun or the blast of the sirocco, and seeking in vain the promised land, which tempted them to leave their distant and oft-regretted homes. Cultivation, in consequence, proceeds very slowly, even in the richest spots: and the agricultural produce of the Metidja is greatly less than when the standards of Charles X. first approached its sunny plains.

8. It may readily be conceived that when such, at first at least, is the condition of most of the new settlers in the colony, its exports and imports cannot present a very flattering return. Such as they are, they are chiefly owing to the expenditure of the Government on the supplies required for the large body of troops permanently stationed on the African shore. The imports in 1845 were 99,360,000 francs, and the exports only 10,491,000—a state of things which sufficiently demonstrates the great poverty and want of industry in the country, and that it was the consumption of the army which alone kept alive commerce. The troops in Algeria, since 1840, had risen from 50,000 to 100,000 men, and the European inhabitants from 25,000 to 99,000; and it is their expenditure, drawn from the salaries they receive from the Government, rather than their own industry, which occasions the immense disproportion between the imports and exports of the colony. The entire imports from 1831 to 1845 were 634,000,000 francs, and the exports during the same period only 65,854,000 francs.\*

\* In 1861 the exports of the colony were

9. But although not as yet abounding in the wealth which in the British colonies has attended the effects of laborious and persevering industry, there never was a colonial establishment so well calculated to draw forth what both the Government and the nation still more desired, the military prowess of the army. In this respect Algiers has been of inestimable importance to France; and in the severe training which its ceaseless wars have given to the generals and soldiers engaged, is to be found the main causes of the recent resurrection and present formidable state of its military power. The interior of the country was by no means conquered with the reduction of Algiers. For about twenty years after, the Arab tribes and indigenous Africans in the mountains, the plains, and the deserts, maintained a desperate and persevering war with the invaders, as their ancestors had done with the Roman legions. Abd-el-Kader proved as formidable an enemy to the French as Jugurtha had done to the ancient masters of the world. Like them, the modern invaders were compelled to cut roads through mountains and forests, to penetrate deserts, to throw bridges over torrents; and so identical is the art of war in all ages, and such perfect masters were the ancients in all its parts, that the French engineers, in general, had only to follow the still remaining highways with which the Romans had penetrated, eighteen hundred years before, the wilds of nature. The bivouac of the soldiers of Louis Philippe was often spread out within the precincts of a camp of the legions; their fortified posts were almost always constructed on the site of a Roman fort, and often with the very stones which had been cut and laid down by the hands of the legionary soldiers.

10. In this prolonged and desperate warfare the talents and energy of all ranks of the army were constantly taxed to the very uttermost. Summer and winter they were in presence of the enemy; alike in heat and cold

(commerce générale) 63,300,000 francs, and the imports 137,800,000 francs. — *Almanach de Gotha* for 1864, p. 561.

they were required to make expeditions, to be prepared to repel assaults. In the heat of spring, or under the ardent rays of the dogdays, they were called on to force their way up steep ascents, through rocks and thickets, swarming with expert marksmen, or over waterless deserts, where the enemy, constantly in sight, was nevertheless rarely accessible, except when numbers or advantage of ground gave them a decided superiority. In winter, the garrisons left in the forts to keep up the communications were isolated for months together amidst ice and snow, and often compelled to depend for their subsistence upon a *razzia* or predatory sweep among the herds of an enemy, ever as vigilant in repelling an attack as skilful in effecting a surprise or deluding their opponents into an ambuscade. The very providing the troops in such a warfare with supplies was often a matter of extreme difficulty; the conveyance of them with the columns required great previous preparation, and no small amount of experience and energy on the part of the commissariat. To provide for themselves, and trust to no one else; to construct their huts, cook their victuals, carry their food, mend their garments, and look after their effects, was a matter of necessity to the common soldiers, and soon became a habit. To handle large bodies of men in a mountainous country, and concentrate attacks at the same moment, by many different columns which had to cross ridges, traverse torrents, and penetrate forests in their advance, was the task frequently imposed upon the officers. No military man need be told what a school such a warfare is for training an army; and if any doubt could exist on the subject, it would be removed by the perfection in which the best qualities both of officers and soldiers have been exhibited by the troops brought from Algiers to the Crimean war. In the campaigns to be narrated in this chapter will appear many names which have since become as household words over all the world; and they appear at first with a faint radiance, an uncertain light, gradually expand-

ing in brightness, as the stars which on the approach of night become visible, one by one, in the azure firmament, till with the increasing surrounding gloom they shine forth with a clear and imperishable lustre.

11. CHANGARNIER, by the common consent alike of his friends and his enemies, is to be placed at the head of this bright band. Though political causes have kept him in retirement since the accession of Louis Napoleon, and he took no part in the war in the Crimea, he has already done enough in those of Algeria, and in the streets of Paris, to earn for himself an imperishable renown. Grave and taciturn, like Napoleon in early life, in his ordinary demeanour, his thoughts were constantly on his military duties, and his ambition fixed on military distinction. No one revolved more anxiously in his mind the chances of an enterprise before it was attempted; no one, when he deemed it practicable, carried it into execution with more vigour or celerity. Such was the confidence which his constant success inspired in the soldiers, that it was a common saying among the men, when he was put in command of a *razzia*, "We already smell the sheep"—a saying repeated by them in subsequent years in the streets of Paris, to the great astonishment of the Parisians, who did not know to what it alluded, when employed to charge a body of insurgents. When a dangerous expedition was in contemplation, the general commanding in chief sent for Changarnier, who, after maturely considering the chances for and against success, delivered his opinion without reserve to his commander. If it was in favour of the attempt, he received the command, and seldom failed to return adorned with the laurels of victory.

12. Like Hannibal, Cæsar, and all great commanders, he was extremely attentive to the provisioning of his troops, and also to giving them, whenever it was practicable, an adequate amount of repose. He was careful also to avoid imposing on them unnecessary fatigue. His practice was, the moment a company arrived on its ground, to

pile the arms, lay off the knapsacks, and then every one ran to get water, cut wood, or cook victuals, as circumstances might require. His maxim was, "To eat well and sleep well, are the two most important things in war. Sancho Panza was right when he said, 'The man does not make the belly, but the belly the man.'" "Couscous" was the name of his favourite charger, a little Arab, active and indefatigable, which seemed inspired as with a demon when the musketry began to rattle. The soldiers said, "There is then one devil mounted on another." On a line of march he was always at the head of his men, alone, silent and contemplative, generally walking beside his horse, which followed him like a dog, to show the men he did not shrink from sharing their fatigues. But if an alarm was given, or an attack was to be made, he was instantly at the front giving his orders amidst a shower of balls, as if he were on a peaceful parade. On one occasion he was wounded on the shoulder while giving his orders; he dismounted, sat down under an olive-tree, and the surgeon arrived. His first words to him were, "Be quick, I pray, with your arrangements, for the affair is going on, and I have orders to give." The surgeon examined the wound, and his countenance revealed his apprehensions—he thought the bone was broken. Having, however, sounded it, a smile came over his features, and he said, with a joyful voice, "My General, it is nothing; the bone is not touched; in two months you will be able to sit on horseback."—"Rather sooner, I hope," replied the General, with a smile; and no sooner was the wound dressed than he mounted his horse, and resumed his orders with his usual *sang froid* and energy. His genius for war, like that of Napoleon, was marked from the very first; and he only required a larger theatre to have rivalled in renown, as he assuredly did in talent, the greatest warriors whose deeds have illustrated French history.

13. CAVAIGNAC did not by any means possess the military talents of Changarnier; but nevertheless he has left a name which will never be for-

gotten in French story, for with it is indissolubly connected the terrible strife in Paris in June 1848, and the final overthrow of the Revolution of the Barricades. His character was singularly calculated for the discharge of that necessary but painful duty; for, without possessing the inventive genius for war which is closely allied to that for mathematics, he had all the resolution, patience, and energy which are so essential to the success of its enterprises. Absolute in command, slow in comprehension, energetic in action, concealing the laborious process of thought under a grave exterior, he was esteemed by all, feared by many, loved by few. Wrapped in thought, and ruminating his designs in the recesses of his own mind, he lived solitary and secluded even in the midst of a numerous staff, and rarely sought the counsel of others in forming his designs. Like most men of this temperament, he was of a proud and unbending character, disdained to solicit either employment or promotion, and accepted the command awarded to him as his right, not as a matter of favour or distinction conferred upon him by his Sovereign.

14. Originally a sincere Republican, like so many men of that party he found himself, when in high command, called on to restrain its excesses, which he did with a vigour and decision never exceeded. Hence he immediately became the object of the most impassioned invective to his former supporters, and hence his character has been variously drawn by writers of different parties, and even by those of the same party at different times. His early training took place, and his character was developed, in the wars of Algeria—the severe school in which all the military talent of Young France has recently been trained. No one was better acquainted with the necessities of that extraordinary warfare, or prepared more cautiously beforehand the means of insuring it success. His orders to the captains of companies, when setting out on a nocturnal *razzia*,\* were a model for all those in-

\* His orders were:—"Silence absolu tou-



trusted with similar enterprises. He was appointed to considerable commands from his known character for firmness and resolution in an early period of the war, when the French dominion, literally speaking, extended only over the ground which their military posts occupied; and its subsequent extension was not a little owing to the resolution, vigour, and perseverance with which he discharged the duties intrusted to him. In January 1841 he was made governor of a heap of ruins, dignified with the name of the town of Medeah. Being asked how far his command extended, "Load a gun," said he, "with a full charge, and fire." When the piece was discharged, and the ball had struck the earth, he said, pointing to the dust which it had thrown up, "There is the limit of our possession;" and such, in truth, at that period, was very nearly the situation of the whole French settlements in Algeria.

15. CANROBERT has attained a more enviable celebrity than Cavaignac; for, bred like him in the wars of Algeria, he was afterwards called to the chief command in the Crimea, in a period of anxiety and danger of the army, and his chief deeds were against the Russians, not his own countrymen. Without the military genius of Changarnier, or the indomitable moral resolution of Cavaignac, he was a distinguished general, and in elevation of soul and magnanimity of character he was superior to either. His presence of mind, and coolness in danger, like those of Ney, never were surpassed; and it was a common observation, that the precision and rapidity of his orders increased with the danger in which he was placed, and were never so great as when the enemy's balls were falling around him. On one occasion his presence of mind appeared in the most striking manner, and ex-

tricated the corps which he commanded from the most serious peril. In 1848 he was commanded, with his regiment of Zouaves, to take part in the siege of Naatcha. The cholera had broken out in his ranks during the march, and had already made fearful ravages. The beasts of burden with the corps were overcharged with the sick and the dying; and it was of the utmost moment to avoid an engagement, for there was no possibility of carrying on the wounded. At this critical moment, while passing a narrow defile, a nomad corps appeared prepared to dispute the passage. He immediately made his dispositions for the combat, and advancing alone with his interpreter in front of his column, he called out aloud: "You know I bring the plague with me; if you do not allow me to pass with my men, I will throw it along with ourselves on you." The Arabs, who had followed his track for some days by the new-made graves which lined it, were seized with terror, and allowed him to pass without molestation. Character, when thus decidedly marked, rarely changes. The same magnanimous spirit appeared on a greater theatre, when he offered the command of the allied army to Lord Raglan, in the most critical period of the siege of Sebastopol.

16. MARSHAL BUGEAUD, though advanced in years when he was intrusted with the command in Algeria, was second to none in the essential qualities of a great general. He possessed in the very highest degree one which is alike the distinctive mark of military genius and the sure herald of military success—the confidence and affection of his soldiers. In their familiar language they called him "Father Bugeaud;" and it was no wonder they did so, for never did parent evince more solicitude for his children than he did for them. Easy of access, communicative in conversation, familiar without abasement, he felt himself among his men as in a large family, and he was beloved accordingly. These affectionate dispositions were increased by the respect

jours et de toute manière. Etouffer la toux dans les plis du turban. Pas de pipes. Si on reçoit des coups de fusil pendant la marche, redoubler de silence, ne pas riposter, doubler le pas. Faire des prisonniers avant tout. Ne tuer qu'à la dernière extrémité. Après les prisonniers, s'occuper du troupeau."—CASTELLANE, p. 86.

which all felt for his coolness and decision when the moment of danger arrived. Then all eyes were turned to their beloved chief, and the rapidity and *coup-d'œil* with which his orders were given, justified the confidence of the soldiers, and seldom failed to prove the salvation of all. His talents were peculiarly conspicuous in the strategic arrangement of a campaign, and the converging directions of many different columns coming from different quarters to the decisive point. In the administrative department, and the civil government of the country, he shone equally conspicuous, and it was mainly owing to his abilities that the obstinate resistance of Abd-el-Kader and the Arab tribes was overcome, and the French power established in a solid manner in their hard-won conquest. He worthily earned his Marshal's baton on the fields of Algeria, and was, in the last extremity, called to defend his Sovereign's throne in the Revolution of 1848. He did not prove unworthy of the choice; for had his counsels been followed, and his arm left unfettered, beyond all question the insurrection would have been subdued, and the Orléans family might have been still seated on the throne of France.

17. Differing from Marshal Bugeaud in several essential qualities, GENERAL DE LAMORICIÈRE was yet in every way worthy of the high consideration which he enjoyed in the army. Unlike many of his brother officers, he was of good family and aristocratic connections; but this circumstance only increased his influence with his men, as is always the case, even with the most republican, when real merit is discovered in one of superior birth. His activity and energy were unbounded; his headquarters resembled rather a busy counting-house than the abode of a military chief. His indefatigable activity communicated itself to every department, but scarcely any could keep pace with the powers of endurance in the General. After having worn out all his secretaries, he often retired for the night to his chamber, and appeared in the morning with a

memoir on some intricate question, or a despatch which he had composed and written with his own hand when the rest were buried in slumber. His enterprises in general proved successful; and in carrying them into execution he availed himself, with the happiest results, of the insight which he had obtained into the Arab character.\* Though his mind was essentially contemplative, and he often turned by predilection from military pursuits to questions of political economy or philosophy, yet no one was more energetic when the moment of action arrived, or exhibited more coolness and decision in giving his orders in circumstances of difficulty or danger.

18. If General de Lamoricière was not favoured by fortune in obtaining a greater theatre of action, the same cannot be said of his rival in glory, GENERAL BOSQUET. Called to the brightest destinies, his character proved

\* On one occasion, an Arab having been taken prisoner, and brought before him, the following characteristic dialogue took place:—

“‘Je te connais,’ lui dit le prisonnier au bout d’un instant. ‘Te rappelles-tu que c’est moi qui t’ai remis une lettre un soir du Général?’

“‘Oui,’ répondit le Général; ‘alors donne-moi des renseignements sur les bataillons.’

“‘Sur Dieu, jamais; je serai muet.’

“‘Fais attention: je vais faire appeler les chiaus; le bâton frappera.’

“‘Frappe; je serai muet.’

“‘Non, je ne vais pas m’y prendre ainsi avec cet homme,’ dit-il à ses officiers. ‘Bentzman, allez chercher un sac de mille francs et versez-en la moitié sur la table.’ Au bruit des pièces d’argent, les yeux de l’Arabe commencèrent à s’ouvrir.

“‘Tu le vois,’ dit le Général; ‘elles appartiennent à toi si tu me mènes où sont tes bataillons.’

“‘Les gens sont-ils prêts? partons,’ dit l’Arabe.

“‘Ce n’est pas tout,’ et il fit signe de verser le reste du sac; ‘il me faut ta tribu.’

“‘Je suis prêt, je te conduirai,’ dit l’Arabe, qui ne quittait pas l’argent du regard; ‘partons.’

“‘Si tu es prêt, je ne le suis pas encore; mais demain si tu me fais rencontrer tes bataillons, la moitié de cet argent sera à toi.’

“‘Le lendemain la colonne surprenait les bataillons de l’Emir; et depuis, cet homme fit faire un grand nombre de *razzias* au Général; mais aussi le succès de ces entreprises était rendu plus facile par l’habileté de nos soldats.”—CASTELLANE, pp. 286, 287.

equal to them. An iron will, a brilliant courage, a thirst for glory, were in him united to a solid judgment, a discriminating intellect, and an extraordinary power of rapid decision in the most trying circumstances. Beloved by those who approached him, from the simplicity of his manners and the kindliness of his disposition, he was yet regarded by all with the respect which never fails to environ those who, it is foreseen, are destined for great achievements. No one could converse with him without feeling that he was born for command; that he was one of the men capable of saving from danger, when all had come to despair of fortune. Like the youth in Tacitus, he loved danger itself, not the reward of courage; like Nelson, he never calculated odds when duty called. Fortune was not wanting to these great endowments; his subsequent career justified these expectations, for it presented a theatre for the display of these qualities. His name will never be forgotten in British story; for he commanded the noble band of Zouaves who rushed to the rescue when the English Guards were dying at their post on the ridge of Inkermann.

19. MARSHAL ST ARNAUD was not so fortunate as General Bosquet; he did not reap a harvest of glory, for he was called away when the sickle was just put in. He had not the military capacity which characterised Changarnier, or the daring spirit which burned in Bosquet; but nevertheless he was an eminent man, and well worthy of a place in the gallery of contemporary portraits. His mind was essentially heroic: he had that thirst for glory which invariably characterises elevated characters, and is of all qualities the most inconceivable to the majority of men. His abilities for war shone forth with peculiar lustre in the Algeria campaign; for he was cautious in design and yet rapid in execution, and possessed that talent for combination which was of so much importance in a country so difficult of access, and when the troops required to converge from so many

distant points to achieve decisive success. His disposition was affectionate, his heart warm: these qualities appear in every page of his correspondence, one of the most charming works which military literature has ever produced. In it we see, as in Collingwood's letters, the deeply interesting combination of military ardour and pursuits with the amenities and affections of private life. It was St Arnaud's wish that he might die in the hour of victory, after having planted the French standards on the ramparts of Sebastopol; and if not exactly fulfilled, it was so in substance. For his enthusiastic spirit, when on the verge of death from a long and painful malady, enabled him to bear the long-protracted fatigues of the fight at the Alma, and among the last sounds which reached his ears were the enthusiastic cheers of the allied troops when the fiercely-disputed heights were won.

20. If St Arnaud exhibited the interesting combination of warlike ardour with domestic love, very different was the character of his successor, who, like him trained in the wars of Algeria, but more fortunate in the next contest, gave the finishing-stroke to the immortal siege of Sebastopol by the capture of the Malakoff. Stern, unrelenting, and determined, PELISSIER had all the qualities required to bring a sanguinary and long-protracted contest to a successful termination. Such was his determination that the prospect of the most terrific slaughter could not deter him from attempting what he deemed essential to success, or following it up, when once begun, with the perseverance which so often in war, as in civil life, commands it. When, in the attack of the Cemetery on the right of the Bastion du Mât at Sebastopol, immediately after he succeeded to the command, the French, after a desperate conflict, were driven at night out of the work they had won, he gave orders that every regiment in the army should be led to the assault till it was finally secured; and he was as good as his word. Nor did he hesitate himself to share the

perils to which he exposed his troops, for he fed the assault on the Malakoff, on September 8, 1855, with an incessant stream of stormers, till ten thousand men had fallen within its walls, and then he himself fixed his headquarters there for the night amidst the perpetual risk of a mine being sprung, determined to preserve his conquest or perish. It was the same in Algeria: he succeeded in subduing the country by a determined prosecution of his designs, regardless, like Napoleon, of the cost of human life at which it was purchased. And if humanity shudders at some of his sanguinary deeds,—and the destruction of a whole tribe, including women and children, by smoking them to death in a cave, is pointed to as one of the most terrible acts recorded in the annals of the world,—history, in justice, must recount the provocation he had received, and the atrocities perpetrated by the Arabs on such Frenchmen as fell into their hands. In figure Pellissier was diminutive and corpulent, like a respectable well-doing *bourgeois* rather than a hero, and he shone rather in action than conversation.

21. In the African wars which drew forth the talents and confirmed the character of this cluster of illustrious men, there also arose a body of soldiers who, both in the campaign in Algeria and in the contest in the Crimea, have acquired the very highest renown. The name of the ZOUAVES will never be forgotten as long as the story of the siege of Sebastopol endures, and it will take its place beside those of Troy and Jerusalem. They were originally intended to be regiments composed of Frenchmen who had settled in Algeria, or their descendants; but the intermixture of foreigners in their ranks ere long became so considerable, that when they were transported to the shores of the Crimea, though the majority were French, they were rather an aggregate of the *Dare-devils* of all nations. In their ranks at Sebastopol were some that held Oxford degrees, many those of Göttingen and Paris, crowds who had been ruined at the gaming-table, not a few who had fled from justice, or

sought escape from the consequences of an amorous adventure. Yet had this motley crowd, composed of the most daring and reckless of all nations, become, in the rude school of the wars in Algeria, an incomparable body of soldiers, second to none in the world in every military duty, perhaps superior to any in the vehemence and rush of an assault. Without the disciplined steadiness of the British infantry, who have so often perished like the Spartans at Thermopylæ rather than abandon their post, they were superior to them in the vigour and impetuosity of a sudden attack. So little was it deemed possible that they could ever fail in such an operation, that when they were formed for the storm of Naatcha, in the Algerine wars, their commander said to them, “Recollect, Zouaves, if the retreat is sounded, *it is not for you.*” They amply justified this high character on the fields of the Alma and Inkermann, and at the assaults of Sebastopol. Ever leading the column of stormers, they rushed forward in a tumultuous swarm, which at first, from its irregularity, excited the apprehensions of the British officers who witnessed it; but this feeling was soon changed into one of unmixed admiration when they beheld how gallantly they mounted the breach, with what vigour they forced themselves into the embrasures, what desperate hand-to-hand encounters they maintained when they got into the interior, and the difficult task of holding it against the assaults of the Muscovites had commenced.

22. The colony of Algiers had hitherto been garrisoned only by an insufficient body of troops, and in consequence it had never acquired the consistency or security necessary to render it a flourishing settlement. Extending from Bona on the east to Cherchell on the west, both of which were on the sea-coast, it did not reach more than thirty leagues to the southward into the interior. Constantine, Milianah, Medeah, Huenza, and Setif, formed its original frontier line of strongholds intended to overawe the Arab tribes in the mountains; but since Milianah and

Medeah had been ceded to Abd-el-Kader by the treaty of La Tafna, this line of defence had been entirely broken through, and the enemy was encamped as it were in the middle of the French territories. After the general insurrection of the Arabs under that indefatigable chief in 1835, already narrated,\* great advantage had been taken by him of this commanding central position, and he gained the advantage in several detached encounters, while a French brig sailing from Oran to Algiers was attacked and plundered by the Kabyles near Cherchell. To avenge this affront an expedition of 12,000 men was sent from Algiers, in March following, and made itself master of that town with very little difficulty. But this success was of little avail as long as Milianah and Medeah remained in the hands of Abd-el-Kader. Sensible of the importance of these strongholds, which, being both situated in the mountains, were difficult of access, the Arab chief had made of the first the centre of his military operations, from whence his predatory bands could ravage the whole of the Metidja, and even threaten Algiers itself. Marshal Vallée, who at this period commanded the French armies in Algeria, perceiving the advantage which the enemy derived from this position, resolved to wrest it from him; and with this view a grand expeditionary force, consisting of 10,000 men, was collected in Algiers, and broke up for the south on the 25th April 1840. To give additional éclat to the expedition, the Duke of Orléans and the Duke d'Angoulême received commands in the army, and set out with the troops.

23. They were not long in reaching the enemy. On the 27th the Marshal crossed the Etriffa, and soon fell in with a body of 1200 Arab horse, with whom he had a serious encounter. The following days were spent in continual skirmishing with these redoubtable cavaliers, who retired as the main body of the enemy advanced. To operate a diversion, Abd-el-Kader directed a serious attack with 7000

men on the French garrison left in Cherchell; but his efforts were defeated by the obstinate resistance of General Cavaignac, who commanded the place. Meanwhile Marshal Vallée advanced towards the Atlas, the passes of which were occupied by the Arab chief with 11,000 men, which he required to cross before reaching Medeah. The principal one, and that alone practicable for artillery, was the Col de Mouzaia, on the northern slope of which Marshal Clausel, in 1836, had made a road passable by wheeled carriages. The summit of the pass, however, had been strongly occupied by Abd-el-Kader, and strengthened by fieldworks, abattis, and trenches, manned by the Kabyles, second to no troops in the world in the defence of mountain-passes, and the skilful use of the musket. Notwithstanding the strength of the position, the Marshal had sufficient confidence in the courage of his troops to hazard the attempt to carry it by a front attack. He intrusted this perilous enterprise to the Duke of Orléans, whose corps was formed into three divisions. The first, under General Duvivier, was intrusted with the attack on the intrenchments on the French left; the second, under Lamoricière, was to scale the peak on the right, which commanded the whole position, and having carried it, assault the Arab works in the centre in rear; the third, commanded by General d'Houdetot, was destined, during the confusion produced by these flank attacks, to force the intrenchments which barred the great road in the centre. The Arabs and Kabyles made a vigorous defence at all points; and Duvivier's division, when it had forced the summit against which it was directed, found itself enveloped in clouds, which made them uncertain where to go, and caused a temporary halt. But Lamoricière's division, headed by the Zouaves, by a splendid charge carried the peak on the right; his guns were ere long heard above the clouds, and soon a loud cheer announced that the summit of Mouzaia was in the hands of the assailants.

\* *Ante*, chap. xxxviii. § 7.

Upon hearing this joyful sound the Duke of Orléans pushed on the columns in the centre; a terrible fire of grape on its flank tore the ranks and caused a temporary disorder; but when the French guns came up, they speedily silenced those of the enemy, and the pass was won. Panic-struck after this desperate fight, the Arabs fled on all sides, and the French standards were planted on the summits of the Little Atlas. From thence they advanced down the southern slope of the mountains, and on the 17th occupied Medeah, which was evacuated by the enemy.

24. Marshal Vallée, having left a garrison of 2400 men in this town to secure his important conquest, returned by the Col de Mouzaia to the northern side of the mountains. But here the difficulties of the French situation in Algiers became painfully apparent. The pass was found as strongly occupied as before by the Arabs, who had closed up in the rear; and the indefatigable Abd-el-Kader was at their head, prepared to dispute the passage back. It was only by a fierce attack that the pass was again forced, and the troops defiled through and reached Blidah. Thence Marshal Vallée again set out in the beginning of June with an immense convoy of ammunition and provisions, directing his steps, in the first instance, over the mountains to Milianah, which he proposed to occupy permanently with a garrison of 2000 men, and thence convey a sufficient store of food to Medeah to enable its garrison to hold out during the winter. Milianah, situated on the slope of a mountain which overlooks the vast meadows through which the Cheliff meanders, is the ancient *Maniana* of the Romans, and contains the ruins of several stately edifices which attest its former splendour. It was now, however, only a wretched village in the midst of the remains of ancient magnificence; but its position, like that of all others chosen by the Romans, rendered it a military post of the highest importance. Abd-el-Kader at first seemed disposed to defend it, but on

the approach of the French columns he set fire to the town and withdrew to the mountains. Marshal Vallée left a strong garrison of 3000 men, amply provided, to hold the post, and pursued his route by the valley of the Cheliff towards Medeah, with a view to victualling that fortress. To reach it it was necessary to cross a branch of the Col de Mouzaia a third time from west to east. The Arab chief was anticipated by the rapidity of the Zouaves in the occupation of the pass; but he had his revenge by a skilful manœuvre which he adopted, and which brought the French within a hairbreadth of destruction.

25. Advancing parallel to the French columns, and in perfect silence, shrouded by a ridge of rocks, the Arabs reached the summit of the pass unperceived at the same time as their opponents; and as the rearguard was descending the slope towards Medeah, a sudden volley from an invisible enemy stretched great numbers on the earth. Instantly the Arabs, leaping from their places of concealment, armed each with a yataghan, a poniard, and two pistols, threw themselves on the French when reeling under the discharge, and destroyed great numbers. But the Zouaves and the Chasseurs de Vincennes, in number 800, were there. Quickly rallying, they commenced a fierce resistance; the bayonet was crossed with the scimitar; the swords parried the yataghans, and, after a fierce conflict, in which the Arabs with desperate gallantry returned four times to the charge, the French were finally victorious. They had to lament the loss, however, of 120 killed and 300 wounded, above half of the heroic band thus furiously engaged. The corps, nevertheless, pursued its way with the convoy, and reached Medeah in safety, which was amply provisioned, and left under the orders of Duvivier for the winter, as was Milianah under those of Changarnier. But during these successes, the Metidja was left without any adequate protection, and the Arabs, taking advantage of its defenceless state, burst into the province, and carried

fire and sword up to the very gates of Algiers. Such was the terror in that city, that 400 military convicts within its walls were hastily armed for its defence, and by an express order, no inhabitant was allowed to go beyond Hussein-Dey, which was only a league from the gates. Of all the French conquests in this brilliant campaign, there remained only at its close the towns of Cherchell, Medeah, and Milianah, each beleaguered by the enemy, and not commanding a foot of ground beyond the range of its guns—a melancholy result for a campaign begun with forces so considerable, and illustrated by so many deeds of glory.

26. The undecided issue of this campaign suggested to the Cabinet of M. Guizot the necessity of appointing a more energetic officer to the command than Marshal Vallée. The truth was, however, that the secret of this want of decisive success was not to be found in any deficiency of military vigour or capacity in the troops employed, but in the force being inadequate to the task of subduing the numerous and warlike tribes which held the interior of the country. Sensible of this, the French Cabinet increased the national troops in the colony to 60,000, and placed the whole under the command of Marshal Bugeaud, whose character promised at once to gain external success and secure the attachment of his soldiers. He resolved to carry the war into the centre of the enemy's power, and pursue Abd-el-Kader at all points, without one moment of repose. The Arab chief, on his side, changed his tactics, and, instead of concentrating his forces as he had done in the preceding campaign, separated them so as to keep a sort of guard over every part of the country, and at the same time avoid the risk of any considerable body being defeated. He transported the theatre of war from the neighbourhood of Algiers to Tlemsen and the western provinces of Algeria, where they were strongly reinforced by the Kabyles who inhabited the mountains in the vicinity of Oran and the borders of the empire of Morocco. Medeah and

Milianah, however, were still kept in a state of close blockade; and as their garrisons were beginning to suffer under want of provisions, the first care of the commander was to direct convoys, escorted by a large military force, to their relief. The first of these places was relieved without any serious opposition; but a strenuous resistance was expected at the second.

27. The expeditionary force of 10,000 men set out from Blidah on the 27th April, and advanced to the relief of Milianah, which was now hard pressed by a large force under Abd-el-Kader in person. Taught by former disasters, the Arab chief made no attempt to prevent the revictualing of the place; and the French marshal having attacked him a few days after the entry, he was worsted in a general encounter, which was only prevented from being converted into a total rout by an imprudent charge which the Duke de Nemours made in the centre. This caused the enemy to retire before the turning of their flank by the 17th light infantry, intended to cut off their retreat, had taken effect. Marshal Bugeaud was extremely disconcerted by this untoward event, concerning which he expressed himself in no measured terms, the more so as the presence of the princes at headquarters, with their large retinue and immense mass of baggage, seriously incommoded the troops. Having revictualled Medeah and Milianah, Bugeaud transferred his headquarters to the town of Mostaganem, on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the Cheliff, which was made the base of operations against the western tribes of Algeria, where the principal adherents of Abd-el-Kader were now to be found. The army advanced inland from the left bank of the Cheliff without experiencing any serious resistance, and the important town of Mascara was abandoned without striking a blow. The French general stationed a corps of 2000 men in that town to overawe the western tribes in the vicinity of Oran. Encouraged by these appearances, he sent letters to Abd-el-Kader, inviting him to surren-

der, and representing the ruin which the continuance of the war was bringing on the country. But the Arab chief replied: "The submission of the Arabs will be represented by a horse without a tail; such an animal is unknown in our mountains; when our mares have produced one, we will send him to you. The injury which your army does to the fertile Africa, in the furrows which it painfully traces in her bosom, is less than is experienced by the ocean when the swallow plunges in its bosom to seize a fish."

28. Dividing his army into five columns, Bugeaud pressed the Arab chief on all sides: in the glowing language of the French annalist, he found an iron circle wherever he turned. While he himself invaded the tribes which dwelt between Mascara and the left bank of the Cheliff with 12,000 men, General Lamoricière in the west advanced between Mascara, Oran, and Tlemsen; General Baraguay d'Hilliers manœuvred on the right bank of that river, between it and the sea-coast; while General Negrier acted on the offensive in the extreme east, in the provinces of Constantine and Setif. Thus the Arabs were attacked in five places at once; the war assumed a unity of design by which it had never before been characterised; and Abd-el-Kader, in spite of all his activity and resources, proved unable to withstand the reiterated attacks of so many different corps in different places at the same time. That commanded by Bugeaud in person, setting out from Mostaganem on the 13th September, was for fifty-three days in constant activity, in the course of which several severe cavalry actions took place with the Arab horse, in which the superiority of European discipline and courage was uniformly asserted. The results of this active campaign were, in the end, very great. Tribe after tribe sent in their submission, or were driven off into the desert: the Medgeers first abandoned the cause of the Emir, and united their forces to those of the French; their example was soon followed by six lesser tribes, who also followed the tricolor standards.

Strengthened by these alliances, Bugeaud at length led his forces against the Hachems, a powerful tribe in the west, and the principal source of the Emir's strength. They were driven from their homes to seek refuge in the desert: upon this success the whole other tribes in the west, with the exception of the Garabas, sent in their submission, and on the 28th December, in a vast plain in front of Tlemsen, swore allegiance to a new sultan, Mohammed-ben-Abdallah, who the same day concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France.

29. Amidst this wreck of his fortunes, the indomitable Arab chief still maintained, with mournful resolution, the standard of independence. When no longer able to keep the field against the increasing forces of the enemy, he shut himself up in Tlemsen, declaring his determination to defend that stronghold to the last extremity. Thither, however, he was followed by the indefatigable Bugeaud, who broke up from Oran on the 26th January 1842, in the depth of winter, to drive the enemy from that last position. Abd-el-Kader evacuated the town on his approach, taking with him a large part of the inhabitants, with whom he retired towards the frontier of Morocco. Though joined by a few faithful adherents in his retreat, others more numerous fell off from his standards, so that he reached the banks of the Tafna, the frontier stream of Morocco, with only 258 horsemen. Thither he was followed by the French movable columns, who spent several days in searching for the Emir, and being unsuccessful, they advanced to Tefrona, which had been erected into a strong fort by Abd-el-Kader, and formed his principal depot of arms and military stores. This last place of refuge was taken and destroyed, while the Emir sought refuge in the solitude of the desert, and all the tribes in the vicinity laid down their arms. At the same time, General Lamoricière pursued to the last extremity some remains of the tribe of the Hachems, which still on the frontier of the desert maintained the cause of independ-



ence, and forced them too to seek refuge in its solitudes. The power of Abd-el-Kader seemed, by this long and active campaign, to be finally broken; he had been driven into the wilderness beyond the utmost limits of the French territory, and the tribes which had constituted his strength were now for the most part ranged under the French standards against him. To secure these important advantages, Marshal Bugeaud stationed General Lamoricière, with 6000 men, in Mascara, while General Bedeau, with 5000, was placed in Tlemsen.

30. To all appearance the power of Abd-el-Kader was now destroyed, and the French dominion firmly established in the north of Africa. This flattering illusion was confirmed by the conduct of the chief of the Arab tribes on the frontier of Morocco and the desert, who, like all Asiatics, bowed, for the time at least, to superior strength, and ranged themselves on the side of victory. But meanwhile the Emir was not idle. At the head of a few faithful followers, he went from chief to chief, from tribe to tribe, in the wilderness, everywhere preaching a holy war, and calling on all true believers to join in a general crusade for the extermination of the infidels. In the remote situation, simple habits, and limited knowledge of these secluded tribes, he discovered resources which he never could have found on the frontiers of civilisation. The horsemen of the desert had never met the French troops; they were ignorant of European arms and discipline, and took the field at the eloquent words of the Emir, as their ancestors had done at the voice of Mahomet. The French marshal had just sent a steamboat to Tangiers to remonstrate against the shelter afforded to Abd-el-Kader in the Morocco territories, when suddenly the unconquerable chief appeared at the head of 6000 horsemen in the vicinity of Tlemsen, and commenced pillaging the tribes which had entered into amicable relations with the French Government. A vigorous sortie by General Bedeau repelled them from

that vicinity, but the Emir withdrew to the desert with his forces undiminished, and laden with booty. Encouraged by the success of this enterprise, numbers of Arabs joined his standard, and the whole French frontier was soon in a state of alarm from Cherchell to Milianah. A long and fatiguing campaign followed, consisting chiefly of cavalry actions, in which, though success was various, yet the advantage was generally on the side of the French. At length, however, an occasion presented itself, in which the Duke d'Aumale struck a blow which affected the Emir in the most sensitive quarter, and powerfully influenced the imaginative and excitable minds of the Arabs.

31. In the middle of May 1843, Abd-el-Kader, pressed by General Lamoricière with the forces brought from Tlemsen, and two other columns which had issued from Medeah and Mascara, was skilfully extricating himself from their pursuit, and making for the mountains of Djebel-Amour, when accident brought him into the vicinity of the Duke d'Aumale, who was coming from Boghar with 500 horse to join in the pursuit. Informed of the place where his redoubtable adversary was encamped for the night, the Duke, without waiting for his infantry coming up, set off with the utmost expedition to make the attack. Favoured by darkness, the surprise was complete. The Arabs were ten to one, but they were overwhelmed by the sudden charge of the chasseurs and spahis. The Emir had scarcely time to mount on horseback and make his escape with a few followers. His mother and chief wife got off with the utmost difficulty, but the remainder of his harem, the wives and daughters of his principal lieutenants, with his whole camels and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy, whose loss was very trifling. After this disaster Abd-el-Kader fled into the deserts to the south-west of Tlemsen, where he hoped to effect a junction with one of the most able of his officers, Sidi-Embareck, who brought to his standard from the eastern province 700 men,

the remains of the former garrisons of Medeah and Milianah. Before the junction could be made, however, Sidi-Embareck was attacked and routed by Colonel Tempoure, himself slain, and his followers entirely dispersed. Upon this the entire clans on the frontiers of the desert made their submission, and for the first time since the French invasion of the country, tranquillity reigned in the whole provinces of Algeria, from Algiers to Boghar, and from Constantine to Tlemsen. In acknowledgment of these glorious services, General Bugeaud was made a Marshal of France, and Louis Philippe began to make arrangements for the establishment of the Duke d'Aumale as viceroy in his newly-acquired transmarine possessions.

32. Though driven, however, in this manner out of his own country, Abdel-Kader found in his individual firmness and inexhaustible mental resources the means of still maintaining the contest. Retired into the distant wilds of the empire of Morocco, where the wandering tribes dwelt on the frontiers of the great desert, he exerted his powers of eloquence, which were very great, in rousing the Mohammedans against the Christians—no difficult task at any time, but especially easy at this, owing to the serious encroachments which the followers of Jesus were now making in so many quarters on the domains of Islamism. His efforts, accordingly, were attended with considerable success; and in the spring of 1844 he found some thousand brave fanatics again assembled round his standards in these distant solitudes. At the same time he surrounded the Emperor of Morocco with emissaries who represented in the strongest terms the necessity of all true believers uniting in defence of the Prophet, and the imminent danger of Islamism being rooted out of Africa if all its powers did not unite in defence of the faith. The Emperor was not insensible to these representations, but he was inspired with not less apprehension of the Emir than of the enemies of Islamism, and viewed with secret satisfaction the desperate war which these

two enemies, alike formidable to him, were waging with each other. It might have been long, therefore, before he yielded to the Emir's representations, had it not been for an incident which united them together in cordial alliance against the French.

33. There had for long been a difference between Louis Philippe and the Emperor of Morocco on the subject of the frontier line of their respective dominions—the one contending for the line of the Tafna river, the other for a considerable territory on its western bank. The dispute, however, had not assumed a very serious aspect till the French began to build a fort at Lalla-Maghrnia, on the left bank of the river. "You see," wrote the Emir to the Emperor, "what I predicted is about to be realised. I have always warned you that your compliance would encourage the infidels to make encroachments on your territories, and now you see they are building a tower on your frontier, in order to acquire an entire command over you." At this news the court of the Emperor was thrown into the most violent commotion. On all sides were heard imprecations against the infidels—declamations on the necessity of checking their insolence. Religious fervour, ever so powerful an agent in the Eastern world, shook the whole population. Nothing was heard over the whole empire but the din of preparations for war; and the Government, so far from checking these feelings, gave them the most open encouragement. At a great review held at Mogador, the governor of the town thus addressed the troops: "The infidels are coming; you must prepare to combat them, for you are superior to them, and God is above all."

34. Hostilities began on the part of the Emperor of Morocco sooner than was expected by the French. Without any previous declaration of war, his troops assembled on the disputed frontier in such numbers as obliged General Lamoricière, who commanded in that quarter, to concentrate his men in order to avoid a surprise. On the 30th May a body of 2000 Morocco

horsemen, with their standards flying, appeared on the banks of the Mouillah river, and advanced two leagues in battle array into what the French claimed as their territory. General Lamoricière was not the man to decline the combat thus offered. Accordingly, without a word being spoken, or a message exchanged on either side, he advanced to meet them, having General Bedeau with the Zouaves on the right, and Colonel Roguet with the chasseurs and two battalions of foot on his left. The fire became extremely warm as the two hostile bodies approached each other, and the Moors sustained the discharges of the French with a firmness which could hardly have been expected from Africans who were now for the first time brought into collision with European troops. They even made a considerable movement in advance, with a chosen body of horse, between the column on the French right and a ridge of rocks which bordered their position on that side. Lamoricière purposely made no resistance to the advance of that column, and, when it was fully abreast of the French line, suddenly charged it in flank with two squadrons of chasseurs. This movement was decisive. Violently assailed on a side where they did not expect an attack, the black horse were divided in two, the advanced portion cut to pieces, that in the rear dispersed and driven headlong back towards Ouchda. The whole Morocco troops now took to flight, and were pursued by the French with great slaughter to the banks of the Mouillah.

35. This flagrant violation of the French territory unquestionably was equivalent to a formal declaration of war, and amply justified the immediate commencement of hostilities. But the French Government, anxious not to bring another enemy on their hands, when Abd-el-Kader was still unsubdued, and possibly desirous not to add to the chances of embarrassment with England, already in some degree irritated by the Otaheite affair, by extending their conquests in the direction of Gibraltar, affected to consider

the invasion of the French territory as a mere unauthorised act on the part of the Morocco generals. They accordingly directed Marshal Bugeaud to request a conference with the Morocco chief, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation. The proposal was readily acceded to by the Emperor, and the conference took place on the 15th June, in a place mutually fixed on, three-quarters of a league from the French camp at Lalla-Maghrnia. General Bedeau attended it on the part of the French; El Guennaoui on that of the African government. Lamoricière, with two battalions and a squadron, lay at a little distance, and Marshal Bugeaud, with the remainder of the army, was still farther back in the direction of Tlemesen. The Emperor of Morocco himself, with 30,000 men, was at no great distance on the other side.

36. In the conference which ensued, El Guennaoui showed himself very accommodating in everything which concerned the Emir, whom he promised to expel from the Morocco territories, and prohibit from entering them again. But matters assumed a very different aspect when they came to discuss the frontier on the La Tafna river. On this point the Arab insisted on that river being the boundary, to which Bedeau positively refused to accede. "It is, then, war which you wish?" replied Bedeau: "well, you shall have it." "God will direct the issue," replied Guennaoui. "And men also," rejoined Bedeau; and with these words they separated. While this was going on, the Arab followers of the Morocco chief's guard of regulars, to the number of several thousands, came pressing round the place of conference; several shots were fired into the air, and some of the most forward even shook their arms in the French general's face. The Morocco chief in vain ordered these irregular hordes to withdraw; they refused to obey; the regular guard alone complied with the injunction. The circumstances were critical, closely resembling those which preceded the murder of Sir W. Macnaghten in Af-

ghanistan five years before.\* Bedeau, however, preserved a good countenance, and withdrew slowly, at a foot pace, until he reached Lamoricière's men. General Lamoricière and he were of opinion that the insult offered was not sufficiently grave to warrant the commencement of hostilities; but Marshal Bugeaud was of an opposite opinion, and gave orders for the troops to make preparations for an immediate attack. He did so accordingly, and with such success that the Morocco troops were entirely routed, and driven off the field with the loss of 400 men left dead on the spot.

37. No sooner did the French Government obtain intelligence of this second insult, than they gave orders to commence immediate hostilities by sea and land. The Prince de Joinville received instructions to proceed from Toulon, with three sail of the line and four frigates, and cruise along the African coast. Mr Drummond Hay, the British consul at Tangiers, did all in his power to avert hostilities; and Sir Robert Wilson, the Governor of Gibraltar, sent several messengers to Fez to endeavour to effect an accommodation. Meanwhile Marshal Bugeaud broke up from his camp, and, advancing into the Morocco territory, occupied Ouchda without resistance, and Abd-el-Kader having withdrawn to the mountains, the Marshal retired into the French territory, leaving a garrison in that place. The efforts of Sir Robert Wilson at length brought about a convention with the Prince de Joinville; his fleet stood out to sea, and the danger appeared to be averted. But meanwhile Admiral Owen, with the English squadron, who was ignorant of the convention concluded by Sir Robert Wilson, approached Tangiers, upon hearing of which the Prince de Joinville returned to that town, and made dispositions for an immediate attack. On learning, however, that Admiral Owen had approached only for the purpose of observation, he again withdrew. The negotiations between Marshal Bugeaud and the Emperor of Morocco having again failed, he ap-

proached Tangiers a second time, and no answer having been returned within the time accorded by the French Government to their ultimatum proposed to that of Morocco, he made preparations for a bombardment.

38. Tangiers is an old town situated on the sea-coast, built on a series of heights lying in a semicircle, descending from a considerable elevation to the water's edge. It is surrounded on all sides by a high wall, on which, towards the sea, eighty heavy guns were mounted on bastions, constructed partly after the European fashion, and in some places furnished with two tiers of embrasures. The more elevated of these batteries were placed on two hills about a hundred and fifty feet in height, the others were on the water's edge. Seeing matters growing so serious, the Emperor informed Mr Hay, as the Prince de Joinville was standing in towards the harbour, that he had accepted the ultimatum of the French Government. But meanwhile a steamboat came into the bay with despatches from the Cabinet of Paris, which enjoined, that if the ultimatum was not accepted, the attack should immediately commence. Fortified by this authority, the Prince, disregarding the communication made by Mr Drummond Hay, as to the acceptance of the ultimatum by the Morocco Government, or deeming it unsatisfactory, gave orders for an immediate attack. Accordingly, at daybreak on the morning of the 6th August, the three line-of-battle ships, the Suffren, Jemappes, and Triton, and the Belle-Poule frigate, were towed into the bay by the war-steamers, the *Veloce*, *Platon*, *Gasendi*, *Pharo*, *Rubis*, and *Var*. Admiral Owen, with three sail of the line, was in the bay as a spectator, as well as a Spanish squadron and an American frigate. The French took up their ground steadily, the *Suffren*, which bore the flag of the Prince de Joinville, being nearest to the batteries, and within four cable-lengths of them. The instructions of the Prince were to destroy the exterior fortifications, but to spare the town. This was soon accomplished. As at Algiers and Acre,

\* *Ante*, chap. xlviii. § 49.

the Mohammedans allowed the enemy to take the positions assigned to them without firing a shot; the fire commenced on the part of the French at half-past eight, and was immediately answered by the discharge of ninety guns, for the most part of very heavy calibre, from the batteries. But the Moors, not expecting the French vessels to come so near, had levelled too high, and great part of their shot went above the masts. The contest was soon found to be unequal, and at the end of an hour their fire was silenced, and the batteries in ruins. This success was gained with the loss of only three killed and sixteen wounded, which demonstrated how unequal the contest had been, for in the attack of Algiers in 1816, Lord Exmouth lost 816 men. This was followed by an assault upon Mogador, on the 16th of the same month, which, after a severe contest, was ruined, and the island at the mouth of the harbour carried, after a desperate resistance, by the French sailors and marines.

39. These gallant and decisive actions sufficiently demonstrated that the Moorish batteries were no match for the European broadsides, and that the days were far gone when the pirates of Tangiers swept the Mediterranean in search of Christian slaves. But it was not by maritime victories that the empire of Morocco, a power essentially inland and military, was to be overcome; the real blows were to be struck by Marshal Bugeaud with the land forces. They were not long, however, of being delivered. The Emperor's son had at length taken the command of the army, and it was daily swelled by the accession of large bodies of savage warriors from the interior, who advanced as to certain victory under the standard of the Prophet, to exterminate the infidels. Fresh reinforcements, consisting chiefly of infantry from the hill tribes, were daily expected, which were to assail the French on the side of the mountains, on which their left flank rested; while the numerous squadrons of the Moorish horse enveloped their right, which was in the plain. In a few days, the enemy's

forces would be raised to 40,000 men, while the French had no corresponding addition to their numbers to look for. In these circumstances, the general-in-chief wisely judged that he had everything to fear and nothing to hope from any farther delay, and he resolved upon an immediate attack—a determination which diffused universal enthusiasm in the army. Yet was the resolution, though prudent in the circumstances, a bold and venturous one; for the French forces in front of Lalla-Maghnia were only 8500 regular infantry, 1500 regular and 2100 irregular horse, while the Moors had 25,000 cavalry and 10,000 foot-soldiers around their banners.

40. Having taken his resolution, Marshal Bugeaud made every disposition which skill and prudence could suggest to insure success. To guard against the sudden irruption of the Moorish horse, the danger which was most to be apprehended, the whole army was drawn up in the form of a large square, composed of as many lesser squares as there were battalions. The *ambulances*, or carriages for the wounded, the baggage, the beasts of burden, were placed in the centre, in which also were the cavalry, arranged in two columns, one on each side of the convoy. The artillery was placed at the four sides at the openings between the battalions, which were 120 paces broad. This was the order prescribed for the combat; in approaching it, the arrangement was somewhat different. The advance was made by one of the angles led by the column of direction, on each side of which the other battalions followed in echelon, each keeping their square formation, on the right and left. The whole army, when in march, was thus formed in a great rectangle, composed of columns, advancing at half distance of battalions, ready at a moment's warning to fall back into the great square. Immediately behind the leading battalion were two other battalions in close column, not forming part of the square, but at the head of the convoy, and composing a reserve intended to act according as their services might

be required. In this rectangular order the whole army set out at three in the afternoon of the 13th August; at night the foragers, who had been sent out on all sides of the column, returned to their respective corps, which halted still in the order of march, in silence, and without lights. After resting three hours, the whole broke up at midnight, and advanced straight, in the same order, towards the river ISLY, on the other side of which the enemy were encamped.

41. The Isly, at the point where the passage was to be effected, was divided into two branches, both of which required to be crossed before the enemy's camp was reached. The first was got over before the enemy were aware of their approach—a fortunate circumstance, as the passage would have been very hazardous if made in presence of their numerous and fiery squadrons. The alarm had reached their camp, however, before the second crossing was effected, and when the leading columns of the French reached the heights which overhung its left bank, they beheld the enemy's camp stretching as far as the eye could reach on the right bank, and the opposite shore crowded with hostile squadrons prepared to dispute the passage. There was not a moment to lose, for their numbers were every minute increasing; and on an eminence in their centre was to be seen a dense group of horsemen, which marked the spot where the Emperor's son, with the imperial banners displayed, had taken his station. The battalion of direction immediately was turned towards that eminence, with orders, when it was reached, to move to the right, still holding the summit of the eminence by the left face of the great square. Hardly were these orders given, when the rattle of musketry was heard in the front, arising from the leading files of the French tirailleurs, which were beginning to cross the river by three fords, and had become engaged with the Moors. They pressed on, though assailed by a warm fire from the enemy's light troops, and ere long reached the foot of the hill on which the Emperor's son was placed. Judg-

ing from the crowd there that some person of eminence was on the spot, the Marshal directed the fire of four field-pieces on the group, and, from the confusion which soon prevailed in it, evidently with fatal effect. Encouraged by this circumstance, the French tirailleurs, closely followed by the squares, still in the oblong order of march, steadily advanced up the slope, driving the enemy's light troops before them.

42. At this moment enormous masses of the Moorish cavalry, hitherto screened by the high grounds on either side, suddenly made their appearance on the summit of the crest on the right and left, and with loud cries charged the French squares. The latter had need of all their firmness, for the moment was terrible, and a heavy fire was at the same time opened upon them by the musketeers, who showed themselves between the Moorish squadrons. But not a sign of disorder appeared, not a square was broken. With admirable coolness, the tirailleurs outside the columns on their flanks retired before the advance, firing as rapidly as they could, and when the horsemen were close upon them, they lay down to give room for the squares behind to open their fire. The Moors recoiled before the terrible discharge of grape and musketry which immediately succeeded; the French continued their advance, and the height was won. Immediately the prescribed change of direction took place; the great square moved upon the camp, and by its advance separated in two the immense mass of the Moorish cavalry. At this moment the French horse, under Colonel Tartas, issued from the square, and dashed in a headlong charge into the enemy's camp, which was obstinately defended, but at length taken, with the whole tents and baggage which it contained. A serious danger, however, awaited the victorious cavalry in the moment of their triumph. A body of ten thousand Moorish horsemen, placed in reserve in the rear of the camp, suddenly assailed them when disordered by success, and scattered over the surface among the tents. But

Colonel Morris, at the head of the *chasseurs-à-cheval*, three hundred in number, charged the Moors with such vigour, in a compact mass, that they in their turn were broken, and driven off the field. The whole French army then advanced against a confused mass of infantry and cavalry, which was striving to rally in the rear; it was speedily put to the rout, and the whole took to flight. The victory of the French was complete: the Moors lost 800 killed, and double that number wounded, besides eleven guns and their whole tents and ammunition; while the French were only weakened by 29 killed and 96 wounded.

43. These repeated disasters, and more especially the last bloody defeat, convinced the Moorish Government that the star of Islamism was not now in the ascendant, and that the only wisdom was to come as soon as possible to an accommodation. The Cabinet of the Tuileries had equally cogent reasons for wishing to restore peace to Africa, for its relations with Great Britain at that period stood on the most precarious footing, owing to the Otaheite dispute; and the recent increase of the strength of Admiral Owen's squadron to six sail of the line at Gibraltar, revealed the imminent danger in which their Algerine possessions would be placed, if, when engaged with a formidable enemy on the African shores, their communications with home were to be cut off by the superior fleets of Great Britain. Influenced by this pressing consideration, they agreed to terms with the Government of Morocco, more favourable than the latter could have expected after such a series of disasters. These were, that the extraordinary Moorish armaments on the frontiers in the neighbourhood of Ouchda should be dissolved, the officers who directed the attack on the French on 30th May punished, Abd-el-Kader outlawed and banished from the Morocco territory, and the frontier between the two states settled on the footing on which it stood before the rupture, when the province of Algeria was in the hands of the Turks. On these terms the treaty was

concluded, and Abd-el-Kader withdrew into the desert. The Prince de Joinville, who was the plenipotentiary on the part of France, was very indignant that the Moors were not obliged to pay the expenses of the war. But the opinion of Marshal Bugeaud prevailed. "Why stipulate for a payment of money? It would never be paid, and another war would be the consequence of their failure to do so." The Opposition journals in Paris were also loud in their condemnation of the treaty for the same reason, and openly asserted that it was to propitiate England that terms so discreditable were agreed to; but a happy expression in the *Journal des Débats* in some degree appeased their indignation—"France is rich enough to pay for its glory."

44. After this treaty, the Duke d'Aumale, who had distinguished himself in the war, was made Governor of Algeria, and Abd-el-Kader withdrew beyond the limits alike of the French and the Morocco possessions into the desert. The campaign was commenced in the following year by a grand expedition of Marshal Bugeaud into the Greater Kabylie, which, after a great deal of hard fighting in the defiles of the mountains, defended by thirty thousand mountaineers, terminated in the submission, for the time at least, of the hardy tribes which inhabited it, and the capture of the important post of Azrou, which it was hoped would overawe them in future. Meanwhile, however, Abd-el-Kader was not idle; he had again collected a considerable army, but his hostility was now directed against the Emperor of Morocco, whom he accused of having shamefully deserted his cause and that of the Prophet, by having concluded a treaty with the French. He obtained at first considerable success in this new warfare; but the Emperor having collected considerable forces, and the French frontier being carefully guarded, the Emir ere long found himself reduced to considerable straits, and his troops, as usual with Asiatics in such circumstances, began to desert him. In the hope of reinstating his sinking for-

tunes, he adopted the gallant resolution of making a nocturnal attack (Dec. 18) on the Marocco camp, which, in the first instance, was attended with entire success. But when day dawned, and the small number of the assailants became visible, the Moors returned to the charge, and the Emir was constrained to make a precipitate retreat. The Marocco columns pursued him with vigour, and he was soon driven up against the French frontier. Finding farther retreat impossible, he made a desperate attempt, at the head of a few followers, to break through the Marocco lines on the banks of the La Malonia river; but he was driven back with great slaughter. Upon this he made straight for the French frontier, which he crossed, and on the morning of the 22d December two officers appeared at the headquarters of General Lamoricière, saying that Abd-el-Kader wished to tender his submission, which was immediately accepted.

45. Next morning the famous chief made his appearance at the French outposts, when he was received by Colonel Montauban at the head of 400 horse, by whom he was conducted to Generals Lamoricière and Cavaignac, to whom he stated it as a condition of his submission, that he was to be permitted to retire to Alexandria or St Jean d'Acre. Afraid he might escape and renew the war if this condition was not acceded to, the two Generals at once agreed to this, and the Emir was conducted to Nemours, where he was introduced to the Duke d'Aumale, the new Governor-General of the province. Before entering, he put off his sandals at the doorway, stood up till the Prince made a sign to him to sit down, and he then said, "I could have wished to have done earlier what I have done to-day, but I awaited the hour appointed by God. The General (Lamoricière) has given me a promise to which I commit myself. I have no fear of its being violated by the son of a great King like that of the French." With these words he tendered to the Prince a beautiful horse, the Arab symbol of submission. The Duke at once ratified the promise made

by his lieutenant, but it was immediately violated in a dishonourable manner. Instead of being conducted to Alexandria or St Jean d'Acre in terms of his capitulation, he was embarked on the day following, with his wives, children, and servants, on board a frigate, which forthwith made sail for Toulon, from whence he was taken to a castle in the interior of France, where he was kept with his attendants in strict confinement! It is unnecessary to say anything as to this dishonourable breach of faith towards a noble and fallen enemy. It excited the indignation of every generous mind in Europe, many of whom, especially the late Marquess of Londonderry, whose chivalrous disposition led him warmly to sympathise with the fate of the African hero, made the most strenuous efforts in his behalf; and at length, under a new government, the stain was washed out from Christendom by his liberation, in terms of the capitulation, by the orders of Louis Napoleon.

46. But how much soever the glory which the French arms acquired in the wars of Algeria may have been dimmed by the unworthy act which signalled their conclusion, the submission of Abd-el-Kader was not the less decisive in terminating the contest on the African shores. All regular or national resistance to the French dominion was thereafter at an end. The Mussulmans received the blow as the stroke of Fate, to which it behoved them to submit as the decree of Providence. The submission of the Kabyles and other mountain tribes, however, was more nominal than real, and they were not finally subdued till 1857, when their entire subjugation was effected by General Macmahon, at the head of the veterans who had followed him to the assault of the Malakoff. But these hostilities, like those so long maintained by the Romans with the mountain tribes in the Rhetian Alps, or by the Russians with the Circassians in the defiles of the Caucasus in modern times, were not proper wars, but the struggles of indomitable mountaineers to maintain their independence, trusting to the strength of their mountains and the



tenacity of their character. They were generally unsuccessful, and of a local description, not interfering with the general administration of the province.

47. The province of Algeria, thus won after eighteen years of almost incessant fighting, and at length brought into entire subjection only by an army of 95,000 men, constantly fed by reinforcements from France, was now a region of vast extent, abounding in valuable resources of many different kinds, and in part at least of extraordinary and surpassing fertility. The Libya of the ancients, it was for centuries the granary of the Roman Empire, and even at the time when it was devastated by the arms of Genseric and his Vandals, contained twenty millions of inhabitants. At present it did not contain of all nations and religions a sixth part of that number. It was divided into three provinces, that of Oran on the west, of Algiers in the centre, and of Constantine on the east; and its entire length, from Nemours on the west to a little beyond Bona on the east, was two hundred and fifty leagues. Its mean breadth was about forty leagues, but in that space was embraced nearly the whole country which was available for human sustenance between the ocean and the great desert. This vast region was checkered by every variety of country, from the level plain to the arid peak, and it was clothed with magnificent forests, exhibiting the richness of tropical vegetation. In the sunny vales, watered by the numerous streams which descend from the summits of the Atlas, tropical plants of every description are

to be found in abundance, wheat grows in magnificent crops on the plains, and the climate brings to maturity sugar, coffee, and cotton, and all the choicest productions of warm climates.

48. Although so largely gifted by nature, and bringing to maturity the plants both of the temperate and the torrid zones, this magnificent province, after a quarter of a century's occupation by the French, during the last half of which the largest part of it has enjoyed unbroken tranquillity, has by no means increased in resources and industry to the extent which might have been expected. The exports of the province, which in 1845 were, as already noticed, about 10,000,000 francs, had only increased in 1854 to 42,170,000 francs; the imports of 100,000,000 francs had receded to 81,234,447 francs. The European inhabitants, which at the former period were 94,820, in the latter had increased to 155,607. The army of occupation was, before the Crimean war, still 75,000 strong; the entire native inhabitants 2,056,298 souls.\* These figures are very remarkable, especially when contrasted with the vast industrial productions of the same country in ancient times, and the rapid growth, during the same period, of the colonial possessions of Great Britain, and particularly of the Cape, situated at the other extremity of the same continent, and, like it, exposed to the incursions of savage tribes, whose devastating hostility could be averted only by a powerful military organisation. Algeria is a valuable conquest to France, and it has proved of immense service to that country by affording a field for the exertion of its

\* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, EUROPEAN POPULATION, AND FRENCH ARMY IN ALGERIA, FROM 1850 TO 1855.

Years.	Exports.	Imports.	European Inhabitants.	Army.
	Francs.	Francs.		
1850	9,800,000	88,317,000	125,963	95,321
1851	19,792,791	66,950,000	131,283	91,417
1852	21,554,519	65,592,041	132,900	72,950
1853	30,782,592	72,788,015	134,075	74,649
1854	42,176,068	81,234,447	143,387	65,882
1855	49,320,029	105,452,027	155,135	66,789

warlike qualities, and a school for the training of its officers and soldiers in the whole duties of their profession. But it is not a colony in the proper sense of the word; it is a great colonial conquest. The genius of France has in every age been for territorial extension and military glory, not industrial pursuits or pacific colonisation. There seems little chance of its changing the direction of the national bent in the present, or rendering Algeria, in a commercial point of view, a valuable acquisition.

49. In this respect the British colonial empire in India affords a much closer parallel to the French acquisitions in Algeria; for it too is not a colony, but a great colonial conquest. Yet here, also, the contrast is equally striking, and eminently descriptive of the opposite general character of the two nations. In India, the British had never in any year before the great revolt of the sepoys in 1857, more than 50,000 English troops of all arms; and the average number for the last twenty years has not exceeded 40,000, including the European troops in the service of the East India Company. This diminutive force maintained the British dominion over 180,000,000 of natives, and contrived to discipline and retain under its banners a native auxiliary force of 250,000 soldiers, at the distance of 14,000 miles from the

British Islands. In Algeria, 100,000 French have painfully won, and with difficulty hold, the empire over little more than 2,000,000 of natives, within a few days' sail of the French shores. The industrial productions of Hindostan have increased 70 per cent since the British dominion was established over it; the agricultural produce of Algeria, after a quarter of a century of French occupation, is less than it was when the French standards first approached its shores. The imports of Algeria from France are still double the exports from it to that country, proving that the magnitude of the former is owing to the military expenditure of the colony; the exports of India to Great Britain considerably exceed the imports she takes from it, and the balance is paid in cash, the magnitude of which constitutes one of the principal monetary difficulties of the latter situation. These facts are extremely remarkable, as indicating what so many other passages in history demonstrate—how indelible is the influence of national character, how incapable it is of modification by any change in climate, institutions, or external circumstances, and how decisively it influences the destinies of different races, not only in the seats where they were originally established, but in those to which their descendants have removed.

## CHAPTER LX.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF FRANCE AND EUROPE, FROM THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS IN 1843, TO THE BREACH BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND FROM THE SPANISH MARRIAGES IN OCTOBER 1846.

1. The external policy of France underwent a great change during the eighteen years that Louis Philippe held the reins of power. Erected amidst the smoke of barricades, supported by the arms of the insurgents,

his throne was not only at home, in words at least, "surrounded by republican institutions," but his external policy evinced a sincere desire to surround his dominions with governments of a similar description.

England, from the effects of the long political struggle which terminated in the passing of the Reform Bill, was for the time actuated by similar desires, and hence the *entente cordiale* between the two nations, and the soothing of jealousies which had grown with the strife of four centuries. Each felt that the despotic powers of the north were its natural enemies, and each not only willingly leant on the other for support, but felt desirous of securing the aid of the neighbouring powers, by establishing among them institutions of a description similar to those which they themselves already enjoyed. Hence the partition of the Netherlands, and the establishment of a revolutionary throne in Belgium, and hence the quadruple alliance and change of the order of succession to the advantage of the revolutionists in Spain and Portugal. But with the progress of time these dispositions were essentially changed on both sides; and what is very remarkable, they changed in both countries from the internal strength of the party in *opposition* to the altered policy of the Government. Yet is it not difficult to see to what this apparent anomaly was owing. England, so long the leader of conservative Europe, was now foremost in fomenting troubles, and promoting organic changes in the adjoining states, because the party in possession of power was threatened by a strong Conservative opposition at home, against which it was fain to seek the support of external Liberalism. France, so long the chief of revolutionary powers, gradually became estranged from them, because its constitutional monarchy, perpetually threatened by a desperate anarchical faction in his own dominions, felt himself drawn closer to the Continental sovereigns, whose fixed policy was the overthrow of its machinations. This consideration furnishes the key to the alteration in the foreign policy of both countries, in the latter years of the reign of Louis Philippe, and explains the extraordinary fact which will soon appear, that at its close England was at the head of the revolutionary, and

the Citizen King in close alliance with the conservative powers of Europe.

2. The settled policy of the French Liberals by every possible means to discredit the Government, received a most favourable opportunity for exerting itself in the affair of Otaheite, of which a full account has been given in the history of England at this period. Great dissatisfaction had been excited by the disavowal of the French Government of the taking possession of the island by Admiral Dupetit-Thouars in name of the King of France; and the limitation of the right claimed to a protectorate only, at the request of the English Government. This was of course represented as a base concession to Great Britain, and a lasting reproach to France. Already the Liberal press was resounding with vehement declamations on the subject, when intelligence was received of the arrest of Mr Pritchard, and his removal from the island by the French authorities. This was made the subject of strong and not very considerate invective on the part of Sir R. Peel in the House of Commons. "I do not hesitate," said he, "to declare that a gross insult, accompanied with a gross indignity, has been committed. The insult was committed by a person clothed with a temporary authority in Otaheite, and, so far as we can discover, by the direction of the French Government. I trust the French Government will make the reparation which, in our opinion, England has a right to demand." The Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen expressed themselves in more measured terms, but to the same effect, in the House of Peers. The French interpreted these expressions, which were perhaps more true in themselves than prudent in Ministers of State, as a direct defiance on the part of England, and both the Chambers and the press took the matter up as a national insult, which it behoved every good Frenchman to interest himself in and revenge.

3. Fortunately, however, the Sovereigns and Ministers both of France and England at this period were sin-

cerely impressed with the importance of coming to an accommodation, and not plunging into hostilities for a rash quarrel among officers of the two countries in the islands of the Pacific. Louis Philippe's ideas on this subject were fully matured, and have been decisively proved by his confidential correspondence with the King of the Belgians, discovered in the archives of the Tuileries after the Revolution of 1848.\* Sir R. Peel and Lord Aberdeen met him fully half-way, and M. Guizot had the wisdom and magnanimity to run the risk which he was well aware, in the excited state of his countrymen's minds, necessarily attended any concession, how trifling soever, to the demands, if at all menacing, of Great Britain, rather than involve both countries in a senseless and ruinous war. He assigned, with justice and good sense, the following reasons for preserving in the mean time a prudent reserve on the subject in the Chamber. "There are here," said he, "questions of fact and of international right to discuss between the two Governments. They do not always furnish a fit subject for debate in this house. There are moments when discussion throws light on a subject, there are others when it brings in nothing but fire. It would never do for the tribunes of either house to discuss daily the diplomatic transactions of Government after the manner of the daily journals. I am so convinced

that, for the lasting interest of both Governments, it is expedient to abstain from debating this question, that I absolutely refuse to go into it. When things have followed their natural course, when the opinion and conduct of Government have been maturely determined, when the facts of the case and their mutual rights have been fully ascertained between the two countries, I shall be the first to come forward and invite a full parliamentary discussion on the subject." Thus M. Guizot gained, what is of inestimable importance in all such cases, time; and by the concession of a moderate indemnity to Mr Pritchard, the question was adjusted.

4. No words can describe the fury of the French Liberals both in the Chamber and the country, and the violence of the daily press, at this wise and judicious adjustment of a most difficult and dangerous question. One of the Radical journals gave vent to the general indignation in the following terms: "The disavowal of M. Dupetit-Thouars is a worse act than the Ordonnances of July. M. de Polignac violated our liberties; M. Guizot has sacrificed our honour. The one would enslave France, the other would dishonour it. To weaken the Revolution was the aim of the first, to weaken France is the object of the last. Of M. de Polignac, then, or M. Guizot, which is the more criminal?—he who sacrificed the Revolution at the feet of the Grand Alliance, or he who puts France at the feet of England? M. de Polignac has been punished: M. Guizot cannot be absolved. No! the scandal of such an acquittal will never be given by the Chamber to a country which has exhausted its patience, and shudders to its inmost vitals at the indignity it has received." Whether these declamatory statements were true or not, was a matter of very little consequence to the violent journals by which they were brought forward. It was enough that they, with the general highly-wrought feelings, appealed to the strongest passions of the French people, and forwarded the general plan, which was systematically

\* "Les dépêches de Guizot sur Tahiti, et ses tristes bêtises, doivent avoir été communiquées à Lord Aberdeen. Je n'ai pas de patience pour la manière dont on magnifie si souvent des bagatelles de misère en *casus belli*. Ah! malheureux que vous êtes! Si vous saviez comme moi ce que c'est que *bellum*, vous vous garderiez bien d'entendre, comme vous le faites, le triste catalogue des *casus belli*, que vous ne trouvez jamais assez nombreux pour satisfaire les passions populaires, et votre soif de popularité. Il n'y a plus d'état qui puisse faire la guerre sur ses propres ressources; et quelle que soit ma haute opinion des ressources de l'Angleterre, je ne crois pas qu'elle puisse y suffire, surtout avec la ruine générale qui ne tarderait pas à suivre, dès qu'une fois la guerre serait allumée. Ce serait le cas de dire, *The world is unkinged*."—LOUIS PHILIPPE au Roi des Belges, January 17, 1844; *Revue Retrospective*, p. 169.

acted upon, of discrediting the Government in the eyes of the country. So strongly were these ideas impressed on the nation, that the Government was very near undergoing a defeat on the question. The paragraph in the Address, approving of the concessions made to Great Britain on the Otaheite affair, was carried only by a majority of 8 in a very full House, the numbers being 213 to 205. Nine Cabinet Ministers voted in the majority, so that, deducting them, the Ministry were in a minority of one.\*

5. Strongly as these violent declamations on the Otaheite dispute spoke to the national feelings of the French, and violently as they excited the Liberal party against the Government, they yet yielded in ultimate importance to the internal schism which took place immediately after between the University and the clergy; that is, between the abettors of secular and religious education. To understand this subject it must be premised that, ever since the Revolution of 1830, the national establishment for education called the University had remained entirely detached from the superintendence or control of the Catholic clergy, and that the Jesuits had schools of their own under the control of the superior officers of their establishment. But the Government ere long discovered that this entire separation, and the bringing up so large a

portion, especially of the bourgeois class, in a state of practical separation from the Church, was too favourable to the spread of republican ideas; and attempts were made in some degree to reunite them. Encouraged by these appearances, the clergy had, under the direction of the Jesuits, ventured on several illegal acts encroaching on the rights of the University. In this they were secretly supported by the Government, which had discovered what an important element, in electoral contests, the Catholics of the rural districts had become. For this purpose M. Villemain brought forward a bill, on 2d February 1844, for the erection of certain schools under the authority of the University, but with a defined power of visitation on the part of the clergy. To this proposal the most violent resistance was made by the Liberals, headed by M. Cousin; but the measure was carried by the Government in the Peers. So violent, however, was the altercation, that it ruined the health of the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Villemain, who was obliged to retire from office, and was succeeded in the beginning of 1845 by M. Salvandy. With his accession to office the strife between the secular and religious parties was by no means terminated; and on May 2, 1845, M. Thiers made a formal motion calling on the Government to enforce the laws against the Jesuits.

\* "Souvenez-vous de l'affaire de M. Pritchard," said the French Ambassador in London to Lord John Russell in 1847. "A coup sûr, jamais nos deux Gouvernements, nos deux nations, n'ont été plus unis qu'à cette époque. L'affaire était minime en elle-même. Nous avions tort jusqu'à un certain point, et il nous était d'autant plus facile de le reconnaître que le Gouverneur de Tahiti avait donné officiellement tort à son subordonné. Nous ne demandions pas mieux que de terminer le différend comme il s'est effectivement terminé. Mais des paroles imprudemment hasardées dans le Parlement ont failli rendre tout accommodement impossible. Il ne s'en est fallu que de quatre voix que le Ministère Français ne fût renversé, et que son successeur ne fût obligé de refuser toute réparation, ce qui aurait entraîné la guerre entre les deux pays."—M. DE BROGLIE à M. Guizot, September 16, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 298, 299.

6. "The moment has now arrived," said he, "when it becomes Ministers to take a decided line on the subject, for a collision has already arisen between the secular and religious authorities. Real danger exists; it is mere weakness any longer to shut our eyes to it. This collision springs from a false idea of what liberty consists in, which many think amounts to a power to do anything. To protect the religion of the country is indeed a duty; but it is not less so to make the ministers of religion respect the laws. Is it from the laws having been executed with too much rigour against the clergy that the collision has arisen? No; it has arisen from another cause, which

is this: A religious movement had commenced, which might have been salutary if it had been conducted with discretion. But some excited minds saw in that the dawn of a new power; they hoped to find in it the means of regaining for the clergy the entire control of the education of youth. Had this been only a vision, there would have been nothing to say against it. But so far from this being the case, they proceeded to outrage one of the great institutions of the State, the University. And who did this? Was it obscure and unauthorised missionaries? No! it was done by pastors, bishops—that is to say, men who, from their position, are entitled to respect, and on whom their august rank has imposed the most serious obligations. The Council of State recognised this transgression; but what was done in consequence of it? Nothing, or rather it was approved. By acts of collective authorities, by declarations signed by the whole bishops of a province, the illegal act was supported. By these deplorable acts the collision became serious and flagrant. It is necessary to put an end to such a state of things; and there is no remedy for it but in the immediate and severe execution of the laws.

7. "If in the execution of laws which are incontestable you experience difficulties, the Chamber is ready to give you its unanimous support. We are not the men to throw difficulties in your way, in order to enjoy your embarrassment. The conduct we are pursuing at present proves that, if there are difficulties, we are willing to share them with you. There are not awaiting those who assure us that the opinions we advocate would, if carried out, obtain for us at no distant period a very great influence. But to all these representations my answer has been, that our first duty is to make the laws triumph, that should our cause suffer in some degree from the energy with which we support them, we will willingly resign ourselves to our fate. Our first wish is that the laws of the country should be executed, and that the wise and moderate

principles of the French Revolution should triumph over its enemies."

8. To this it was replied by M. Martin du Nord, the Minister of Public Worship, and M. Guizot: "We need not hesitate to admit that the Government is armed against the illegal religious associations. Not one of the laws has fallen into desuetude; but is this the time when it is necessary to bring them again into full operation? No. Collision is threatened; certain imprudences alone have been committed, and they are not such as to call for active measures. The Government is armed; it will make use of its legal rights when it becomes necessary; but a certain liberty as to the time and mode of action must be allowed it. The apprehensions expressed as to the encroachments of the Church are entirely chimerical. If Bossuet or Fénelon were to revisit the earth, would they be with the University in its strength or the Church in its weakness? At the time when these two great geniuses arose there was, as now, a schism between the bishops and the magistrates; but Bossuet the Gallican, and Fénelon the ultramontane, concurred in saying, 'Woe to the kingdom if the liberties of the Gallican Church are understood in the sense of the magistrates!' The Catholic Church is not an army encamped in the midst of France, as its adversaries suppose; it is not at war with the government of the King; the Catholic Church is not an advanced guard of an army opposed to the Government. The Catholic Church is a French and universal church, which in France is under the protection of the Government, which profits by its laws, which respects them, and gives to the whole world the example of such respect. There is no war between us and them; these words are false and deceitful which may be heard in the Chamber, but should not have their dwelling-place there."

9. Every one felt that these words of the Ministers were hypocritical; that they denied the existence of danger, because they did not venture to

admit or face it. They strangely contrasted with what was soon after said by M. de Montalembert on the part of the Catholic party, which amounted to a proud defiance and declaration of unmitigated hostility to the temporal power.\* But a great majority of the Chamber, aware of the danger, and in secret fearful of displeasing their constituents on one side or the other, avoided the difficulty by adopting the motion, "That the Chamber, relying on the Government for the execution of the laws of the State, passes to the order of the day." So powerful had the Jesuits already become, that the Government, to avoid a defeat, were fain to take advantage of the forms of the Chamber, which allowed them to shun an encounter.

10. Matters, however, had now gone so far that the difficulty could not be eluded by merely declining to recognise it; and Government were anxious, if possible, to bring so interesting and agitating a question to a final adjustment. For this purpose, a member of the Royal Council of Public Instruction, M. Rossi, was sent to Rome in the summer of 1845, to endeavour to obtain from the Pope a formal order on the Jesuits to close their establishments and leave France. The Court of Rome at first endeavoured to avoid the difficulty, by pleading their

incompetence to interfere with the internal laws of that country; but, on a powerful representation of the difficulties to which the present state of things exposed the Government of France, they at length relented, and an order was issued by the Holy See enjoining the Jesuits to submit to the laws of the State. They professed obedience, and ostentatiously closed some of their establishments; but it was in name and form only. Under the title of "Fathers of the Faith," they continued their labours as zealously as before. To adjust matters, a royal commission was issued on August 10, for the purpose of revising and reducing to one distinct code all the various statutes and ordonnances relating to the University; and by another ordonnance, soon after (7th December), the Royal Council of the University was declared to rest on the basis of the organic decree of Napoleon, 17th March 1800, which first established that celebrated body, and all subsequent decrees or ordonnances were revoked or declared to be illegal.

11. This was a great advantage to the Jesuits, for it virtually abrogated all that had subsequently been enacted against them, especially since the Revolution of 1830. As such it was strongly opposed by M. Cousin and the secular education party in the Chamber, who contended that, under pretence of re-establishing the system of general education on its original basis, the real object of the ordonnance was to subject it to Cabinet influence. "Demand arbitrary power if you will," said M. Royer-Collard, "but do not disguise your demand under a legal form." M. Odillon Barrot and the Liberals joined M. Cousin and Royer-Collard on this occasion; but the Government succeeded (Feb. 21, 1846) in obtaining an adjournment of the discussion *sine die*, the result of which was that the royal ordonnance of 7th December 1845 remained untouched. This debate between the secular and religious party thus terminated at the time, not in an overt, but a real and considerable advantage to the clergy, who not only remained

\* "Non-seulement tous les Catholiques en France, mais ce qu'on appelle le Parti-Catholique, n'est pas Jésuite, et n'a pas son général à Rome. Tout le monde, excepté les Jésuites eux-mêmes, demeurent en possession des libertés données par la Charte. Ainsi donc l'avant-garde Catholique avait dû déposer les armes; cela fait, il restait encore l'armée tout entière; il restait ces quatre-vingts évêques qui avaient réclamé l'année dernière contre le Projet de Loi sur l'enseignement des enfans, et les soixante évêques qui avaient protesté contre les envahissemens du Pouvoir temporel sur la liberté de conscience. Rien n'était fixé, rien n'était changé, il n'y avait qu'un prétexte de moins: la question de la liberté de l'enseignement, de la liberté religieuse, restait entière. Irait on à Rome demander l'approbation du Monopole Universitaire? Cela était essentiel, sinon la lutte serait longue encore. Une main sur l'Evangile, et l'autre sur la Charte, nous continuerons la lutte que nous avons engagée contre le monopole; nous vous attendrons sur ce terrain-là l'année prochaine."—*Moniteur*, May 5, 1845.

in possession of the ground they had gained, but acquired a great deal more;—a memorable example of the patient and persevering policy of the Church of Rome, and its able militia the Jesuits; and of the manner in which the influence of religion, so seriously weakened during the time it was in alliance with power, had been regained when it was entirely detached from it. A close prisoner in the Château of Ham, Prince Louis Napoleon was no unconcerned spectator of these changes; and on this observation was based his idea, afterwards so marvellously carried into execution, of basing an imperial throne and despotic power on universal suffrage and religious influence.

12. At this period, the heat having in some degree subsided on both sides, M. Guizot and Lord Aberdeen succeeded in concluding a treaty regulating the right of search for negroes crossing the Atlantic. It was arranged between the Duke de Broglie on the part of France, and Dr Lushington on that of England. The *reciprocal* right of search was no longer expressly insisted on, but it was stipulated that each of the two contracting parties was to maintain a force of twenty-six armed sailing-vessels or steamers to cruise on the western coast of Africa, from the Cape de Verde Islands to the 16° 30' of south latitude, and that these forces should act in every respect in concert, and in full possession of the powers of which the Crowns of France and England are in possession for the suppression of the slave-trade. The delicate matter of the reciprocal right of search was eluded rather than adjusted by the following clause: "Considering that, though the flag borne by the ship is *prima facie* proof of its nationality, yet that presumption cannot be considered as sufficient in every case to bar a visit for its verification, seeing that, were it otherwise, the flags of all nations might be abused by being converted into a cover for piracy, the slave-trade, or any other illicit traffic; and in order to prevent all difficulties in the execution of this convention, it is agreed that instructions founded on the law of nations,

and the constant practice of maritime powers, shall be addressed to the commanders of the French and English squadrons and stations on the coast of Africa." The treaty was to be in force for ten years from its date, which was 29th May 1845. It is evident that the difficulty was only eluded by these ambiguous words, since there was no declaration what the law of nations on the subject really was. But the jealousy of the French was appeased by there being no *express* recognition of the right of search on the face of the treaty; and the national passions having taken a different direction, the Liberals no longer made this an engine for discrediting the Government, and the treaty was ratified and carried into execution without further objection.

13. All-important as this topic of religious education was to the future interests of France and the fate of its Government, it yielded in present interest to the excitement produced at this period by the insurrection which broke out in Galicia, followed by the destruction of the little republic of Cracow, established by the treaty of Vienna in 1815, and its incorporation with the vast dominions of the House of Austria. To understand this interesting question, it must be premised that the condition of the native Poles since the last partition in 1794 had been very different in the portions allotted to the three partitioning powers. The Russians, aware that the nobles were the class in which the hostility to them was strongest, and fearful of the effects of a national revolution on the extreme frontier of their immense empire, had made the greatest efforts to ameliorate the condition of the peasants. Like the English in India, and for a similar reason, they had sought a counterpoise to the enmity of the aristocracy in the attachment of the great body of the cultivators of the soil. Wielding despotic authority, and intent on this object, they carried through innovations, and established improvements which, under no other circumstances, could have been effected in so short a time. The condition of the peasants



became greatly superior to what it had ever been under the old national government, and their stormy *Comitia*. The peasants were all emancipated, and put on the footing of farmers, entitled to the whole fruits of their toil, after satisfying the rent of the landlord; and the Code Napoleon was made the basis of these laws, which has proved so unspeakable a blessing to many states in Europe. Russia reaped the full benefit of those wise ameliorations, in the tranquillity of her Polish provinces under circumstances of no ordinary peril, when she was waging a desperate and consuming war with France and England in the Crimea, and the chief military strength of the empire was grouped around Wilna to make head against the threatened hostility of Austria.

14. In Prussian Poland, styled the Grand-Duchy of Posen, the changes were still more radical, and perhaps erred on the side of undue concession to the popular demands. In 1817, the Prussian Government, under the direction of the able and patriotic Baron Stein, had adopted a change which a revolutionary government would hardly have ventured to promulgate; they established to a certain extent an agrarian law. In lieu of the services in kind, which by the old law they were bound to give to their landlords, in consideration of being maintained by them, the peasants received a third of the land they cultivated in property to themselves, and they were left to provide for their own subsistence. The old prohibition against the sale of lands on the part of the nobles was taken away, and facilities given for the purchase of the remaining two-thirds by the peasants, by permitting twenty-five years for paying up the price. This was a very great change, which at first sight seemed to be fraught with the dangers of revolutionary innovation; but being free of the most dangerous element in such changes—the excited passions of the people—it was not attended with any such effects. The nobles, who were to appearance despoiled of a third of their land, ere long found that, from

the enhanced value of the remainder, and being freed from the obligation of maintaining their peasants, they were in effect gainers by the change, and they were perfectly contented with it. In a word, this great change of Baron Stein's was not a revolutionary innovation in the proper sense of the word, but a wise and well-considered mode of making the transition from the mixed state of property and burden of maintenance implied in serfdom, to the state of separate and unburdened possession which belongs to freedom, somewhat akin to the giving the slaves two days a-week to work on their own account, and banana-grounds, in the West Indies, which was found before slave emancipation to be a benefit to the masters rather than the reverse.

15. In Austrian Poland, on the other hand, and especially in that large portion of it called Gallicia, although certain changes had been introduced with a view to ameliorating the condition of the peasants, they had not been so well considered, and had by no means been attended by the same beneficial results. The serfs were in form emancipated, and the proprietor was even bound to furnish them with pieces of land adequate to the maintenance of themselves and their families. If matters had stopped here, all would have been well; the insurrection which followed would have been prevented, and the frightful calamities which followed in its train would have been spared to humanity. But unfortunately the peasants, instead of being left in the undisturbed possession of their patches of ground, were subjected, as a burden on them, to a great variety of feudal services and restrictions, which being novel, and such as they had never previously been accustomed to, excited very great discontent. The cultivators, though entitled to the fruits of their little bit of ground, were not, properly speaking, proprietors; they could neither alienate them nor acquire other domains; and if any of them abandoned his possession, it devolved, as a matter of course, to another peasant, who became subjected to the *corvées* and

seigniorial rights exigible from every occupant of the land. On the other hand, the nobles, who alone could hold lands in fee-simple, were not entitled to sell them, and this reduced almost to nothing the value of such estates as were charged with debt. So strongly was this grievance felt, that numerous petitions were presented to the Aulic Council, praying for deliverance from the onerous exclusive privilege of holding lands. At length the Government yielded, and the sale of lands was authorised. Immediately a class of small proprietors began to arise, who promised, by the possession of a little capital and habits of industry, to be of the utmost service to the country. But Metternich and the Government ere long took the alarm at the democratic ideas prevalent among these new landholders, especially in the year 1819, when all Europe was in commotion; and by an imperial edict, published in 1819, the perilous privilege of exclusively holding land was generally re-established in favour of the nobles. The only exception was in respect to the burghers of Leopold, who were almost entirely of German origin, and were permitted to acquire and hold lands.

16. The *corvée* also, or legal obligation on the part of the peasants to pay the rent of their lands in the form of labour rendered to their landlords, either on that portion of the estate which remained in his natural possession, or on the public roads, excited great discontent. Nothing could be more reasonable than such an arrangement, which is also established in Russia, Hungary, and several other parts of Europe, and is still to be found in various counties of Scotland, where it was formerly universal. In truth, it is the only way in which rent *can* be paid in those remote districts where the sale of produce is difficult or impossible, and the cultivator has no other way of discharging what he owes to his landlord but by services in kind. Both parties, however, in Galicia, expressed the utmost dissatisfaction at this state of things. The landlords sighed for payments in money,

which might enable them to join the gaieties or share in the pleasures of Vienna or Warsaw; while the peasants anxiously desired to be delivered from all obligations to render personal service to their landlords, and allowed to exert their whole industry on their possessions for their own behoof. Both parties were led to be the more anxious to desire a commutation of feudal services from the example of Austria Proper, where it had recently been established, and with the happiest effects. So numerous were the petitions on the subject presented to Government, that they laid down certain regulations for the commutation of services in kind into money payments; but the formalities required were so onerous and minute, that they remained generally inoperative, and the services in kind continued to be rendered as before. At length the whole states of Galicia presented a formal demand to the Government for the entire abolition of *corvées* in that province; but the Cabinet of Vienna eluded the proposal, alleging that, before it could be carried into effect, a regular survey or *cadastre* would require to be made of the whole province, and that they had no funds to meet the expenses of such an undertaking. Upon this the nobles formally declared, in a general assembly of the Four Estates, that they would themselves bear the whole expense of the survey; but with their characteristic habits of procrastination, the Austrian Government allowed the offer to remain without an answer. Meanwhile, as the cognisance of all disputes between the landlords and their peasants was devolved upon the Austrian authorities, and as the taxes were progressively rising, the Government shared in the whole unpopularity accruing from the vexed question of the *corvées*, and the discontent, both among the nobles and peasants of the country, became universal.

17. These causes of difference were in themselves sufficiently alarming; but they would have passed over without serious commotion, had it not been for the efforts of the Socialists, who seized upon the rude, unlettered

peasants of this province, who in every age have shown themselves in an especial manner prone to illusion and superstition, and propagated among them the dangerous doctrine that their only masters were "God and the Emperor;" that the landlords had no title to any portion of the fruits of their toil; and that, on the contrary, their whole property belonged of right to themselves.\* These doctrines, which were precisely the same as those so much in vogue at that period in Great Britain and France, and which aimed at the extinction of the capitalist, who was deemed a dangerous and unnecessary middleman between the government and the workman, who ought to be abolished, speedily spread among the enthusiastic and illiterate peasants of Galicia. The fuel for the flame was supplied by the Polish committees at Paris and Versailles, and the chief place from whence it was disseminated in Galicia was the college of Tarnow. The principal instruments of excitement employed among the peasants were emissaries who went from village to village as the missionaries had formerly done in some parts of the West Indies, inculcating the doctrine, that the *corvée* had been abolished by the Emperor seven years before, and was illegally kept up by the seigneurs, who refused to carry his paternal intentions into effect. Thus the Gallician insurrection acquires an importance in general history which would not otherwise have belonged to it; for it was the first practical application of the doctrines of the Socialists, then spreading secretly through every country of Europe, and destined ere long

to overturn the French monarchy, and shake to its foundation every established government in the western world.

18. Two peculiar circumstances existed in Galicia, which aggravated in a most serious degree the dangers, already sufficiently great, arising from the spread of such dangerous doctrines among an ignorant and excitable peasantry. The first of these was the multitude of Jews who were there, as elsewhere in Poland, settled in the chief towns and villages, and who monopolised nearly every situation of profit or importance in them. The greater part of their emoluments were derived from the sale of spirits and other intoxicating liquors, to which the Poles, like all northern nations, were immoderately addicted. The proprietors and the priests had long endeavoured to check this propensity, which there, as elsewhere, consumed nearly the whole substance of the working classes in debasing pleasures; and considerable success had attended their efforts. This was sufficient to set against them the whole body of the Jews, on the same principle as the publicans and spirit-dealers of Great Britain and Ireland were excited against Father Mathew and the advocates of the temperance movement in the British Islands. The Jews secretly inculcated the tenet, that the temperance movement was a deep-laid plan devised by the nobles and priests to enable them to enfeeble the peasants, and grind them to the dust, by depriving them of the liquors which sustained their strength, animated their spirit, and supported their courage. It may be readily conceived with what shouts of applause these doctrines were received in the cabarets and among the half-drunken circles of Galicia.

19. The second circumstance which aggravated the hostile passions and increased the dangers of Galicia, was the number of disbanded soldiers spread through the province, who were secretly retained as a sort of disguised police by the Government. As the troops for the public service were levied in

\* A single passage from the innumerable pamphlets which at this period were circulated among the Gallician peasants, will show what was their tendency:—"Il faut obéir à l'Evangile. Or, que porte l'Evangile? 'Rendez à César ce qui est à César, et à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu.' Nous connaissons Dieu qui est au ciel, nous connaissons César qui est à Vienne. Il n'est pas question des Seigneurs dans l'Evangile, pas plus que des Prêtres. Nous n'avons donc pour maîtres que Dieu et César. Nous ne devons rien aux Seigneurs: tout ce qui est à eux nous appartient."—REGNAULT, iii. 75.

Gallicia, as in Russia, not by ballot, but by a requisition of a certain number from each landlord, they were composed, for the most part, of the most restless and dangerous characters, whom it was deemed advisable to get quit of in this manner. Eight thousand of these unscrupulous persons had been disbanded in the end of 1845; but the Government, aware of the dangers which threatened the province, and secretly dreading both the nobles and the peasants, retained them in their pay, and authorised them to seize and hand over to the Austrian authorities any persons belonging to either party who might be the first to threaten the public tranquillity. Deeming the nobles the more formidable, and likely most to embarrass the Government, these agents inculcated on the peasants the belief that a general massacre of them was in contemplation, and to keep themselves well on their guard against the first aggressive movement on the part of the landlords. Thus the conflict which was approaching in Gallicia was not between the Government and the people, but between the nobles and the peasantry, akin to the Jacquerie in France, the insurrection of the Boors in Germany, or the rebellion of Jack Cade in England.

20. Under these circumstances, a collision at no distant period was inevitable; but the first blow was struck by the nobles. Driven to despair by the knowledge of an approaching Socialist insurrection among the peasants, they organised a *coup-de-main* against Tarnow, the chief place of the Communists, where they hoped to be joined by the whole artisans, mechanics, and bourgeois of the province. The means at their disposal, however, to effect this object, were miserably inadequate; the forces at their command were only two hundred, and the Austrian garrison of Tarnow was two thousand strong. The national party at Cracow strongly sympathised with these movements, and did their utmost to expand them into a general insurrection, extending over the whole of Old Poland, and which might ter-

minate in the re-establishment of the national independence. Thus was the country at the same time threatened with a double insurrection, and yet so strangely were the leaders of the two movements ignorant of each other, that not only was there no concert, but there existed the most deadly enmity between them. The nobles and superior classes were not more exasperated against the Austrian Government, which had so long evaded their petitions, and refused to redress their grievances, than the peasantry were against the nobles, by whom they had been led to believe the prodigal gifts of the Emperor to them had been intercepted or concealed. Both parties were prepared to take up arms; but the two classes of insurgents were not prepared to fight in common against the Government, but to massacre each other! A strange and portentous state of things, but not unusual among a people just emerging from the fetters of slavery, and of which an example had previously occurred in the commencement of the terrible insurrection in St Domingo fifty years before.

21. The *seignorial* insurgents appointed their rendezvous at the village of Lysagora, three leagues from Tarnow, where one hundred of them met on the night of the 19th February. The cold was excessive, the ground covered with snow, and the conspirators, who, for the most part, were conveyed in sledges, were already almost frozen to death when they arrived, with their arms falling from their hands, at the place of rendezvous. But the Government authorities were aware of what was going on, and at daybreak on the following morning the little band was surrounded by a greatly superior force, composed of Austrian disbanded soldiers and armed peasants. The conspirators, ignorant of the intentions of the band by whom they were surrounded, laid down their arms, calling upon their comrades to fraternise with them; but no sooner had they done so than the peasants threw themselves upon them, bound them hand and foot, and thrust them into a

cellar, from whence they were conveyed in waggons to Tarnow. Hearing of this disaster, another band of conspirators near Ulikow threw away their arms, and dispersed; but they were pursued with unrelenting fury by the peasants, by whom the greater part were tracked out and cut down. These events, inconsiderable in themselves, became the source from which calamities unnumbered ensued to the whole province. Everywhere, when the news was received, which it generally was with great exaggeration, the peasants flew to arms, and commenced an attack on the chateaus of the seigneurs in their vicinity. By a refinement in cruelty which indicated too clearly the infernal agency at work among them, the peasants of each estate were directed, not against the chateau of their own landlord, but against that of the neighbouring one, in order that no lingering feelings of humanity might interfere with the work of destruction. Under such direction, it proceeded with a rapidity, and terminated in a completeness, which might satisfy the most demoniacal spirit. Universally the landlords were hunted out and massacred, with their sons, servants, and domestics; and though the women and children were in general spared, the chateaus were committed to the flames. Unknown agents everywhere presented themselves, and said, "A few leagues hence they are massacring your brethren." These words were implicitly believed, and followed by a general insurrection and march against some neighbouring chateau, where the work of conflagration and massacre was soon complete.

22. Volumes would barely suffice to recount the varied horrors of this disastrous insurrection, where the worst passions of human nature were brought to the aid of the infernal work of destruction. The cry was everywhere heard, "We are allowed three days of liberty and pillage;" and soon it was so generally acted upon, that the whole country resembled a town taken by assault. A few tragic examples will show the terrible nature of the revolt. Kotarski, landlord of Olasna, had been

distinguished for a life of beneficence, which had deservedly won for him the title of King of the Peasants. Seized by the peasants, he asked to be allowed to confess as he was taken past a church. "Go on—there is no God!" cried the tigers who surrounded him. The curé of the church was brought out, and put beside him on the cart, and both were beaten with clubs till the noble expired. Hodorynski had been concealed by his wife in a strong box, but being discovered, she supplicated them, in the name of Heaven, to convey him to a place of safety. They feigned to comply, and, putting him in a cart, harnessed the wife in it instead of the horse, saying, "Since you will have him in a place of safety, drag him yourself." She strove to do so, and dropped down of fatigue, while her unhappy husband was beat to death by her side with clubs. The fate of Broniewski was still more frightful. They cut off his nose, tongue, and ears, scooped out his eyes, and cut off all his fingers, before he died. His wife was obliged to witness the atrocious spectacle. The house-steward had his head scalped, as by American savages, before death put a period to his sufferings. Fourteen persons perished in this manner at Zgorskha, twenty-three at Zarow. At Niedzwiadka a whole marriage-party, including the bride and bridegroom, were massacred together in the church where the ceremony was commencing; in the chateau of M. Bzowski, where a funeral-party was assembling, all the persons as they arrived were slain, and interred in the same grave with the original deceased. The peasants bore the heads of their victims about with them, and received ten florins (£1) for each from the local authorities. Such were the features which Socialism assumed at its first rise in the European family. To the eternal disgrace of the Austrian Government, some of the leaders, stained with the worst of these atrocities, in particular Jacques Szela, were publicly rewarded for their conduct in the insurrection after its suppression.

23. During these horrors the effervescence in Cracow reached its climax.

That free town had long been the centre in which a general Polish insurrection was organised, and from which the revolutionary emissaries were despatched in every direction throughout Lithuania and Poland. The original movement, which terminated so disastrously in Galicia, was concerted with the leaders of the committee there, who had been formally installed in power by the committees in all parts of Poland on the 24th January, and the insurrection was definitively fixed for the 24th February. These preparations, and the general effervescence which prevailed, did not escape the notice of the consuls of the three powers resident in Cracow, and so early as the 16th February they formally demanded of the Senate whether they could guarantee the public tranquillity. They replied that they could do so from all internal dangers, but not from such as came from without; and that if danger threatened from that quarter, they abandoned themselves to the prudence of the three residents. Upon this a body of Austrian troops, under General Collin, marched towards the town, and entered it on the 18th. The conspirators were surprised by this sudden inroad, which took place before the day fixed for the insurrection, and made very little resistance. Two days afterwards, however, a serious attack was made on the Imperialists by a body of insurgents who came from without, in which the Poles were unsuccessful. But the accounts received next day of the progress of the insurrection in Galicia, and its ramifications in every part of Poland, and the magnitude of the forces which were accumulating round Cracow, were so formidable that Collin deemed his position untenable, and two days afterwards evacuated the place, taking with him the officers of Government, Senate, urban militia, and police, and made a precipitate retreat towards Galicia, abandoning the whole state of Cracow to the insurgents, by whom a provisional government was immediately appointed as for the whole of Poland. The first step of the new authorities was to publish a manifesto,

in which, after stating that "all Poland was up in arms," it was declared that the order of nobility was abolished, *all property was to be divided among the peasants occupying it, and the slightest resistance to the revolutionary authorities was to be punished with instant death.\**

24. Even if the insurrection had ever had any chances of success, they were utterly destroyed by this violent and ill-judged proclamation. Every one

\* "Procès-verbal rédigé le 22 Février à 8 heures du soir par les soussignés, pour l'établissement du Gouvernement National de la République Polonoise.

"Quatorze années d'efforts des braves enfants de la patrie, pour parvenir à lui rendre son existence nationale, ont créé dans toutes les parties de la Pologne opprimée de nombreuses associations, dont les membres s'exposent aux plus terribles dangers. Mais malgré cela, on est parvenu à diriger tous les efforts vers le même but, celui de reconquérir une patrie en rendant la liberté à toute la nation Polonoise. Le 24 Janvier de cette année, des comités de toutes les associations de la Pologne remirent le pouvoir gouvernemental entre les mains d'une autorité composée de cinq personnes, qui furent, avec adjonction d'un secrétaire, choisies dans le grand-duché de Posen, la ville libre de Cracovie et son territoire dans la Russie, et parmi l'Emigration, laquelle devait se compléter ensuite par l'élection de deux membres, l'un pour la Pologne réunie, l'autre pour la Lithuanie.

Et tandis que nous admettons au sein du Gouvernement un citoyen de la Pologne réunie qui accepte les pouvoirs à lui déferés, nous nous tendons mutuellement la main, et jurons à la face de Dieu et de la nation Polonoise, que nous exercerons les pouvoirs révolutionnaires jusqu'à ce que toute la Pologne soit affranchie; que nous regardons comme un moyen propre à arriver à ce but un mouvement produit parmi toute la population, par l'abolition de tous les privilèges, et la concession de la faculté illimitée de posséder les terrains qu'elle exploite, faculté dont les paysans ne jouissent aujourd'hui que sous certaines conditions. . . . Les membres choisies et le secrétaire ont accepté les pouvoirs qui leur étaient déferés, et devaient se trouver avant le 24 Février (jour fixé pour l'explosion de l'insurrection) à Cracovie. Les membres pour Cracovie et son territoire, pour la Gallicie et l'Emigration, s'y trouvèrent effectivement avant le terme fixé, tandis que le représentant du grand-duché de Posen fut arrêté, et que celui de Russie ainsi que le Secrétaire n'étaient pas encore arrivés. Le membre de l'Emigration ayant, à l'arrivée des troupes Autrichiennes à Cracovie, conçu des craintes pour sa liberté, s'était tout-à-coup enfui au-delà des frontières. Ces événements imposent aux membres du pouvoir gouvernemental, qui ne sont pas encore arrivés, le

saw that a democratic despotism was about to arise, endangering life, destructive to property, and fatal to all the ends of the social union. The insurgents meanwhile increased considerably in strength, and in a few days 2500 bold and ardent spirits were concentrated in Cracow, chiefly from the neighbouring provinces. But the end was approaching. The alarm had now spread to all the partitioning powers, and orders were given to the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian forces to advance against the city. All was soon accomplished. The Austrian general, Collin, stopped his retreat, and retook Wieluzka and Podgorze, which he had evacuated in the first alarm consequent on the insurrection, while large bodies of Prussian and Austrian troops also advanced against the insurgents. Resistance in such circumstances was hopeless; in the night of the 2d of March the insurgents, still 2500 strong, evacuated the town, and the whole soon after capitulated to the Prussians. Meanwhile a Russian battalion and some Cossacks penetrated into Cracow, which was immediately declared in a state of siege, and next day jointly occupied by the forces of the three partitioning powers.

25. This event led to an important change in the east of Europe, attended by lasting consequences on the balance of power and future destinies of the Sarmatian population. After a long deliberation, it was resolved to repeal the treaties of 21st April 1815, which established the Republic of Cracow, and to restore it to the Austrian Government, from whose dominions it had been originally taken. This was accordingly done by the treaty of 11th November 1846, which, after narrating the repeated conspiracies of which the republic of Cracow had been the theatre, and the open insurrection and attempt to revolutionise Poland which

had just been organised in its bosom, declared the existence of the republic terminated, and itself, with its whole territory, restored to Austria, as it stood before 1809. Thus was the last relic of Polish nationality finally extinguished.

26. These events, as might easily have been anticipated, produced a very great sensation over Europe. Ancient feelings were revived; old wounds bled afresh. The cause of Polish nationality had been so long associated in every part of Europe with generous sentiments and heroic efforts, that the last act of the mournful drama reawakened all the heartrending emotions with which its progress had been attended. In Great Britain and France these feelings were in an especial manner warm and general; and the debates on the subject in the legislatures of both countries were warm and frequent, and such as revealed the extent to which the general mind had been stirred. It does not appear to be necessary, however, to give an abstract of these debates, because the question lies in a very narrow compass, and the official instruments published by the provisional government at Cracow, on the 22d February 1846, put the case in the clearest point of view. It is there admitted that a general insurrection of all Poland, including Lithuania, had been organised in the different provinces, a provisional government appointed at Cracow to direct and superintend the movement, and that the outbreak was to take place on the 22d February. The Austrians received intelligence of the design, and anticipated it by entering that city on the 20th, and permanently occupying it in conjunction with the Prussian and Russian forces on the 2d March.

27. These facts put an end to the case, and blew to the winds the whole eloquent declamation on the subject in the British House of Commons and French Chamber of Deputies. It is clear the allies were throughout acting on the defensive: their occupation of Cracow was a measure dictated by the duty of self-preservation, and which no government similarly situ-

*devoir sacré de venir se charger sans délai, et avec d'autant plus d'empressement, des pouvoirs qui leur ont été déferés, que le zèle le plus ardent se refroidirait, et que les propriétaires nos frères, qui pourraient frapper les coups les plus vigoureux, n'oseraient pas prendre part à l'insurrection.*—REGNAULT, iii. 450, 451.

ated could, consistently with its obligations to its subjects, neglect. True, Cracow was an independent state; but it was a state which had permitted a vast conspiracy, having for its object the entire restoration of Poland, and its resumption from the present occupants, to be matured in its bosom; and the Austrian invasion of its territory did not take place till within two days of the time when the general insurrection was to have broken out. Having thus drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, the inhabitants had no reason to complain, if, being vanquished, they underwent the usual fate of war. And the long tranquillity of Poland after the annexation of Cracow to the Austrian dominions, proves of how much importance it was to its material interests that the nursery of discontent and revolutionary propagandism which that little republic afforded, should be prevented from any longer disturbing the tranquillity of the east of Europe. The real reproach against the Austrian Government in this transaction is neither the invasion of Cracow nor its incorporation with the Imperial dominions, but the manner in which it allowed its agents to rouse the passions of the peasantry in Galicia, and the atrocious deeds of cruelty by which the suppression of the insurrection was disgraced.

28. The Governments both of France and England were much embarrassed with the Polish question, when interrogated on the subject in Parliament. In answer to an eloquent speech of M. de Montalembert, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the subject, M. Guizot observed: "I am not called upon either to defend or condemn the acts of a foreign government. We are, and always shall be, ready to discuss our own affairs, our own acts, in reference to our connection with foreign countries; but we are under no similar obligation in regard to the internal affairs, the domestic acts, of these governments themselves. I should not know how to do so; I am not bound to do so. I only ask that you will draw no conclusion one way or other

from my silence in this particular. It is no part of my duty either to admit or deny what M. de Montalembert has advanced on the subject. The discussion, the judgment concerning it, is going on before the whole of Europe. It is there that public opinion is to pronounce finally upon it. It is not in France, or at this tribune, that anything of the kind can be done." The answer of Lord Palmerston to similar questions in the British House of Commons was in substance the same, though a stronger leaning to an intervention in favour of Poland was apparent in his expressions.\* There can be no doubt that the declination to interfere thus expressed by the Ministers of the two Western Powers, was founded in wisdom and justified by necessity; for neither the one nor the other could reach Poland, even if the ground for intervention had been much stronger than it really was. The Germanic Confederation, with its 300,000 armed men, backed by Russia with as many more, lay between. But it affords a striking proof of the ascendant which Liberal principles had now attained in Europe, and the extent to which they had shut out the light of reason, that neither the one government nor the other ventured, in their own defence, to state the real truth, which was, that the occupation of Cracow, and its incorporation with Austria, was a measure of

\* "The general treaty," said Lord Palmerston, "to which England and France are parties, does contain a stipulation with regard to the freedom of the city of Cracow; and this was arranged in the conferences to which England was a party, and at a period anterior to the conclusion of the separate treaty to carry out these arrangements. It is perfectly plain, therefore, that the arrangement as to Cracow was founded upon stipulations to which Great Britain was a party, and that the violation of that treaty is a violation of the arrangements to which Great Britain was one of the contracting parties. The ground which I take, therefore, is, not that it is not for this House to take into consideration the question of our foreign relations, but that, if the House should take such a resolution as is proposed on a question of such grave importance as the conduct of foreign powers, it is not fitting that such a resolution should pass without following up the resolution by further proceedings. I shall therefore move the previous question on the first resolution." —*Parl. Deb.*, xci. 94, 95.



self-defence fully justified by the attempts made in that republic to wrest all the provinces of old Poland from the partitioning powers, and re-establish the ancient monarchy. The Poles were perfectly entitled to make such attempts, for their partition had been a scandalous act of injustice; the Austrians were as clearly entitled to resist them. But it may readily be conceived what a handle the declinature of France to interfere on such a question afforded to the Liberal orators and journals, and how largely it tended to aid their fixed policy of discrediting the Government.

29. The effect of the excitement produced by the events in Poland, appeared, as was too often the case in France at this time, in a fresh attempt upon the life of the sovereign. On the 16th of April, as Louis Philippe was returning from a hunt in the forest of Fontainebleau, seated in an open carriage, accompanied by M. de Montalivet, with the Queen and princesses in similar conveyances behind him, as he was entering the great park near the walls of the enclosures of Avon, two reports of firearms were suddenly heard from the top of the wall. No one was struck, but the wadding of one of the shots fell still burning between the King and M. de Montalivet. The assassin was immediately seized by some of the foresters, and proved to be a man of the name of Lecomte, who had formerly been in the royal service as an officer in the forests, and even considerably promoted, but had been deprived of his situation in consequence of a serious delinquency. On being seized, he said only, "I was in too great a hurry." It was fortunate he was so, for he was known to have been so expert a marksman that he scarcely ever missed a fawn at 150 paces distant. He admitted that he intended to have killed the King, and had come to Fontainebleau for that purpose. There was no evidence to connect him with any of the secret societies, and his offence seems to have arisen from an exaggerated idea of private wrong, coupled with the excitement produced by the political declamation of the pe-

riod. He was found guilty, and underwent the extreme sentence of the law with unshaken resolution.

30. Shortly after this infamous attempt, and when the trial of Lecomte was going on, an event occurred fraught with the most important results in future times, and which, in a manner, links together the story of Louis Philippe with that of the Republic and Empire which succeeded his dethronement. This was the ESCAPE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON FROM THE CHATEAU OF HAM, which took place on the 25th May, at mid-day. During his prolonged captivity in that gloomy abode, where he had occupied the apartments formerly tenanted by Prince Polignac, the young Prince had been constantly occupied with grave and serious pursuits; and he had during this period, in an especial manner, made himself master of the general domestic policy and internal designs of his uncle, the great Napoleon. This appears in the clearest manner from the very remarkable work *Les Idées Napoléoniennes*, composed by the Prince to beguile the weary hours of his captivity, which had now continued above five years. During this period his chief correspondence and intercourse was with the French Liberals and extreme democrats; and on more than one occasion he expressed himself in the most unequivocal manner an uncompromising adherent of their principles.\* He

\* "Enfant de la Révolution, héritier de l'homme qui ne me semble grand que parce qu'il a tout fait pour le triomphe la Révolution, je ne connais d'autres principes que la souveraineté du peuple, d'autre but que de s'efforcer à organiser la démocratie, et à améliorer le sort des classes pauvres, tout en relevant notre drapeau vis-à-vis de l'étranger."—LOUIS NAPOLEON à M. —, 22 Août, 1843.

"Elève dans des sentiments démocratiques dès que j'eus atteint l'âge où l'on réfléchit, j'admirai le chef de ma famille, non-seulement comme grand capitaine, mais surtout comme le représentant glorieux de la Révolution Française. Je ne vis alors que deux causes distinctes en Europe: celle qui avait vaincu le 14 Juillet 1789, et celle qui avait triomphé le 18 Juin 1815. Toutes les divisions intermédiaires me parurent des divisions puériles, alimentées souvent par des intérêts personnels.

"Aujourd'hui la question est la même pour

had been engaged, in the spring of 1846, in a negotiation with the French Government for liberty to leave Ham on his parole to visit his aged father, who was dangerously ill. The Cabinet of the Tuileries were not disinclined to make the concession; but they attached such conditions to the favour that the Prince refused to subscribe to them, and preferred the chance of making his escape an unfettered agent. This was a very difficult task, for the citadel of Ham is of great strength, and deemed so secure a place of confinement that it had been purposely selected as a state prison for the most important political offenders for a long period. Nevertheless Louis Napoleon succeeded in making his escape from it, and got clear out of France. It was effected in the following manner.

31. Notwithstanding the length of his confinement, the vigilance and rigour with which Louis Napoleon was watched had undergone no diminution. Two sentinels were always stationed at the bottom of the stair leading to his apartment; its windows were strongly barred; at night

moi. Je ne vois en France que des vaincus et des vainqueurs à Waterloo. Les vainqueurs ont le pouvoir, ils avilissent et oppriment notre pays. Les vaincus souffrent et gémissent. Quels que soient les noms que ceux-ci se donnent, et le lieu qu'ils habitent, ils sont tous les enfants d'une même mère, la Révolution. Si jamais la lutte recommence, ils se réuniront sous le même drapeau, par la même raison qui depuis des siècles a toujours réuni les hommes—l'opposition à un ennemi commun.

"Convaincu que le Gouvernement actuel faisait le malheur de la France, dans ce sens que la corruption et la lâcheté mettent une nation bien plus près de sa ruine que la tyrannie, je me suis résolu à tout entreprendre pour le renverser, bien décidé à laisser le peuple entier choisir la forme de gouvernement, qui lui conviendrait le mieux. Le rôle de libérateur suffit à mon ambition. Je n'étais pas assez fou pour avoir la prétention de fonder une dynastie sur un sol jonché de tous les débris des dynasties passées."—LOUIS NAPOLEON à —, Ham, March 9, 1844; REGNIER, i. 316, 317. So far did Louis Napoleon at this period carry his democratic principles, that he embraced and strenuously supported those of the Socialists, and wrote many articles in the journal *Du Progrès du Pas de Calais*, enforcing their views, which were afterwards collected in a pamphlet entitled *Extinction du Paupérisme*.—Ibid., i. 316.

the guards were doubled; and at all times the utmost precautions were taken to prevent approach to the fortress from the outside. Fortune, however, threw the means of escape within his reach, which, by the assistance of connivance within, was successfully carried into execution. Some repairs required to be made on the stair; and during a quarter of an hour at noon, it was known that one of the sentinels stationed there withdrew to read the papers, leaving the other alone on the post. It was this auspicious moment which was chosen to carry the escape into effect. The means of it were arranged with Dr Conneau, the medical attendant, and Charles Thelin, the valet of the Prince. Their period of imprisonment having expired, they were at liberty to go into the town, which they always did after obtaining leave from the governor of the prison. Advantage was taken of this facility to bring in by stealth various articles of dress, which might serve as a disguise in passing the sentries. The Prince then cut off his long mustaches, which made a great change in his appearance, put on a black wig, dyed his face and hands, and having equipped himself entirely in a workman's dress, with a blue smock-frock, he proceeded at noon with a plank on his shoulder to pass the guard. This was effected successfully, the sentinel either mistaking, or pretending to mistake him for one of the workmen. In passing him the Prince accidentally let the pipe fall which he was smoking. He calmly stooped and picked it up, and the soldier, after looking at him for a moment, resumed his walk. Meanwhile Thelin very skilfully amused the workmen, from whom, even more than the guards, detection was to be apprehended, as it was one of their own number who was personated. As it was, he was narrowly scrutinised by two workmen, who expressed aloud their surprise at not knowing him, and was soon after recognised by a favourite spaniel, which met him as he was going out. All seemed lost, for there was still a line of sentries to pass, when a friendly voice from behind

exclaimed, "Ah! it is Berthon!" At the same time the Prince, as if fatigued with his burden, shifted the plank from his right to his left shoulder and got past without farther molestation. The last line of sentries was passed without discovery, and the Prince, having gained the open road, went on with his plank on his shoulder till the joyful sound of wheels was heard, and he leapt on the box of a cabriolet which the faithful Thelin had provided for him in St Quentin. He soon arrived at that place, still on the box driving, and got into the train for Valenciennes, which he reached a little after two in the afternoon. From thence he speedily reached Brussels, from whence he crossed over to London. He was too late to see his father, who was already dead, but not too late to follow out his destiny, which led him from the prison of Ham to the throne of France.

32. The world was far from appreciating at the time the ultimate importance of this escape of Louis Napoleon. It was regarded merely as the fortunate and adventurous escape of a young man from a state of captivity, attended with the interest which always attaches to such events. "As the escape," said the *National*, "*can never come to prejudice any one, we congratulate those upon it whom it immediately concerns. As for ourselves, it is the species of success which we wish for, and which we would willingly procure for every kind of pretender.*" An important step was taken at the same time by another pretender, with very different titles to the throne. The Duke de Bordeaux married the Archduchess Maria Theresa-Beatrice of Modena, eldest sister of the reigning duke of that principality. He was the only ruling prince in Europe who had refused to recognise Louis Philippe. There has been no issue as yet of the marriage; a circumstance which, by removing the rivalry of the elder and younger branches of the Bourbon family, may possibly come at some future time to have an important influence on the destinies of France. In the mean time it was a singular proof

of the mutations of fortune that the direct descendant of Louis XIV. deemed himself fortunate upon being admitted into the family of a third-rate Italian potentate.

33. Though Ministers had obtained a majority on the Polish question, and still kept their ascendancy in the Chamber, their position was uneasy, and they felt the necessity of additional strength in the legislature to enable them to continue the policy of resistance upon which they had now staked the monarchy. They accordingly dissolved the Chamber by royal proclamation immediately after its prorogation; and the elections came on in the August following. The electoral contest is interesting, for it was THE LAST which occurred under the monarchy of Louis Philippe. The Liberal opposition, taught by experience, adopted the well-known English system of sinking all minor differences of opinion in a general coalition to keep out the ministerial candidates. M. Thiers addressed a long and able letter to his constituents, recapitulating all that had been done by the Government and the Opposition during the last ten years, and earnestly recommended to other candidates the same policy.\* A cir-

\* "Notre Gouvernement est non-seulement faible; il est vain. Il a voulu paraître quelque chose. Il a mis une singulière ostentation à renouer l'Alliance Anglaise, et il a signé l'extension du droit de visite. Il a voulu s'occuper de notre grandeur, et tandis qu'il laissait dépérir notre matériel naval, il a pris les Marquises. Les Marquises n'étant qu'une suite de rochers stériles où l'on ne peut vivre. Il a pris Taïti. Mais les Anglais ont désavoué cette occupation, et il a désavoué l'Admiral Dupetit-Thouars qui avait pris Taïti. Un missionnaire, M. Pritchard, ayant notamment excité les habitants de Taïti à égorger nos soldats, l'un de nos officiers l'avait consigné pour un moment à bord de nos vaisseaux; il a fallu, pour ne pas engager la guerre, payer une indemnité à ce missionnaire. Enfin, engagé dans une suite de mauvaises affaires avec l'Angleterre, dont on prétendait renouer l'alliance, on a voulu faire quelque chose pour améliorer les rapports avec elle, et dans la question de Texas, où nous n'avons pas un intérêt appréciable, on s'est prononcé pour l'Angleterre contre l'Amérique.

"Passons à l'intérieur; les soutiens par excellence de la paix qui, par leurs ridicules conquêtes de l'Océanie, nous ont conduits si près de la guerre, dans l'affaire du recense-

cular was addressed by MM. de Montalembert, Vatiménil, and Reancey, to the Catholic electors over the whole kingdom, enjoining the requisition from every candidate of a written pledge in lieu of all other promises, to insist upon the absolute liberty for which the Catholics contended in the matter of education. The utmost efforts were made by all parties to secure the return of their respective candidates; but although the Government sustained several notable defeats, yet, upon the whole, their position was improved, and the majority supporting M. Guizot was so considerable as to place him in a position of apparent security. On the first division, which was usually the decisive one, for the presidency of the Chamber, on the 19th August, the majority for the Ministerial candidate was 120, the numbers being 218 to 98. The Throne of the Barricades seemed to be established beyond all dispute; and unquestionably it was so in the affections of the bourgeois class, which alone was represented in the legislature. Yet out of this seeming security arose several circumstances, which at this period combined to endanger its foundations, and at length brought about its fall. The first of these was the SPANISH MARRIAGES.

34. To understand this important subject it must be premised, that by the old law of Spain, as of most other countries in Europe, females as well as

ment nous ont valu le seul trouble sérieux qui ait eu lieu depuis six ans, trouble englantant, sans que la force restât au Gouvernement. Voici qui est encore moins pardonnable, à mon avis, car cela tend à détruire tout gouvernement; c'est de conférer sans mesure, sans aucune retenue, toutes les fonctions publiques dans un but exclusivement politique, c'est de se prêter ainsi aux vices du régime électif, et de les accroître en les surexcitant. Aujourd'hui que les passions sont éteintes, que les appétits ont remplacé les passions, je demande à tout homme de bonne foi de regarder autour de lui, et de dire ce qu'il lui semble. Pour moi, je suis convaincu que si l'on n'y prend garde, il n'y aura bientôt plus d'administration. Quelques meneurs dans les collèges électoraux ou dans les Chambres, feront la loi au Gouvernement."—M. THIERS aux *Électeurs d'Aix*, July 21, 1846; REGNIER, iii. 115, 134.

males might succeed to the crown of the monarchy, which in fact was first consolidated by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, which united on one head the two rival crowns of Castile and Aragon. The bequest of the Spanish monarchy, however, to the Duke of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV., in 1700, first awakened the statesmen of Europe to a sense of the immense danger which would threaten the independence of all its states, if the crowns of France and Spain were to be united on the same head; and the War of the Succession was undertaken and prosecuted for twelve years to prevent it. The victories of Marlborough and Eugene averted the danger at that time, and it was fondly hoped that, by the Treaty of Utrecht, it had been permanently guarded against. By that treaty the title of the Duke of Anjou to the Spanish crown was recognised, but on condition only that he renounced for himself and his descendants all claim to the French throne; while, on the other hand, the French monarch was to renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the Spanish crown, which was to descend to certain specified princes of the *male* line, always excluding him who was possessed of the French throne. The Duke of Saxony and his male heirs were called to the succession, failing Philip V., the existing sovereign, and his *male* heirs. This act of renunciation of the throne of Spain, and its entail on male heirs, was solemnly ratified by the Cortes of Castile and Aragon, and by the Parliament of Paris, and it became part of the public law of Europe by the 6th article of the Treaty of Utrecht.

35. Experience has now abundantly proved both the formidable nature of the danger which was meant to be guarded against by this introduction of the Salic law into the succession of the Spanish crown, and the wisdom of the provision to prevent it that it should be limited to heirs-*male*. It was even then foreseen, what has often since occurred, that if the maritime forces of France and Spain were united, they would considerably outnumber those of England, and that we might

be blockaded in our harbours by the combined fleets of the two powers. This, accordingly, actually happened in 1784, when the French and Spanish fleets, numbering forty-seven sail of the line, blockaded Admiral Darby in Plymouth, who had only twenty-one; and the same disparity existed, and similar results would probably have ensued, in 1805, had not Napoleon's admirably-conceived plan for our subjugation been defeated only by the steady gallantry of Sir R. Calder, the heroic energy of Nelson, and the unaccountable disobedience of his orders by Villeneuve. In every one of the wars between France and England for the last century, Spain has in the end taken part against this country, and in every one the fleets of England have been outnumbered by her two opponents. Nor was it less obvious that if the Spanish crown were permitted to descend to females, not only would there be a constant jealousy between France and England as to the disposal of the hand of the heiress to so magnificent an inheritance, but there was the greatest possible danger that the French competitor would, from proximity of situation and superior military force at his disposal, prove successful, and the whole naval and military strength of the two monarchies be ranged, on occasion of the first serious rupture, against the independence of this country.

36. It is one of the most singular facts recorded in history, that after having secured the separation of France and Spain, so far as succession goes, by the victories of Marlborough, and prevented their reunion by the power of conquest, by those of Wellington—the Government of Great Britain should have made its election voluntarily to forego those advantages, and incur the risk consequent on their loss, and that for no national object or public advantage whatever. So it was, however: the thing was done, and cannot now be undone: and it rests with those who brought it about to explain its reasons and make apparent its necessity. It is enough here to

recall the circumstances, already recounted, which led to this crisis. The French Revolution had caused a division of political feeling in Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, and the democratic party reduced the sovereign to such straits that he only recovered his freedom by the armed intervention of France in 1823, as already recorded. Subsequent to this the old King married again, and by his new queen, Christina, he had two daughters, but no son. The old monarch, like most other men who, in advanced years, adventure upon the hazardous step of a marriage with a young wife, fell under the government of the Queen, to whom it was a natural object of ambition to see her own family on the throne instead of Don Carlos, the King's younger brother, and the nearest male heir. This could only be done by altering the order of succession established by the Treaty of Utrecht, and the consent of the estates of the realm; but the divided state of opinion in the country, in consequence of the revolutionary passions of which it had been the victim, suggested the idea that this might be effected, and by the support of the Liberal party a QUEEN, the King's eldest daughter, put on the throne. This was accordingly done: a deed purporting to be an alteration of the order of succession in 1787, and restoring the old law of descent, which admitted females to the throne, was produced, and Ferdinand VII. left his throne to his eldest daughter, the present reigning sovereign. A terrible civil war, as might have been expected, ensued between the Conservatives, headed by Don Carlos, and the Revolutionists who espoused the cause of the Queen; but the latter was recognised by both France and England, who formed the famous *Quadruple Alliance*, in 1834, to secure her on the throne. By their countenance and the armed intervention of the two powers, the contest was at length decided in favour of the Queen, who is still in possession of the throne. The narrative of this struggle has been already given in preceding chapters.

37. The conflict in the Peninsula having come to an end, it remained to be seen what fruit France or England were to derive from it, and what advantage the latter was to obtain from having violated the Treaty of Utrecht, purchased with so much blood and treasure, and *substituted a queen for a king* on the Spanish throne. That France, which had four young princes of attractive persons and agreeable manners to marry, should desire to see a rule of succession established beyond the Pyrenees, which called two young Spanish princesses to the throne, was very conceivable; but what interest England had in throwing Spanish princesses, heiresses to the throne, into the arms of French princes, was not so apparent. The result has completely proved the magnitude of the fault in policy, as great as the breach of national faith, committed by this violation on the part of Great Britain of the Treaty of Utrecht, and departure from the fixed policy of above a hundred years. Spain has been now, for nearly a quarter of a century, under the government of a revolutionary Queen, directed by a Liberal Cabinet; but it would be difficult to point out one single advantage which has accrued directly or indirectly to this country from the change in the succession. On the contrary, by the recent marriage of the Count of Paris, Louis Philippe's grandson and heir, to the daughter of the Duchess of Montpensier, heiress in certain events to the Spanish throne, the very danger which the long and bloody War of the Succession was waged to avert, has again been rendered instant through the voluntary act of the British Cabinet. On the other hand, the jealousies between France and England, which soon arose in connection with the Spanish princesses, completely destroyed the good understanding between them, which was so essential to the peace of Europe, and, by depriving Louis Philippe of the moral support of Great Britain, powerfully contributed to his fall.

38. Queen Christina, then Regent of Spain, feeling herself entirely dependent on the Liberal party for the preservation of her daughter's throne, and

being well aware that it was in France alone that she could find the prompt military assistance requisite to support her against the Carlists, who formed a great majority of the Spanish population, naturally bethought herself of the favourable opportunity presented by the marriageable condition of the princes of the one country, and the princesses of the other, to cement their union by matrimonial alliances. With this view, although the princesses, her daughters, were as yet too young for marriage, she made formal proposals before 1840 to Louis Philippe for a double marriage—one between the Duke d'Aumale, the King's third son, and Queen Isabella, her eldest daughter; and another between the Duke of Montpensier, his fourth son, and the Infanta Louisa Fernanda, her second daughter.

39. How agreeable soever these proposals were to Louis Philippe, who desired nothing so much as to see his descendants admitted into the family of European sovereigns, he was too sagacious not to perceive that the hazard with which they were attended more than counterbalanced the advantages. It was evident that such a marriage as that of the Duke d'Aumale with the Queen of Spain would at once dissolve the *entente cordiale* with Great Britain, on which the stability of his throne so much depended; for however much the Liberal Government of England might desire to see constitutional monarchies established in the Peninsula, it was not to be expected that it would like to see the crown of Spain placed on the head of a French prince. It was already surmised, too, that the Cabinet of London had views of its own for the hand of the younger princess. He therefore returned a courteous answer, declining the hand of the Queen for the Duke d'Aumale, but expressing the satisfaction it would afford him to see the Duke of Montpensier united to the Infanta.

40. The next occasion on which the subject of the Spanish marriages was brought forward was in 1841, when Queen Christina took refuge in Paris, during one of the numerous convul-

sions to which Spain has been subject since the attempt was made to introduce democratic institutions among its inhabitants. Louis Philippe then declared to the exiled Queen-Regent, that the most suitable spouse for her daughter the Queen would be found in one of the descendants in the male line of Philip V., king of Spain, the sovereign on the throne when the Treaty of Utrecht was signed. The object of this proposal was indirectly to exclude the pretensions of Prince Coburg, cousin-german of Prince Albert, whom rumour had assigned as one of the suitors for the hand of the young Queen, and at the same time avoid exciting the jealousy of the British Government, by openly courting the alliance for a French prince. The descendants in the male line of Philip V. were, the three sons of Don Carlos, the younger brother of the late king; two sons of Don Francisco de Paulo; two princes of Naples, brothers of Queen Christina; and the Prince of Lucca. The three first were excluded by the hostility of their father, the conservative pretender to the throne, to the reigning sovereign; the last by reason of his being already married. Thus the circle of suitors in that line was restricted to the princes of the house of Naples and the two sons of Don Francisco de Paulo. A proposal for a marriage of the Queen with one of these princes was transmitted by the Court of France to the Cabinets of London, Vienna, and Berlin; but the ministers of these courts felt too strongly the delicacy and dangers of the question to sanction such an arrangement, and the matter remained undecided, which was of the less moment, that the Queen had not yet arrived at a marriageable age. Sir R. Peel and Lord Aberdeen, on the part of Great Britain, merely insisted that, Spain being an independent power, the choice of a husband for its Queen should be left to its own Government, aided by the advice of the constitutional estates of the realm. They never advanced, as long as they remained in power, directly or indirect-

ly, any proposal in favour of Prince Coburg or any other candidate, but contented themselves with contending for freedom of choice on the part of the Spanish Government and people.\*

41. Matters were in this situation, with the question still open, so far as diplomatic intercourse was concerned, but the views and interests of the two Cabinets were well understood by the Ministers on both sides, when Queen Victoria, in the autumn of 1842, paid a visit to the French monarch at the Château d'Eu, in Normandy, which was followed next spring by a similar act of courtesy on the part of Louis Philippe to the Queen of England in the princely halls of Windsor. This visit by Queen Victoria was extremely

\* "As to the Spanish marriages," said Sir R. Peel, in January 1847, "I shall content myself with making one observation—that the last Cabinet, as long as they were in power, never made any attempt to obtain for a prince of the house of Saxe-Coburg the hand of the Queen of Spain."—Sir R. PEEL, Jan. 19, 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, lxxxiv. 158. Lord John Russell said: "This I fully determined on, that, agreeing to the line laid down by the former Government, the present Government should state that it had no wish to present an English candidate; and with respect to one prince in particular, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the Government of this country never entertained for a moment a wish to put him forward, or support any pretensions he might entertain with respect to the throne of Spain; and I must say, that in any advice which I felt it my duty to offer to the Sovereign upon the subject, I found the greatest readiness and willingness to sanction this view; for her Majesty never wished that Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg should become a candidate for the hand of the Queen of Spain, supported by England. I state this, because I know it has been industriously set about that this is in reality a dispute between the royal families of France and of this country, in consequence of the course taken by the royal family of France with respect to the throne of Madrid, and of a counter attempt of ours to place one of its members on that throne. As far as we have been concerned, and so far as I know with regard to the late Government, there was no foundation whatever for such a statement. I do not know what Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg would have said if a proposition on the subject had been made to him by the Government of Spain; but I have been told he would not have been likely to entertain it. We made up our minds not to propose to Spain a candidate for the Queen's hand, or to make ourselves in any way concerned with the internal government of the country."—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxix. 146.

gratifying to the French monarch, who exhausted all the resources of wealth, luxury, and refinement in the fêtes and amusements intended to testify his satisfaction to the English sovereign. Amidst these scenes of more than royal magnificence, and when walking under the shade of the lofty elms contemporary with Henry IV. at the Château d'Eu, the graver concerns of state policy were not forgotten. It was evident on both sides that the views and interests of the two courts and nations were so much at variance, that a compromise was the only way of solving the difficulty. To effect this was no easy matter, as the anxiety of the French monarch for the Spanish alliance was known to all, and it was equally certain that the English Cabinet would strenuously oppose any arrangement which promised to bring the resources of Spain practically under the direction of the sovereign of France. Fortunately the pacific inclinations of the two sovereigns were aided by the wisdom and moderation of the Ministers on both sides; and under the direction of Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot a compromise was agreed on of the most fair and equitable kind. It was stipulated that the King of France should renounce all pretensions, on the part of *any* of his sons, to the hand of the Queen of Spain; and on the other hand, that the royal heiress should make her selection among the princes descendants of Philip V., which excluded the dreaded competition of a prince of the house of Coburg. And in regard to the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier with the Infanta Donna Fernanda, Louis Philippe positively engaged that it should not take place *till the Queen was married, and had had CHILDREN (des enfans)*. On this condition the Queen of England consented to waive all objections to the marriage when these events had taken place; and it was understood that this consent on both sides was to be dependent on the hand of the Queen being bestowed on a descendant of Philip V., and no other competitor. Lord Aberdeen's words were express on the

last point: "As to the pretensions of the Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, you may be at ease on that point; I engage that it shall neither be advanced nor supported by England, and that you shall experience no annoyance from it."\*

42. In conformity with these stipulations, Queen Christina set about making her selection among the princes descended from Philip V. for the hand of the Queen her daughter. She soon found, however, difficulties all but insurmountable, in the way of nearly all the candidates; and worn out with her embarrassments, and

\* The testimony of the statesmen engaged in this affair on *both* sides, is decisive on this point: "La sollicitude du roi Louis Philippe," says M. Guizot, "à cet égard (l'Alliance Anglaise) était encore plus vive que la mienne. Je le répète aujourd'hui sans la moindre hésitation, comme sans le moindre intérêt: jamais la politique d'entente cordiale entre la France et l'Angleterre n'a eu et n'aura, parmi les souverains Français, un plus convaincu, plus sincère et plus persévérant défenseur. Nous nous entretenions souvent des soins à prendre pour éviter tout ce qui pourrait, sans réelle et nationale nécessité, y porter quelque atteinte. Pour le mariage de la Reine d'Espagne en particulier, le Roi avait fait, dès que la question avait apparu, acte de désintéressement et de franchise; il avait déclaré qu'il ne rechercherait ni n'accepterait cette union pour aucun des princes ses fils, et, quant à l'Infante, qu'il ne la rechercherait pour M. le Duc de Montpensier *que lorsque la Reine serait mariée et AURAIT DES ENFANTS*; mais une autre déclaration également positive était liée à celle-là; si le mariage, soit de la Reine d'Espagne, soit de l'Infante sa sœur, avec un prince étranger aux descendants de Philippe V. *devenait probable et imminent*, nous étions affranchis de tout engagement et libres d'agir immédiatement pour parer le coup, en demandant la main, soit de la Reine, soit de l'Infante pour M. le Duc de Montpensier. Toute l'histoire des mariages Espagnols est dans ces deux déclarations, faites hautement l'une et l'autre et bien avant que le moment ne fût venu de les appliquer."—Guizot, *Vie de Peel*, p. 309. It will appear immediately from Louis Philippe's confidential letters, that his understanding of the postponing of the Duke de Montpensier's marriage till the condition regarding *des enfans* from the Queen had occurred, was exactly the same. The Author heard the same account of the agreement between the royal personages, from the ambassador of one of the great powers, the late lamented Chevalier Bunsen, to whom it was communicated the next day, who added, "The words were *des enfans*: voilà deux," holding up his two fingers after the French fashion.



pressed by the Cortes and her ministers to secure, by the marriage of her daughter, the protection of England or France, she at length took the desperate resolution of writing to the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg, offering the hand of the Queen her daughter to his cousin, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. The French annalists assert that this was done at the instigation and with the concurrence of Sir Henry Bulwer, the British minister at Madrid. Of this no proof has been adduced; and, considering the political declarations on the subject made by Sir R. Peel and Lord Aberdeen, it is to the last degree improbable. Certain it is that, the moment Lord Aberdeen became acquainted with this step on the part of Queen Christina, he communicated it to Louis Philippe, accompanied with the strongest assurances that the proposal had been made without the knowledge or concurrence of the British Government, and that it would receive no countenance from them. At the same time, at the request of M. Guizot, this disavowal was communicated to Sir Henry Bulwer, accompanied with an expression of displeasure at such a thing ever having been mooted with his knowledge.

43. While this hazardous attempt on Queen Christina's part was going on to secure and render permanent the English alliance by a Coburg connection, another intrigue of a totally different kind was in progress at Madrid, the object of which was to secure the marriage of the Queen to the Duke de Cadiz, and at the same time of the Duke de Montpensier to the Infanta. This project originated with M. Bresson, the French ambassador at Madrid, an able and zealous man, who, seeing the Spanish Government, including the Cortes, the Queen, and the Ministry, alike determined to bring to an immediate conclusion the marriage of the young Queen with a candidate either of France or England, and being informed of the refusal of the English Government to give any countenance to the Coburg connection, deemed the field open for the immediate

and effective advancement of French interests. He proceeded with so much expedition, and his views fell in so much with those of the Queen's Government, which felt the protection of either France or England indispensable to the support of their revolutionary authority, that he had actually obtained the consent of the Queen and her ministers to the *immediate and simultaneous* marriage of the Queen and the Duke de Cadiz, and the Infanta with the Duke de Montpensier. It is proved by his own letter, brought to light in the *Revue Retrospective* after the fall of Louis Philippe, that this proposal originated with M. Bresson, and he communicated the favourable reception it had met with from the Spanish Government with such alacrity to M. Guizot, that it is evident he knew it was in accordance, if not with the official instructions, at least with the secret wishes of that minister.\* Not so his royal master. No sooner did he receive the letter of his ambassador at Madrid, communicating the intelligence of the conclusion of this agreement as to the double and simultaneous marriages, directly contrary to the express agreement of the two sovereigns, than he disavowed it, and expressed his displeasure in repeated letters in

\* "J'ai ajouté que le Roi, tenant compte des embarras de la Reine et voulant lui donner un nouveau témoignage de sa sollicitude et de son amitié, était disposé à consentir que, dans cette combinaison Bourbon, M. le Duc de Montpensier prit place à côté du mari de la Reine, c'est à dire que les deux mariages, si l'un devait faciliter l'autre, se célébrassent ou fussent au moins déclarés simultanément. Cette grande, importante, et indispensable simultanéité n'est pas aussi formellement exprimée dans votre lettre du 5; mais les commentaires et les développements de Desages et de Glucksberg ne m'ont laissé aucun doute. Grâce vous en soient rendues. Ce qui était obstacle, obstacle insurmontable, s'est transformé en secours puissant. J'en suis certain, en sondant votre cœur, vous y trouverez le contentement d'avoir pris cette résolution. La nouvelle en a été accueillie par la Reine Christine avec une joie dont j'aime à croire la manifestation sincère."—M. BRESSON à M. GUIZOT, Madrid, July 12, 1846; *Revue Retrospective*, p. 180.

The letters published in this curious collection were found in the Tuileries, and given to the world by the Provisional Government; they may be relied on, therefore, for they were published by no friendly hand.

the strongest manner to M. Guizot. These letters are of the highest importance in this question, both in proving the good faith and honour of the French sovereign *up to this point*, and as affording decisive demonstration from the best of all authority, that of Louis Philippe himself, of what had been the real nature of the verbal engagements entered into by him on this subject with Queen Victoria at the Château d'Eu and Windsor Castle.\*

44. Such was the state of matters regarding this subject when the Whig Ministry displaced Sir Robert Peel's by a motion of want of confidence, and Lord Palmerston succeeded Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office, and in the direction of diplomatic affairs. This change immediately altered the face of the negotiation. The French Cabinet, and especially M. Guizot, were strongly impressed with the idea that the new Foreign Secretary was adverse to this alliance, and intent only on advancing British interests at their expense; and the manner in which he had defeated

their projects in the East by the treaty of 15th July 1840, and the bombardment of Acre, had left a sore feeling in their minds which acted in the most powerful way on the future stages of the negotiation. Unfortunately, too, the first step taken by Lord Palmerston was one which, in appearance at least, gave a colour to these suspicions. On the 19th July 1846, he addressed a letter of instructions to Sir Henry Bulwer, which commenced with these words: "The candidates for the hand of the Queen of Spain are now reduced to three: *Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg*, and the two sons of the Infant Don Francisco de Paulo. The Government of her Majesty have only to express their sincere desire that the choice may be made of the one who may unite the qualities most likely to secure the happiness of the Queen and the prosperity of the Spanish nation." A copy of this letter was, in pursuance of the *entente cordiale* between the two nations, read by Lord Palmerston to the Comte de Jarnac, the French am-

\* "Mon étonnement est d'autant plus grand que Bresson se soit compromis sur la *simultanéité des deux mariages*, qu'il les savait *diamétralement contraires à ma volonté*, et tant à la résolution du Duc de Montpensier et de toute ma famille, qu'il dit lui-même n'y avoir pas été autorisé par vous, et qu'il a recours, pour justifier une pareille incartade, à faire des commentaires sur les lettres de Desages et de Glucksberg. Je n'ai point vu M. Desages, mais avec M. Glucksberg j'ai été aussi explicite que faire se pouvait. Je lui ai non seulement fait connaître ma détermination et celle des miens sur ce point, mais je lui ai déduit fort au long les motifs et je lui en ai donné certaines raisons qui rendaient nécessaires des explications catégoriques, avant que le mariage du Duc de Montpensier pût être conclu définitivement. *Il résulte de tout cela qu'un désaveu formel est indispensable.* Comment le faire est la seule question à examiner; mais je n'ai jamais trompé personne et je ne commencerai pas aujourd'hui à laisser tromper qui que ce soit sous mon nom. Je donne promptement et nettement mon opinion sur la *simultanéité* et sur la conclusion définitive avant la discussion des articles; c'est encore ce qui peut mieux pallier les embarras que cette triste campagne ne peut manquer de faire."—LOUIS PHILIPPE à M. Guizot, July 20, 1846; *Revue Rétrospective*, p. 182.

Again, on the same day he writes: "Le Duc de Montpensier me rend vos lettres de Bresson que je vous remets bien à la hâte. Il concourt très vivement à tout ce que je

vous ai écrit ce matin. Il faut effacer et annuler formellement tout ce que Bresson a dit en sus de ce que j'avais autorisé. Il faut que les reines sachent qu'il était interdit à Bresson de dire ce qu'il a dit et que la *simultanéité* est inadmissible. Il nous a fait là une rude campagne; il est nécessaire qu'elle soit *biffée* et le plus tôt possible—je ne resterai pas sous le coup d'avoir fait contracter, en mon nom, un engagement que je ne peux ni ne veux tenir et que j'avais formellement interdit."—LOUIS PHILIPPE à M. Guizot, July 20, 1846; *Revue Rétrospective*, p. 182.

Again, four days after, Louis Philippe wrote to M. Guizot: "Je vois avec plaisir que votre opinion est d'accord avec la mienne sur la campagne que Bresson vient de nous faire sur la *simultanéité*, et que seulement vous pensez que Bresson ne s'est pas aussi formellement engagé que je le craignais. Moi je pense au contraire que, connaissant bien mon opinion et celle de ma famille sur la *simultanéité*, il a voulu nous bien lier sur ce point, et que, s'il y a différence entre ce qu'il a dit à la Reine et ce qu'il vous a écrit, elle consiste en ce qu'il se sera plus engagé avec la Reine qu'il ne nous aura dit. Il faut donc qu'il n'y ait pas seulement un désaveu verbal de la part de Bresson, qui serait *verba volantia*, même s'il le faisait complètement, ce qu'il ne fera jamais probablement, mais que ce désaveu soit remis par écrit à la Reine Christine, de manière à ce qu'on ne puisse jamais essayer d'en nier le positif ou d'en contester la notification."—*Revue Rétrospective*, p. 184.

bassador at London, who did not conceal his surprise at Prince Coburg being still held forth as one of the suitors of the Queen. The despatch, however, having been sent off, and a copy only read, Lord Palmerston contented himself with saying that the British Government had no intention of supporting Prince Coburg, and that these words were put in only *narrativé* as a summary of the existing state of affairs. Lord Cowley, the English ambassador at Paris, gave Louis Philippe the strongest assurances to the same tenor, in a long conference they had on the subject, two days after, on the evening of the 25th July;\* and on the 23d August, Lord Normanby, who had succeeded Lord Cowley as ambassador at that court, intimated officially to M. Guizot that the British Government was taking steps to support *Don Enrique*, one of the descendants of

Philip V. This prince was within the agreed-on limits; and M. Guizot replied, that if he was agreeable to the Queen of Spain *the Court of France would be perfectly satisfied*.

45. But when M. Guizot professed himself to be perfectly satisfied with Don Enrique, he in reality knew that the matter had been otherwise arranged; and that, in defiance of the engagements entered into at the Château d'Eu and Windsor, the Queen was to be married to the Duke de Cadiz, one of the sons of the Infant Don Francisco de Paulo, *and the Infanta at the same time to the Duke de Montpensier*. It is now known that both M. Guizot and Louis Philippe, immediately on receipt of the Comte de Jarnac's letter communicating the tenor of Lord Palmerston's instructions of the 19th to Sir Henry Bulwer, were seized with the most mortal apprehensions of being overreached in this matter as they had been six years before in the Eastern question; and this terror led them to forget altogether their previous engagements with the Court of London. Guizot wrote (July 24) to his Sovereign with the enclosed copy: "My first impression on receiving the enclosed was that we ought to attach ourselves more than ever to our *actual idea*, '*Cadiz and Montpensier*.' Queen Christina and the Moderate party cannot fail to see that by it alone can they be rendered the masters by securing the support of the King of France, while any other combination will deliver them infallibly into the hands of their enemies, the Radicals." And Louis Philippe, on receiving it next morning, replied: "The perusal of the documents you have sent me, which I received this morning, and which I now return, has left me a prey to the most painful impressions. *Not that I expected better from Lord Palmerston*; but that I thought he would not so soon have thrown off the mask. My present impression is that we must return blow for blow. Jarnac has acquitted himself wonderfully; but we must prepare an answer to that astounding and detestable despatch, of which I think we shall make Lord Palmerston

\* "On a dit que le Gouvernement Anglais, en tenant ce langage, n'avait nulle intention de pousser au mariage du Prince Léopold de Saxe-Cobourg avec la Reine Isabelle. *Je suis prêt à l'admettre*: mais peu important, en politique, les intentions; les effets sont tout."—Guizot, *Vie de Peel*, p. 314.

"Lord Cowley est venu hier au soir et j'ai eu avec lui une conversation très longue et bien vive sur les instructions communiquées par Lord Palmerston. Pour être bref, il a généreusement essayé de les défendre en disant que tout cela n'était que pour maintenir ses dires précédents. '*That these instructions could not be acted upon—certainly not*, que Bulwer s'en garderait bien.' Je lui ai demandé permission de n'en rien croire et que les conséquences de ceci m'alarmaient au plus haut degré."—LOUIS PHILIPPE à M. Guizot, 26 Juillet 1846; *Revue Rétrospective*, p. 187.

"L'ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Paris, Lord Normanby, fit même connaître officiellement à M. Guizot que son Gouvernement faisait des démarches pour obtenir la main de la Reine en faveur de Don Enrique. Il n'y avait pas d'objection à faire: ce prince était dans les conditions exigées par le Gouvernement Français. Aussi M. Guizot répondit que si la Reine d'Espagne était à faire choix de Don Enrique *ce choix satisferait parfaitement la Cour de France*. Mais il savait qu'il n'avait pas à craindre cette alternative. En effet la conférence entre M. Guizot et Lord Normanby avait lieu le 23 Août; et dans la nuit du 26 ou 27 la Reine Isabelle faisait savoir à ses ministres que son choix était fixé sur le Duc de Cadiz, et, immédiatement après, M. Bresson demandait officiellement la main de l'Infante pour le Duc de Montpensier. *Elle lui fut accordée*."—REGNAULT, iii. 160, 161.

bitterly repent. Do not, however, in your letters to Bresson use that expression, 'Cadiz and Montpensier.' It savours too much of *simultaneity*, and is disagreeable to all my family, whom it suits as little as it does me." Guizot answered the same day: "I am entirely of your Majesty's opinion that you should not engage at once to have the marriages concluded simultaneously; but I pray you to reflect on the extreme importance and delicacy of the crisis. There is evidently a great effort about to be made for the Coburg. Our fence against this threat is, 'Cadiz and Montpensier.' Let us not weaken that defence at the very moment when we have most need of it. If the policy of London succeeds, and the Coburg arrives, the consequences will be most serious both here and at Madrid."

46. When these had become the views of the King and his Ministers, it is not surprising that an immediate change in the line of conduct ensued, and that their consent was given to the immediate marriage of the Queen with the Duke de Cadiz simultaneously with that of the Infanta with the Duke de Montpensier. M. Guizot has told us so himself. "Under the influence," says he, "of these united circumstances, it was evident that, whether the English Government desired it or not, the Coburg marriage had become probable and imminent. I thought so, and I remain convinced that I judged correctly. I did not hesitate. I gave the King the advice, and to Count Bresson, his ambassador at Madrid, to press the immediate conclusion of the double marriage of the Queen of Spain with the Infant Don Francisco d'Assise (Duke of Cadiz) and of the Infanta with the Duke de Montpensier. The French policy, national as well as royal, willed that the throne of Spain should not go out of the house of Bourbon. I had openly laid down that principle, and I caused it to triumph at the very moment when it was on the point of failing." Two days after this correspondence the Duke de Montpensier set out from Paris, and on the 10th October he was married to the

Infanta at the same altar, and immediately after the marriage of the Queen to the Duke de Cadiz.

47. It may readily be conceived that M. Guizot had no small difficulty in announcing this sudden change of resolution on the part of the French Government to the English ambassador, the more especially after the declaration which he himself had made to Lord Normanby, a few days before, that the French Government would be perfectly satisfied with Don Enrique, whom the Cabinet of London were inclined to support. He first said on 1st September, in a conference on the subject, to Lord Normanby, that the two marriages should not take place at the same time. Afterwards, on the 23d September, when the subject was again under discussion between the same parties, and the intention of marrying the two princesses at the same time could no longer be concealed, he denied that he had ever made use of these expressions; and when the actual words used were recalled to his recollection, he had recourse to the strange and discreditable subterfuge, "*The two marriages will not take place at the same time, for the Queen will be married first!*" The indignation of the British Government exhaled in an angry note addressed by Sir Henry Bulwer at Madrid to M. Isturitz, the Spanish Foreign Minister;"\* and in a holograph letter

\* "En ce moment, je vois la main d'une jeune princesse de quatorze ans donnée d'une manière opposée aux représentations d'au moins une des grandes Puissances, dont l'amitié pour l'Espagne est bien connue dans l'histoire, et dont l'amitié peut mériter d'être cultivée. Je vois ce mariage préparé secrètement, annoncé à l'improviste, conduit à sa fin avec une rapidité inconcevable: il fait renaître des prétentions qui se combattent, réveille des traités qui dormaient, menace l'Espagne du renouvellement de la guerre civile; il agite enfin et bouleverse les heureuses et pacifiques relations actuelles de l'Europe."

M. Isturitz replied: "Le Gouvernement Britannique, qui se montre si jaloux de l'indépendance de l'Espagne, ne trouvera pas mauvais que l'Espagne agisse dans les limites tracées par les lois internationales; c'est-à-dire, sans blesser les intérêts des autres gouvernements, comme c'est le cas dans cette question à propos de laquelle l'Angleterre ne saurait citer aucune violation des traités; le

from Queen Victoria to Louis Philippe no attempt was made to conceal the impression, though couched in measured terms, that the French Government had broken their pledged faith. But M. Guizot abated nothing of his haughty bearing, and instead of expressing regret at the coldness which it had occasioned between the two Governments, said, "France has not seen such a day since the Revolution of 1830." \*

48. Thus was the *entente cordiale* between the Governments of France and England, so essential to the peace and independence of Europe, broken up—and broken up in such a way, and on such a question, that reconciliation between the parties was rendered impossible. Not only were national interests of the most important kind brought into collision, and national rivalries of the keenest sort again awakened, but with these were mingled the indignation at broken faith—the soreness at overreached diplomacy. These feelings, as is always the case with the party which has been worsted in the strife, were much more keen in England than France. One chorus of indignation burst from the whole English press at this alleged breach of faith on the part of Louis Philippe, and the violation of the royal word pledged to Queen Victoria amidst the festivities of the Château d'Eu and Windsor Castle. These invectives were eagerly imported into France by the Liberal journals of that country, which, after having exhausted the whole vocabulary of abuse founded on

alleged oppression, despotism, and abandonment of principle by the Citizen King, were charmed to find the still more serious charges of personal breach of faith and duplicity brought against him by the power which had hitherto given him its strongest support.

49. Immense was the effect of this estrangement between France and England upon the internal and external situation of both countries. No event since the fall of Charles X. is to be compared with it in importance. By depriving Louis Philippe of the moral support of England it essentially weakened his throne, both in the estimation of foreign powers and of his own subjects. It lowered his character with many who had hitherto from necessity given him their support, and encouraged his enemies both at home and abroad by diffusing the belief that, in any crisis, either external or internal, he could look for no support from this country. The Spanish Alliance, in the existing state of Europe, gave him nothing in comparison. Weakened by the loss of her colonies, distracted by the passions, and still bleeding at every pore from the wounds of civil war, Spain could render no assistance to France. Guizot's master-stroke was as great a mistake in policy as it was a deviation from faith. Its consequences were even more disastrous in the external relations and influence of the two countries than on their internal stability. By separating the two Western Powers, whose union could alone check the encroachments of Russia in Eastern Europe, it left the field, both in Poland and on the Danube, open to Muscovite ambition. From this disastrous severance is to be dated a series of causes and effects which went on in necessary sequence till Europe was shaken to its centre by the French Revolution, and, necessity having taught wisdom, the alliance of France and England, thus unhappily severed, was cemented anew at Inkermann and Sebastopol.

50. Seeing the Spanish marriages have been attended with these highly important and calamitous results, it

Gouvernement Britannique ne trouvera pas mauvais, je le répète, que l'Espagne repousse énergiquement une protestation qui menace son indépendance, et qu'à son tour elle proteste contre une pareille prétention. Permettez-moi de dire que le dépôt sacré de l'indépendance Espagnole n'est confié à la vigilance d'aucune nation étrangère; ce dépôt est gardé par la loyauté Espagnole, qui s'est montrée inébranlable, même au milieu des plus grandes calamités."—REGNAULT, iii. 363, 364.

\* "Gentlemen, this is the first grand thing that we have effected completely single-handed, in Europe, since 1830. Impartial Europe has delivered her judgment to that effect."—M. Guizot's words, January 16, 1847; *Ann. Reg.* 1847, 396.

becomes of the greatest importance to determine which party was to blame in the contracting of them, and upon whom does the charge of breach of faith really rest. The charge, and the serious one, of breach of faith, undoubtedly attaches to the French monarch, or rather his minister M. Guizot, the chief man in the whole Spanish intrigue. It is now fully ascertained by the best of all evidence—that of Louis Philippe and M. Guizot themselves—that the agreement between the former and Queen Victoria, contracted amidst the festivities of the Château d'Eu and Windsor, was, that the Queen of Spain was to bestow her hand on a descendant of Philip V., and that the Duke de Montpensier was to marry the Infanta, but not till the Queen had given birth to "children." She did marry a descendant of Philip V., and England never urged any other marriage; on the contrary, she refused her consent to the Coburg alliance when it had been formally demanded by the Queen-Regent of Spain. Then how is the hurrying on of the Montpensier marriage, and its conclusion on the same day, and at the same altar as that of the Queen, to be justified? Confessedly this can be done on no other ground than the letter of Lord Palmerston, of 19th July, to Sir H. Bulwer, communicated to the French ambassador in London, which placed Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg among the suitors of the Queen, and gave him the first place on the list. It is on this ground, accordingly, *and this alone*, that the breach of engagement is justified by the diplomatists and historians of France. It may be conceded that it was an unfortunate and ill-advised step on the part of Lord Palmerston to name him at all among the royal suitors, the more especially as it was likely to give umbrage to France, and the consent of England to the suit of the German prince had been recently and formally refused.

51. But that this diplomatic slip afforded no vindication whatever of the breach of engagement is evident from the following considerations:—1. The Prince was mentioned as a suitor by Lord Palmerston, in his letter of the 19th, only *narrativé*, and in summing up at the outset of the letter the existing state of affairs; and this was strictly true, as the hand of the Queen had recently been offered to him by the Queen-Regent of Spain. 2. It was not said that England would support his pretensions; on the contrary, the Government had formally refused their consent to it, and evinced its good faith by intimating the proposal, and their declination of it, to the Cabinet of the Tuileries; and this was known to Louis Philippe, and duly appreciated by him. 3. The refusal of England to support the Coburg alliance was intimated by Lord Palmerston to the French ambassador when the letter mentioning it was read on 20th July; the same was repeated by Lord Cowley to Louis Philippe in person, on 25th July; it was promised on September 1, by Guizot to Lord Normanby, that the two marriages should not take place at the same time; and on the 23d September it was officially notified to M. Guizot that England supported the suit of *Don Enrique*, not *Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg*, with which the French minister professed himself perfectly satisfied. 4. Nevertheless, in the face of all this, the French Government urged on both marriages, which were celebrated on the same day, and at the same altar, three weeks after, at Madrid, on 10th October. In these circumstances, it is evident that Lord Palmerston's slip afforded M. Guizot no real excuse, but was merely laid hold of by him as a pretext to cover an advantage to France which he deemed of importance, but which could not be obtained without a real breach of the royal faith of his master.

## CHAPTER LXI.

ENGLAND, FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF FREE TRADE AND FALL OF SIR R. PEEL IN JUNE 1846, TO THE TERMINATION OF THE IRISH FAMINE IN 1847.

1. THUS was Free Trade introduced, and the great Tory party split asunder by the act of its Protectionist chief! The effects of this change of policy and dislocation of parties have been great and decisive, and extended far beyond the lifetime or sphere of the persons who were instrumental in bringing it about. It has diffused, for a very long period, perhaps for ever, in Great Britain, a distrust in public men—a disbelief either in fixity of policy, or adherence to principle, in the rulers of the State. It has spread abroad the conviction that the ruling power in the commonwealth is no longer to be found in its aristocracy, either of rank, property, talents, or virtues; but that by a well-concerted and vigorous system of popular agitation, the whole of these influences may be overthrown, and government become impracticable, except by the abandonment of pledges the most solemnly given, principles the most solemnly asserted, and concession to demands attended with the most obvious danger. It has entirely broken up and divided the great Tory party, which for half a century had ruled the empire, and withstood, both in arms and influence, the first French Revolution. It has introduced into that once firm and united body discord the most incurable, heart-burnings the most violent. Words were spoken on both sides which can never be forgiven; deeds done which can never be forgotten. When eighty Protectionists, the representatives of the old English aristocracy, followed Lord George Bentinck and Mr Disraeli into the hostile lobby on the division on the Irish Coercion Bill, the knell of the Tory party was rung, the rule of steady con-

sistent party on either side came to an end, and the empire was handed over to successive coalitions of discordant interests, involving on all sides dereliction of principle, attended to none by durability of power.

2. It is remarkable that the breaking up of the two great parties which have alternately ruled the State ever since the Revolution was in neither case owing to the hostility of its opponent, however ably directed or perseveringly applied. It was neither Mr Pitt nor Lord Castlereagh that overturned the Whigs; it was not Mr Fox or Mr Burke that paralysed the Tories. From the assaults of those great men, strongly supported as they were, their opponents on both sides entirely recovered, and they never were so powerful as after those periods when the strife had been most violent. Witness Mr Pitt in 1784, after the desperate struggle with the Coalition; Earl Grey in 1832, after the close of the long-continued strife consequent on the French Revolution. Even the Reform Bill, however skilfully directed to that end, did not destroy the Tory party; the Opposition was never so united or so ably led as from 1835 to 1841 when guided by Sir R. Peel, the Government never so powerful as when he came into power in the close of the latter year. The Whigs as a party were destroyed by the Reform Bill, forced through the Lords by their powerful leaders at the head of the whole democracy of the empire; the Tories as a party were destroyed by Sir R. Peel, when at the head of the Government, and supported by a majority so large as promised them a lease of power for an unlimited period. Earl Grey's

triumph terminated the ascendancy of the old Whig families which had so long ruled the State, and substituted in its room that of a coalition of English urban Liberals, Scotch Radicals, and Irish Catholics. Sir R. Peel's return to power with a majority of 91 was the herald of the dissolution of the great and united party which he had so long and ably headed, and its severance into angry, soured Protectionists, too weak to form a government, and wavering Liberal Conservatives, eminent in talent, but discredited by change, and without followers sufficient to give them any pretensions to be a ruling party.

3. Without doubt this strange and anomalous result is to be ascribed in some degree to the pressure of external circumstances. The growing wealth and importance of the commercial portion of the nation called for an enlarged admission of their representatives into the legislature, as it did for a certain modification of the duties on the admission of food and necessary articles of subsistence. So far, a concession was necessary in both cases. But the amount and measure of the concession were in both voluntary, and the authors of the changes are responsible for their effects. Both were precipitated, and rendered unavoidable, by the previous acts of the very Ministers who introduced them; both were forced on by the power which they respectively wielded, in utter ignorance of their effects. The Reform Bill was first rendered a national object of desire from the effect of the long-continued declamations of the Whigs and Liberals at the former representation of interests and classes; and it was rendered so broad and sweeping, from Earl Grey seriously and in good faith anticipating from it effects diametrically the reverse of those with which it has actually been attended. The demand for the repeal of the Corn Laws was mainly owing to the monetary system which had been in operation for a quarter of a century, which, by halving the remuneration for every species of industry, had swelled into a passion the desire for a corresponding

reduction in the price of food; and to the conduct of Sir R. Peel himself, who, by applying the principles of Free Trade to inferior articles, rendered irresistible the cry for its extension to the principal staples of human consumption. Not less than the great alteration in the structure of the constitution, this social change was forced through by him in direct opposition to the wishes of his party and his own former professions, and in such complete ignorance of its effects, that, before many years had elapsed, it had induced evils of a far more serious and irremediable kind than those it was intended to remove. The commencement of these evils forms the interesting and instructive subject of the present chapter.

4. As a matter of course, the Queen, upon the resignation of Sir R. Peel, for whom she had conceived the highest esteem, sent for Lord John Russell, and he experienced much less difficulty in forming a Cabinet than on the last similar occasion Lord Melbourne had done. Lord John Russell was First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Cottenham became Lord-Chancellor; Sir George Grey, Home, and Lord Palmerston, Foreign, Secretary; with whom Earl Grey was now persuaded to act as Secretary for the Colonies. Sir C. Wood was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Auckland First Lord of the Admiralty. The Cabinet consisted of the unusually large number of sixteen, and certainly presented a brilliant display of oratorical and parliamentary talent. But the great preponderance of noblemen gave little promise of a due infusion of business habits, or acquaintance with the probable effect of legislative changes; and the paucity of practical men afforded too good reason to fear a serious deficiency in knowledge of the real situation and wants of the country. So completely, however, was the Tory party understood to be split asunder by the dissensions consequent on Free Trade, that the eyes of the entire nation were turned to the new Cabinet, as the only one possible under existing circumstances; and the elections



consequent on the vacating of seats from the formation of the new Government excited very little attention. All its members were returned almost without opposition.\*

5. Parliament met again after a short adjournment, during which the returns for the vacated seats took place on the 16th July; and the first subject of importance which came on for discussion was the sugar-duties, which required immediate attention, as the bill for the existing duties expired on the 4th August. Lord John Russell brought forward this important subject in a very able speech; and the plan which he proposed, and which received the sanction of a large majority of the House of Commons, is the more worthy of attention, as it afforded the first instance of the effect of the

free-trade measures, then so much in vogue, and so largely adopted by Parliament, upon the *producing* interests of the empire. "The first question," said his lordship, "is, what is the consumption in average years of the empire? and the next, is there any chance of supply within ourselves adequate to meet it? The returns of sugar imported on an average of the last three years, and the concurring opinion of all practical men engaged in the trade, fix the annual consumption at 252,000 tons; while the most probable view of the supply does not give above 230,000 tons.† Then, where is the additional supply of 22,000 tons, of an article now become one of the necessities of life to a large part of our people, to come from? There is no resource we can look to but foreign

\* THE WHIG GOVERNMENT, AS NOW REARRANGED.

*Cabinet.*

First Lord of the Treasury,	Lord J. Russell.
Lord-Chancellor,	Lord Cottenham.
President of the Council,	Marquess of Lansdowne.
Lord Privy Seal,	Earl of Minto.
Home Office,	Sir G. Grey.
Foreign Office,	Viscount Palmerston.
Colonial Office,	Earl Grey.
Chancellor of the Exchequer,	Sir C. Wood.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,	Lord Campbell.
Paymaster-General,	Mr Macaulay.
Woods and Forests,	Lord Morpeth.
Postmaster-General,	Lord Clanricarde.
Board of Trade,	Earl of Clarendon.
Board of Control,	Sir J. Hobhouse.
Secretary for Ireland,	Mr Labouchere.
First Lord of the Admiralty,	Earl of Auckland.

*Not in the Cabinet.*

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,	Earl of Besborough.
Secretary at War,	Hon. Fox Maule.
Commander-in-Chief,	Duke of Wellington.
Master-General of the Ordnance,	Marquess of Anglesea.
Master of the Mint,	R. L. Shiel, Esq.
Attorney-General,	Sir J. Jervis.
Solicitor-General,	Sir D. Dundas.
Lord Advocate of Scotland,	And. Rutherford, Esq.
Solicitor-General,	Thos. Maitland, Esq.

—*Parl. Deb.* lxxxvii. 1.

† CALCULATION OF THE WEST INDIA BODY FOR 1847.

West Indies,	Tons.
Mauritius,	125,000
East Indies,	50,000
	75,000
	250,000
That of the sugar-refiners was less favourable,—	
West Indies,	115,000
Mauritius,	40,000
East Indies,	70,000
	225,000

slave-grown sugar. That sugar has been virtually excluded from the market since the final emancipation of the slaves in 1837, a period now of nine years, and all the efforts of the producers of sugar in our own colonies have been unable to keep pace with the demand, or prevent the price of the article rising, as it is now doing, to what, as to it, amounts to a famine level. There is an absolute necessity, therefore, of recurring to the slave states for a supply of this necessary article of consumption. Indeed, the exclusion of slave-grown sugar, under the present prohibitory system, is impracticable, for the slave states are in possession of treaties under which they are entitled to demand the admission of their slave-grown sugar 'on the same terms as' the most favoured nation. Under the present system the discouragement to slavery in the Slave States is more apparent than real, because the slave growers find a market for their produce in other countries into which it obtains free admission, whence they receive supplies in return which come from Great Britain, so that there is a virtual exchange of English manufactures for foreign slave sugar. The Spanish slave planters might just as well send their sugar direct to this country in exchange for our manufactures, as do so by means of this intervening transaction.

6. "The argument, so strongly rested on by the Protectionists—that if you admit foreign slave sugar on anything like an equality with British free-grown, you give an encouragement to slavery, and go back upon all your own enactments for the emancipation of the negroes—though specious in appearance, has no solid foundation. No such bar as is contended for in the case of sugar is imposed upon slave produce in other articles, as cotton, tobacco, copper, and many others. Nobody can deny that the vast consumption of these articles, especially the two first, in this country, gives an impulse to slavery in the United States; but has any one yet been bold enough to affirm, that before admitting the American cotton into our har-

bours, we should insist on their solving the tremendous problem hanging over their heads in the United States, and emancipating all the negroes by whose hands the cotton has been raised? Such a proposal would be little short of insanity; and yet if there is any foundation for the argument that we should keep up the heavy import-duties on foreign slave-grown sugar to discourage slavery, we unquestionably, to be consistent, should apply the same principle to American slave-grown cotton.

7. "Financial considerations of the very highest moment concur with the obvious expedience of the thing itself in recommending the introduction of foreign slave sugars at moderate import duties. If we deduct the £700,000 of China money, which is not a permanent source of income, from the estimated revenue for 1847-48, there will be a deficiency of £352,000, with the chance of its being increased to half a million in that year. This follows from the late Chancellor of the Exchequer's own statement. Now this being in the most favourable view the state of our finances, is it not expedient to adopt a measure which will fill up the gap, not only without adding to the burdens of the people, but actually diminishing, in a sensible degree, to them the cost of a general and necessary article of human subsistence?

8. "The plan which Government proposes is this: Instead of the present prohibitory duty of 63s. the cwt. on foreign slave muscovado sugar, and 23s. 4d. on foreign free-labour sugar, there shall be imposed for the present year a duty of 21s. on all foreign sugar, whether the produce of free or slave labour, the duty to fall progressively till July 1851, when it shall be permanently fixed at 14s.\* In addition

\* PROPOSED RATE OF DECLINE OF THE  
DUTY ON FOREIGN SUGAR.

To July 5, 1847, . . . .	21s.
" 1848, . . . .	20s.
" 1849, . . . .	18s. 6d.
" 1850, . . . .	17s.
" 1851, . . . .	15s. 6d.
After July 1851, . . . .	14s.

—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxviii. 1316, 1317.

to this, the differential duty between rum and British spirits is to be reduced from 1s. 6d. to 1s. the gallon. We cannot accede to the demand of the West Indians that molasses should be admitted to our breweries and distilleries. In consideration of these reductions, which will go far to lower the price of sugar to the British consumer, we propose to relax in some degree the restrictions at present in force on the importation of free black immigrants from Africa into the West Indies. By the Orders in Council, originally in force after the suppression of slavery, the emigration of negroes from Sierra Leone to the West Indies was absolutely prohibited, from an apprehension that, if allowed, it would prove the slave-trade in disguise. This prohibition was subsequently relaxed, both by Lord Melbourne's Government and that of Sir R. Peel, both in regard to Africa and other parts of the world, from a sense of its necessity. Still, however, the law is, that any agreement or contract for the services of any negro, made in the British settlements in Africa, is not valid or binding in the West Indies, and is not to be respected by the British cruisers. We propose by the present Act so far to modify this as to allow contracts for hiring of negroes in the *British* possessions on the coast of Africa to be binding in the West Indies, provided they are not for *more than a year*; but we do not deem it safe to permit any similar concession as to contracts made elsewhere on the African shores, or especially on the Kroo coast. Under this plan we shall realise from the sugar duties a revenue of £4,200,000, being £625,000 more than was expected by Sir R. Peel's proposed scale of duties, and in addition obtain the great advantage of giving the people of this country an increased supply of sugar at a reduced price."

9. On the other hand it was argued by Lord George Bentinck, Mr Disraeli, and Lord Brougham: "It cannot now be denied, that, contrary to what was strenuously maintained when the emancipation of the negroes took place,

the effect of that measure has been seriously to lessen the production of sugar in the West Indies. For while the average production of sugar in the British colonies in the West Indies was, on an average of six years before that event, 195,000 tons, their production since emancipation has fallen off to such a degree, that at one period it did not exceed 107,000 tons, and has in no instance exceeded 145,000 tons. As a natural consequence of this great decline, prices of that article have risen; on an average of twelve years, since emancipation, the rise has been no less than 10s. a-hundredweight, or a penny a-pound—from 27s. a-cwt. to 37s. There can be no doubt that, in this state of affairs, the admission of slave-grown sugar would, in the first instance, reduce its price; possibly bring it down again to 27s. a-cwt. But at what price would this advantage be gained, even in the light only of our own pecuniary interests? It could only be effected by lessening still further the production of sugar in our own dominions, and rendering us daily more and more dependent on the foreign slave growers for the supply of what has now become a necessary article of the national subsistence. Is that a desirable state of things? Is it creditable to a great nation? And supposing the policy to be carried out to its uttermost length, and our own free-labour sugar to be entirely driven out of the market by the foreign slave-grown, what will be the result so far as prices and our own interests are concerned? Why, that we shall be entirely at the mercy of the foreign slave growers, and that the planters of Cuba and Brazil, having got the monopoly of the article into their own hands, will raise the price to any height which they please.

10. "Much is said of the inability of the colonies of Great Britain, working with free labour only, to supply the demand of this country, without a large assistance from foreign slave states. The statement is much exaggerated, and the difficulty, such as it is, has been mainly of our own creation. It is the restrictions imposed

on the importation of free labourers into the West Indies, whether from Africa or China, by our own Orders in Council, which have been the main cause of the great decline of West Indian produce since the emancipation. Remove those most absurd and impolitic restrictions, and the production in the West Indies will increase. It is said by the Government that 125,000 tons may this year be expected from the West Indies, and an equal amount may be expected with confidence from the East Indies and the Mauritius. In fact, no limit can be assigned to the capabilities of production of sugar in the East Indies, with a fine climate, ample means of irrigation, and a hundred millions of people to cultivate it. Already in the Mauritius the crop this year has been 60,000 tons, of which 49,000 has been already shipped, or is in the course of being so. And the noble lord opposite calculates on 100,000 tons from India. These sources of supply will, together, reach 285,000 tons, — considerably more than the annual requirements of this country, which, even during the last two years of unexampled prosperity and impulse to labour, has never exceeded 246,000 tons. Where, then, is the necessity of making a sacrifice of the present and future interests of our own free colonies, when we possess, within ourselves, the means of amply supplying all our necessities?

11. "Look to our export trade to our colonies, as compared with that which we carry on with those countries from which we may expect to obtain sugar, and see whether we ourselves are likely to be gainers by exchanging the one with the other. The declared value of our exports to the West Indies was £2,500,000, when the population was 1,000,000, being 57s. a-head of our manufactures; whereas, to the United States, with a population of 15,000,000, it was only £7,500,000, being 10s. a-head. Is it not, then, for our interest to preserve our West Indian customers, who, if they send us their sugar, take our manufactures in return, rather than seek to ingratiate foreign nations, who require so much

less of our manufactures, and add so little to our exports? If we get our sugar from Cuba or Brazil, the principal articles which they will take in exchange will be, not manufactures, but gold coin or bullion, the export of which will be attended with no other effect but a drain upon the metallic treasures of the Bank of England, and consequent contraction of the currency and diminution of credit in this country. And as to the East Indies, the principal difficulty in regard to those possessions is, that their markets are already glutted with our manufactures; and if we in addition adopt measures which will deprive them of a market for the 100,000 tons of sugar which they now raise, what other result is to be anticipated but that their means of purchasing our manufactures will be still further lessened, and our trade with them will run more and more into a large balance of imports over exports, attended with a ruinous drain upon the metallic resources of this country?

12. "If slave sugar is admitted, and the price of that article is in consequence diminished 6s. per cwt., somebody must be a loser if the consumers in this country are gainers. This difference of price will go into the pockets of the Cuba or Brazilian slave planter, or it will be taken from those of the British West India colonists and those engaged in the commerce of their productions. Was such a loss as this ever voluntarily inflicted by a legislature on one portion of its subjects? It is boasted on the other side, that if this bill passes, it will save the British consumers from £1,500,000 to £2,000,000 a-year. Be it so. Is that a gain? That sum is violently wrested from the West India planters, already labouring under the accumulated difficulties arising from the emancipation of the negroes, and who had adventured the last wreck of their fortunes in the attempt to stay the ruin, on the assurance that the Legislature would never so far recede in its career as to restore slavery and the slave-trade, after having made such efforts for its suppression. If this bill passes, many of the most respectable

merchants in that once wealthy trade will, before many weeks are over, be in the Gazette, and these splendid islands, once the pride and glory of England, will become a wilderness, inhabited only by savages and wild beasts.

13. "Is the country prepared to violate all its resolutions, abandon all its endeavours, contradict all its professions, render itself contemptible in the eyes of men, guilty in the sight of Heaven, by restoring the slave-trade after having made such efforts for its abolition? Mr O'Connell has put the matter plainly and forcibly. 'The question is cheap sugar with slavery, or dearer sugar without it. It is nothing else than the repetition of the children's fable—the large loaf or the father's curse. It is a farce to let in the sugars of Cuba and Brazil, and at the same time to propose or continue emancipation.' No one regrets the twenty millions paid as the price of emancipation; no one grudges the forty-nine vessels of war, 7000 men and 700 guns, now employed in repressing that infernal traffic. But what excuse can we make for ourselves, what a figure shall we present to the eyes of the world, if at the very time when we are paying £1,500,000 as the interest of the loan borrowed, and the expense of these armaments, we are making a present of a similar or larger sum to the slave growers of Cuba and Brazil, and that too at the expense of our own fellow-countrymen in the West Indies, who have struggled on in opposition to overwhelming difficulties, in reliance on our philanthropic professions? The profits which the slave-owners will make of this measure are immense. If the price of sugar is raised by it to them £6 a-ton, and each negro make three tons a-year, the annual value of the labour of one slave is increased £18. Supposing he lasts ten years, there is £180 added to the value of the slave, which at present is £81! What a fearful encouragement are we about to give to the accursed traffic which we professed ourselves so desirous to abolish!

14. "It has often been said, but it cannot be too often repeated, that the slave-trade which the bill now under consideration goes to strengthen and restore, is a species of that infernal traffic far worse, as well as more extensive, than that of which Mr Wilberforce effected the abolition forty years ago. Imagination cannot conceive, the pen almost refuses to record, the lips can scarcely be brought to utter, the horrors of this awful traffic as it is now proposed to be re-established. Six years ago Mr Fowell Buxton affirmed in this House, that such had been the impulse given to the slave-trade by the emancipation of the negroes that 250,000 blacks annually passed the Atlantic; and Lord Aberdeen said, in 1844, that the average number of slaves annually imported into the Southern States of North America and the Spanish West Indies, was 100,000 a-year. This year above 16,000 were imported into Rio Janeiro alone. Is it to a trade of such gigantic dimensions, so much exceeding what our own slave-trade was in its worst days, that you are prepared to give the immense additional impulse arising from the present measure, which will at once more than double the value of every imported slave? But melancholy as the vast increase of the slave-trade, from the effect of our measures, has been, it is as nothing compared to the augmented horrors of the traffic, which, in the hands of the Spaniards and Portuguese, have now reached a pitch never before equalled, and which apparently it is impossible to exceed. By the Passenger Act in Great Britain, which regulated the slave-trade while it was legal, five tons were allowed for each slave; but as it is now practised, *there are five or six slaves to one ton*. The slave-deck is 2 feet 10 inches high; and, in one instance, 349 human beings were embarked on board a vessel 67 feet long by 21 broad, with a measure of from 80 to 100 tons. Such are the sufferings of the poor wretches crammed into these holes, where they are for days and weeks enduring the

agonies of suffocation, that they are sometimes driven by the madness induced by suffering into revolt; but in such cases the arms and discipline of the Europeans generally prevail, and after forty or fifty have been massacred, the rest are flogged in so merciless a manner that death would be a relief to their prolonged sufferings.\*

15. "Let us not deceive ourselves, therefore: we are about to pass a measure which will restore the slave-trade in far more than its pristine horrors. When on the verge of sealing it up by our powerful navy on the coast of Africa, we shall reopen it in a new legitimised channel, and in a form which will set at nought all the vigilance of our cruisers. Already France is cordially co-operating with us for the extinction of this infernal traffic, and even in Cuba and Brazil themselves a better feeling has arisen. Yet at this very moment, with the goal almost in view, we abandon the race, relinquish

\* "Those who were thus executed were heavily ironed; a rope was then put round their necks, which was rove through the yard-arm, and they were run up from the deck. By this means they were not hanged, they were strangled or choked, and in that state, while still alive, they were shot in the breast, and then thrown overboard. If there were two shot or hanged together, they were run up in the same manner, until their legs were laid across the rail of the bulwark on the ship's side, and then they were broken, and chopped off to save the irons. In this way the bleeding body of a negro was thrown overboard to make way for another. The legs of about a dozen were chopped off in that manner. When the bleeding feet fell on the deck, they were picked up by the Brazilian crew, and then thrown overboard after the body; sometimes they pelted the body with them in sport while it hung half alive. When two, chained together, were to be hung, they were shot while they remained suspended, and then thrown overboard while still alive. The women were shot in the neck, and thrown over while still living. Several of them were seen to struggle in the water for some time before they sank. After this slaughter was done, about twenty were brought up and flogged. The women were flogged as well as the men. Such was the severity of the flogging they received that they were obliged to lie on their bellies during the remainder of the voyage; and on the backs of some the flesh had putrified and fallen off in pieces of six or eight inches in diameter."—*Account of the Treatment of the slaves on board Lenord's Fonseca's Ship*, quoted by Lord G. Bentinck in *Parl. Deb.*, lxxxviii. 49, 50.

the good fight, and restore the trade in augmented strength and aggravated horrors. This bill will render nugatory all our former exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade. The 150,000 negroes now annually imported from Africa will be fearfully augmented by the bounty we are preparing to give for their introduction. Free labour in our own colonies can never compete with slave labour, unless the slave-market of Africa is closed; and by the profits with which this measure will cause the slave-trade to be attended, it will be reopened with more effect than ever. Eighty thousand human beings, the half of those imported, will be hurried by it, amidst excruciating tortures, into eternity! And this, in the year 1846, is the first act of a Liberal Government, and the earnest of the measures they are prepared to adopt in the service of humanity!"

16. Sir R. Peel pursued a very singular but eminently characteristic course on this occasion. He stated that the bill before the House was widely different from what he intended to have introduced, and that he thought the West Indies was an exceptional case to the general principles of free trade. Situated as he was, however, he declared his intention to support the bill, not because he approved of it, for he agreed with all Lord George Bentinck had said on the abomination of the traffic in slaves, and thought the reduction of duties on foreign slave sugar should be much more gradual, but simply because, if the bill were thrown out, which might "easily be done," "the Ministry would resign, and the country would have three Ministries within three weeks, and the new Ministry would revoke the measure regarding the Corn Laws which had been just passed." Thus he declared that the abandonment of Protection in the British Islands compelled him to surrender it in the West Indies also. The result was, that Sir R. Peel and all the Liberal Conservatives, as they began to be called, voted with the Ministry, and the bill was carried by a majority of 130, the numbers being 265 to 135.

This was probably a tolerably accurate index of the strength of the purely Protectionist party, as compared with the united Whigs and Liberal or urban Conservatives. In the House of Lords the majority was only 18, but that was in a very thin House of 28 members only. Every one saw that the battle of native industry had been fought and lost, and that, for good or for evil, free trade, in every department, was to be the destiny of the State.

17. Thus was protection finally taken from the West Indies, and the principle of free trade carried out, even in that quarter, where its advocates admitted its application was most open to exception. Thus also, it may now be confidently stated, were the WEST INDIES FINALLY RUINED. This is now proved by the decisive evidence of facts. For some years after the bill was passed, and before the rapidly-declining rate of import duty on foreign slave sugar had rendered effort hopeless, the planters made immense exertions, hoping, as is often the case, to be able to compensate the reduction of price by increase of production; and though the returns exhibited a reduction in the principal articles of production, it was not so considerable as might have been expected.\* They presented, however, in the next three years, a falling off in sugar to the extent of 360,000 cwt.; in rum, of 900,000

gallons; and in coffee, of 3,200,000 pounds! On the other hand, the foreign sugar imported since the bill came into operation has been immense; from Cuba it has more than tripled; from Brazil more than doubled.† These reductions will not appear extraordinary when the immense fall in price which ensued on the removal of Protection is considered. Sugar which, in 1840, sold in bond at 49s. the cwt., exclusive of duty, was selling, in 1848, at 23s. 5d., or less than a half! In the eight years ending in 1846, the average price had been 37s. 3d.; in the eight following years it was 24s. 6d.! The planters made the greatest efforts, during the latter period, to compensate the fall in price by increased production, but in vain. "The larger produce," says an able advocate for emancipation, "sold for £7,000,000 less than the smaller crops of the first period had sold for! We can imagine the feelings of the planters who had strained themselves to produce larger crops, and found themselves receiving seven millions less than they had received in the seven preceding years; fifteen millions less than they would have received had the old prices still ruled. It made the whole difference between profit on the business and loss on it. Not only by such a fall was the profit on the sugar swept clean away, but a dead loss ensued when a heavy

\* IMPORTED FROM WEST INDIES.

Years.	Sugar, cwt.	Molasses, cwt.	Rum, gallons.	Coffee, lb.	Cocoa, lb.	Pimento, lb.
1847	3,199,814	531,171	5,259,449	6,763,163	3,026,381	1,358,560
1848	2,794,987	385,484	5,653,840	5,075,128	2,602,309	2,326,576
1849	2,840,531	605,628	4,329,640	3,590,839	3,159,086	2,273,956

—PORTER, p. 803.

† SUGAR IMPORTED FROM CUBA, PORTO RICO, AND BRAZIL INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Years.	Cuba and Porto Rico, Cwt.	Years.	Brazil, Cwt.
1845, . . . . .	348,529	1845, . . . . .	325,359
1846, . . . . .	609,670	1846, . . . . .	302,067
1847, . . . . .	1,157,299	1847, . . . . .	701,693

*Sugar exported from Cuba and Brazil.*

Years.	Cuba, Tons.	Years.	Brazil, Tons.
1840, . . . . .	145,000	1846, . . . . .	66,276
1850, . . . . .	270,000	1849, . . . . .	99,629

—Returns, May 3, 1852.

interest on mortgages required to be paid."\* But at length the resources of the colonies were worn out—the unequal struggle terminated. After having exhausted their credit and mortgaged their estates to the utmost they would bear, they could continue the conflict no longer. Vast properties in all the islands were abandoned, and speedily covered by jungle, in the midst of which the negroes squatted, and clearing little bits of ground adequate for their own maintenance, resumed the indolent, listless life of their fathers in Africa. At the same time, the foreign sugar imported has increased so astonishingly, since the lowest point of the duties was reached in 1851, that IN THE THREE SUBSEQUENT YEARS IT

HAD TRIPLED. A hundred millions of British property had been destroyed from the effect of these disastrous changes; a great and growing market for our manufactures, and nursery for our shipping, reduced to little more than half of its former amount.†

18. Disastrous as these effects have been to the interests of Great Britain in the West Indies, they have been light in comparison of the immense impulse thereby given to the foreign slave-trade. Mr Fowell Buxton, as already stated, had computed the number of Africans annually consumed by the foreign slave-trade in 1841 at 250,000; and Lord Aberdeen admitted that the slaves imported into Cuba and the Southern States of North America

\* *Edinburgh Review*, April 1859, p. 435; and *Parl. Returns*, Feb. 1858.

† BRITISH AND FOREIGN SUGAR IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN IN FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1852, 1853, AND 1854.

Years.	British. Cwt.	Years.	Foreign. Cwt.
1852, . . . . .	2,944,186	1852, . . . . .	877,404
1853, . . . . .	2,413,943	1853, . . . . .	1,547,406
1854, . . . . .	2,584,735	1854, . . . . .	2,560,554

—*Parl. Returns*, 1856.

The exports of British produce and manufactures to the West Indies, for the ten years subsequent to the lowering of the duties, underwent a great diminution—viz.,

Years.		Years.	
1846, . . . . .	£3,253,420	1852, . . . . .	£1,908,552
1847, . . . . .	2,102,577	1853, . . . . .	1,801,146
1848, . . . . .	1,434,477	1854, . . . . .	1,870,674
1849, . . . . .	1,821,146	1855, . . . . .	1,811,390
1850, . . . . .	2,030,229	1856, . . . . .	1,873,397
1851, . . . . .	2,201,032		

—PORTER, 366, 367; *Statistical Abstract*, No. xi. p. 44.

The increase of our exports to Cuba has been as follows:—

Years.		Years.	
1846, . . . . .	£844,112	1852, . . . . .	£1,033,396
1847, . . . . .	896,554	1853, . . . . .	1,124,864
1848, . . . . .	733,169	1854, . . . . .	1,038,159
1849, . . . . .	1,036,153	1855, . . . . .	1,059,606
1850, . . . . .	849,278	1856, . . . . .	1,966,300
1851, . . . . .	1,164,177		

—PORTER, 366, 367; *Statistical Abstract*, No. xi. p. 42.

The imports of Great Britain from Cuba and Brazil alone have now come to equal those from the whole West Indian Islands put together—

Years.	Cuba.	Brazil.	Total Foreign.	West Indies.
1854	£3,369,444	£2,083,603	£5,453,047	£5,613,538
1855	2,332,753	2,273,819	4,606,572	5,470,212
1856	4,231,083	4,414,187	8,645,270	6,285,027
1853	4,275,543	4,491,000	8,766,543	8,611,881

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. xi. p. 10, 13.

Since 1852 the West Indies have shared in the general impulse given to industry in every part of the world by the gold discoveries, which in this, as in every other branch, has gone



in that year were 100,000! What, then, must have been the magnitude of this infernal traffic, when, in consequence of our lowering the duties on foreign slave sugar five years afterwards, the production of sugar by means of slaves was more than doubled! The mind is staggered, as by the Afghanistan disaster or the Moscow retreat, by the contemplation of so frightful an accumulation of human suffering, and by the consideration that this is not a mere passing calamity, how terrible soever, but a *uniform and chronic state of human agony*, induced by our own acts, and of regular and permanent recurrence! And all this was done by the British Legislature, with the facts fully before them, with the whole consequences distinctly before their eyes, and without a single expression of dissatisfaction from the numerous urban constituents of the majority! The humanitarians were silent; the mighty religious party which had convulsed the country in 1834, when emancipation was forced through, did not give a symptom of life; consistency, abashed and ashamed, slunk away. Humanity, patriotic spirit, religious zeal—all were stilled by the awful consideration of a rise of a penny in the pound on the price of sugar!

19. Struck with astonishment at so extraordinary an instance of indiffer-

ence to human suffering, and inconsistency on the part of a people professing such strong religious and humane sentiments, the whole foreign writers have recourse to what affords, it must be confessed, at first sight, a very satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon. One and all of them say that the English people were not in the slightest degree inconsistent, but, on the contrary, were perfectly consistent throughout. In the first instance, they lent a willing ear to the assertions of the professed humanitarians, who assured them that free labour was much more economical and productive than forced; and emancipated their slaves in the belief that by so doing they would be able to undersell all the world in the production of sugar, and thus secure every market for their own colonies. Finding that they were mistaken, and that free labour could not compete with slave in the raising of that tropical production—and that its price was rising on their hands in consequence of their own acts,—they immediately turned round, and with equal zeal sought to lower it by the cheap admission of foreign slave sugar, regardless alike of the ruin of their own sugar colonies and the augmentation of the foreign slave-trade. The English people, it is said, were not inconsistent; on the contrary, they were

so far to conceal the effects of free trade. Prices since that time have risen fully 50 per cent, and the greatest efforts have been made to get in fresh supplies of free labour, and with such success that the general produce of the West Indies in sugar has increased. The exports of British produce and manufactures to the West Indies, and their imports to this country, are now as follows (still greatly below what they were before negro emancipation):—

Years.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Imports. Computed Value.
1861	£2,464,654	£5,860,458
1862	3,005,030	6,285,027
1863	3,762,163	8,611,881

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. xi. p. 13, 44.

Generally speaking, the old planters have been ruined and rooted out; and the new proprietors, having got their estates for nothing, or next to it, and being clear of the old debts, have made great efforts. Wherever they have been successful in importing free labour, or the negroes could not get any waste land to squat in idleness on, they have done well under these advanced prices. Where this has not been the case, the production has rapidly declined. That of Jamaica is 500,000 instead of 1,500,000 cwt., as it was before the change in 1846. In Barbadoes, where the negro population is abundant, and there is no waste land to squat on, prosperity prevails, as it does in other islands, where necessity, in like manner, forces the negroes to work.

entirely consistent throughout. On both occasions they were actuated only by interested motives, and sacrificed everything at the altar of selfishness.

20. Plausible as this explanation of the phenomenon undoubtedly is, and widely as it has obtained credit among foreign nations, there is no man who has lived through both periods in Great Britain without being conscious that it is fallacious. The British people have many faults, but hypocrisy and dissimulation are not among the number. Their faults are those of large bodies of men, or of governments ruled by their influences. Inconsistency is their great defect. The character assigned by the poet to the fairest part of creation is much more descriptive of them; not less than beauty itself, "*varium et mutabile*" is their true designation. Their determination in 1846 was directly the reverse of what it had been in 1833; but nevertheless on both occasions they were perfectly sincere. On the first, they had been worked up to a perfect frenzy by the long-continued efforts of a numerous and respectable religious party in favour of negro emancipation, and they were resolved to have it without the smallest regard either to the lessons of experience or the councils of wisdom. On the last, they had been worked up to a similar frenzy in favour of free trade by the declamations of the cheapening party, and the long-continued distress produced by the contraction of the currency. They were resolved to have it, come what might of emancipation and the entire negro race. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, not that the British people are hypocritical, and that their zeal for emancipation was a mere cloak to selfish designs, but that, like all numerous bodies of men, they are subject to sudden gusts of passion, which for a time obliterate their reason and deprive them of all power of rational direction. And the necessary effect of popularising our institutions has been to imprint a similar character of vacillation and instability on our national conduct.

21. But this flagrant and most disastrous instance of vacillation suggests another most important consideration, with which the maintenance of our colonial empire in future times is entirely wound up. This is the proof it affords how completely the Reform Bill has *disfranchised the colonies*, as well as the producing classes generally through the empire. That the lowering the duties on foreign slave-grown sugar would destroy the West Indian colonies was self-evident, and hardly denied by the supporters of the measure. What they said was, that this consideration, how serious soever, must yield to the imperious necessity of procuring an adequate supply of what had now become a staple of food for a large part of our people. The House of Commons accordingly passed a bill, which they well knew would destroy the West India colonies, by a majority of 130. Could this have happened under the old constitution, when the West India interest, let into the House by the close boroughs, was the strongest separate one in Parliament, and could muster eighty votes? This as well as the preceding decision on the Corn Laws illustrates the lasting and all-important effect of the Reform Bill in *disfranchising the producing interests, whether at home or in the colonies*, and vesting the government of the country in the *boroughs actuated by an adverse interest*. To produce cheap and sell dear was the interest of the former; to buy cheap and sell dear, the interest of the latter. Unobserved amidst the strife of parties, unnoticed by the aspirants for power, this was by far the most important effect of the Reform Bill; and unless remedied by subsequent legislation, by a larger admission of producing interests in the centre, or the admission of *direct colonial representation* from the extremities, will, beyond all doubt, in the end, dissolve the British empire.\*

\* In the debate on the sugar bill, Mr Disraeli observed: "I do not oppose the resolutions of Ministers merely because they are antagonistic to our previous arrangements for the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade: I oppose them because they are an-

22. Another important subject powerfully arrested the attention of the British people and Legislature at this period, and that was the matter of corporal punishment in the army. The immediate cause of the excitement on the subject was the melancholy end of a private soldier named White, who died a few days after having received a very severe flogging at Hounslow, though whether from the effects of the punishment, or from it combined with an organic disease

*tagonistic to the fragment left of the old colonial system of England.* I venture to predict that the House will soon retrace its steps, and reconstruct that now almost annihilated system. I say so because the history of England is a history of reaction. I believe the prosperity of England may be attributed to this cause, not that it has committed less blunders than other countries, but the people are a people more sensible of their errors. What have you not done, and what steps have you not retraced? You destroyed your church establishment, and you replaced it; you destroyed your ancient monarchy, and you re-established it; you destroyed the House of Lords, and now you are obliged to take up your bills to them for their sanction. You even abolished this very House of Commons, and yet we are here in it debating a great question. What are you doing now but retracing your steps on a vital question, and confessing to the people of England, that after having laboured for forty years and spent £50,000,000 to destroy the slave trade, you find it now necessary to re-establish it?"

—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxviii. pp. 164, 165. Mr Disraeli was right as to reaction in matters of *opinion or passion*; they are often the subject of most extraordinary changes among men. But it is by no means equally clear that reactions will take place against *vested interests*; or whether a particular class of men, once become possessed of power, will ever voluntarily share it with others, or use it for any other purpose than the forwarding of its own immediate advantage. Certain it is, that whatever may be the case in future, there has hitherto been no reaction whatever in the British constituencies in favour of this obvious colonial injustice, but rather the reverse. A very able man and sagacious observer, Mr Justice Halyburton, observed with truth in a public speech delivered at Glasgow on 25th March 1857, in the midst of the turmoil of the elections going on in every part of the empire at that period, that amidst all the opinions delivered by candidates, and the questions put to them by constituents, there had not been one which had reference to the colonies of Great Britain, though they have become so considerable as to have taken off in 1854 no less than £34,000,000 out of the entire £97,000,000 exports of the empire.

in the sufferer, was rendered doubtful by the medical evidence on the subject. The case came before Mr Wakley as coroner of Middlesex, and was very ably conducted by that gentleman through an investigation which extended over several days. The harrowing details brought out in the evidence strongly affected the public mind, to which the continuance of this degrading torture in a noble service had long been matter of abhorrence; and as the case went on, the excitement became so strong that the subject became the object of more than one motion in the House of Commons, and terminated ere long in a humane and judicious regulation of the Duke of Wellington's, which has removed the most flagrant evils connected with this mode of punishment.

23. Captain Layard brought this painful matter before the House by a motion for an address to her Majesty, praying for an inquiry how far the introduction of limited service would improve the efficiency of the army. From the returns to which he referred, it appeared that, in the last ten years, the number of recruits had been, on an average, 12,000 a-year, and that of desertions 5300; that fully two-thirds of these deserters had been recovered and rejoined the service, and a third were unaccounted for; and that, during five years preceding 1845, £16,000 had been paid for the apprehension of deserters, and £54,500 for the maintenance of men in confinement. Another return showed that, from 1st January 1839 to 31st December 1843, a period of five years, 3355 had undergone corporal punishment, and 28,190 sentences of imprisonment had been pronounced. From these facts, which were certainly sufficiently surprising, he argued that there must be something wrong in the constitution of the army, or the class of men from which it was recruited, and that recruiting for a limited period would materially improve the character and condition of the soldier. His proposal was, to enlist for ten years only, and that, after twenty-one years' service, the soldier should be entitled to the old

pension of tenpence a-day, and one shilling if disabled, instead of the present reduced pension of sixpence a-day after twenty-five years' service.\* The Secretary at War, Mr Fox Maule, resisted the motion, and explained that the great majority of the desertions were in Canada, where the facility of escaping into the States, and the demand for labour there, presented so many temptations to the soldier to leave his colours. He referred also to the many improvements recently introduced into the service, especially for the education and amusement of the men. Captain Layard did not press his motion to a division, it being understood that the Commander-in-Chief had a regulation on the subject in preparation. On the 7th August, Lord John Russell announced the change he had made, which consisted in a general order that, by no court-martial, general, special, or regimental, should a sentence be pronounced ordering more than fifty lashes to be inflicted. This was accompanied by minute directions that every precaution should be taken to ascertain the health of the person who was to suffer the punishment, and any circumstance, as heat or cold, taken into consideration, which might either aggravate his sufferings, or augment the danger of the punishment. Notwithstanding this great modification, Dr Bowring brought forward a motion, a few days after, for the total abolition of corporal

punishment in the army, but it was negatived by a majority of 97 to 37; and the Duke of Wellington's regulation has ever since continued to be the law to regulate the practice of the army.†

24. The question of the length of time for which soldiers should be enlisted is one of comparatively easy solution, and has, since Captain Layard's motion, been put on a most satisfactory footing. Enlistment is always made for ten years only;‡ with the provision, that if the man, after getting his discharge at the end of that period, shall re-enlist, and serve for eleven years more, he shall then be entitled to his discharge, with a pension for life, which, if unfit for further service, is a shilling a-day. This system meets every requirement on the subject; for, on the one hand, the enlistment for ten years only, avoids the appearance of perpetual servitude; while, on the other, so easy is the life of a soldier, compared to that of ordinary workmen, that the majority of those who get their discharge at the end of ten years find daily toil insupportable, re-enlist at the end of a few months, and voluntarily serve out the remaining eleven years, so as to become entitled to their retired allowance. But the question of corporal punishment is surrounded with much greater difficulties; for the Duke of Wellington's regulation has introduced a limitation greater in appearance than reality.

\* COST OF APPREHENSION OF DESERTERS, AND OF SOLDIERS IN CONFINEMENT, FROM 1840 TO 1845.

Years.	Cost of Apprehension of Deserters.	Cost of Soldiers in Confinement.	Rank and File in each year, exclusive of India.
1840-1	£2,634	£10,364	82,013
1841-2	4,385	10,779	80,971
1842-3	3,959	10,189	84,140
1843-4	2,874	10,213	88,737
1844-5	2,168	11,975	88,261
	£16,020	£53,520	

—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxviii. 290.

† The Duke said, in his brief characteristic way, upon learning of the unfortunate occurrence at Hounslow: "This shall not occur again: though I believe that corporal punishment cannot be dispensed with, yet I will not sanction that degree of it that shall lead to loss of life or limb."—Per Mr Fox MAULE, *Ann. Reg.* 1846, p. 209.

‡ This applies to infantry: in cavalry and artillery the term of enlistment is twelve years.

The severity and danger of flogging arises much more from the weight of the instrument used than the number of lashes: it is well known that twenty-four strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails in the navy, where it is much heavier, is a severer punishment than two hundred and fifty with the ordinary one used in the army. There is seldom more than twelve strokes inflicted by the knout in Russia, and yet the infliction often occasions death; and it is in the power of the executioner, by four or five blows inflicted in a particular way, to destroy the victim. Notwithstanding this, the Duke's restriction has proved most salutary, and has nearly terminated the complaints formerly so frequent on the subject. There have been no deaths, at least that are known of, from the effects of flogging since it was issued; in many regiments, at least on home service, corporal punishment has been unknown for a number of years; in none is it ever now inflicted except for insubordination or disgraceful offences, such as theft. In all, the number of the inflictions, in peace at least, has been most materially diminished.

25. In considering this subject, which doubtless, at some future period, will again come to occupy the attention of the Legislature, there are two considerations which must be constantly kept in view, if a correct conclusion is to be arrived at on the subject. The first of these is the entirely different *class of men* from whom our army is drawn, and that of which all those of the Continental states are composed. In France, the German states, Prussia, and Russia, the army is raised by conscription, which embraces, without exception, the whole population, but compels the soldiers only to a few years' service. In Russia, the period is twenty years, after which the soldier becomes a freeman, and is entitled to his discharge; but in France, Austria, and Prussia, the military force is kept up by forced service, exacted from the whole male inhabitants in early life for three years, reserving to those who acquire, in that time, a taste for a military life, to embrace it as a per-

manent profession. Such, however, is the experienced superiority of old to new soldiers that the *corps d'élite* in the French service are largely formed of conscripts who are tempted to re-enlist by large bounties, often amounting to £70 or £80. In Great Britain, on the other hand, conscription for the regular army has been long unknown; and even for the militia, though authorised by law during the late war, it was never put into execution. Thus the whole force requires to be enrolled by voluntary enlistment; and this, unless in periods of uncommon excitement, confines the recruits to the lowest ranks of society, chiefly drawn from the inhabitants of great towns, and often inveigled into the service in a moment of intoxication, or induced to enter it to escape from creditors, or the claims of bastard children. This difference in the composition of the force necessarily occasions a vast difference in the means by which its discipline is to be enforced. If the whole nobility and gentry of England were obliged to serve in the army in youth, with a musket on their shoulders, alongside of their tenants' and labourers' sons, for three years, discipline might be preserved in a very different way from what has been found necessary when the privates are exclusively drawn from the most reckless, and often previously irregular, classes of the community.

26. The second is, that however frightful may be the torture inflicted by flogging, and however anxiously every friend to mankind may wish to have it entirely abolished, it must always be retained as the *principal method of coercion in the field*. In presence of the enemy no other mode of preserving discipline is practicable. It is impossible in this country, as the French do, to shoot our soldiers for trifling offences; that would seriously weaken our small military force, if no other consideration forbade the infliction of so extreme a penalty. Nearly 3000 cases of flogging occurred in the Crimea; could you have shot all these men? Then, if shooting is out of the ques-

tion, except for the gravest crimes, what are you to do with offenders who invariably multiply so rapidly with the first licence of military operations? Prisons there are none in the tented field: if there were, the sentence of imprisonment in such circumstances is a punishment not to the culprit, but to his comrades, for it excuses him from fatigue and danger, and exposes them in his place to both. Extra drills, and the like excellent substitutes in home barracks, are out of the question when every man is worked in marches or watches to the uttermost of his strength, and often far beyond it. Death itself loses its worst terrors to those who have it daily before their eyes, and see their comrades in the field or the hospital incessantly melting away. In such circumstances punishment is absolutely indispensable, and, to be effective, it must be speedy—such as neither burdens others, nor disables the culprit himself for any length of time, and yet so serious as to excite his apprehensions and those of his comrades. When these different requisites are taken into consideration, it will probably be found that flogging, as restricted by the Duke of Wellington, combines them all in a remarkable degree, and that the utmost that can be hoped for is, that it may gradually fall into disuse in pacific quarters, and be reserved only for the rude discipline of the field. Accordingly, when Lord William Bentinck, by a general order in 1834, abolished flogging in the Indian army, the relaxation of discipline which ensued in consequence proved to be so serious, that some years after, during Lord Hardinge's administration, it was found necessary formally to re-establish it.\*

\* It was stated by the Duke of Wellington, in a conversation on this subject in the House of Lords: "This experiment of abolishing flogging has been tried and failed in India, the troops having mutinied in the most disgraceful manner, in consequence of which Lord Hardinge has been obliged recently to restore it. The fact is, that it is impossible to carry on the discipline of the British army without some punishment of that description, which the individual shall feel. I will continue to do what I have always endeavoured to do, that is, to diminish the punishment as

27. A very important minute was presented to the Cabinet during this summer by Lord Palmerston, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of the defenceless state of the country. This subject was naturally brought under his notice from the narrow escape which the nation had made within a few years from a rupture with France, in consequence of the dispute about Queen Pomare in Tahiti, and the still more recent coldness which had arisen on the subject of the Spanish marriages, which has been explained in the preceding chapter. The facts he adduced were most important, and though little interesting to the unthinking many, with whom future dangers can seldom be made an object of consideration, they were of overwhelming force to the thinking few. From this statement it appeared that the whole regular force of the empire, exclusive of India, was only 88,000 men, of whom a half were absorbed in the colonies, leaving only 44,000 for the defence of the British Islands. Of these, 24,000 were required for Ireland, leaving only 20,000 for Great Britain, one-half of whom were required for the garrisons of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham. Thus 10,000 regular soldiers were all that could be relied on to defend England, and preserve London and Woolwich, the great arsenals of the empire, from destruction! This was at a time when France had 300,000 regulars on foot, besides 2,630,000 national guards, and Russia 573,000 soldiers in arms.\* Nor was the obvious danger of this state of things lessened by a consideration of the state of the navy; for at that period the whole ships of the line around Great Britain were only thirteen, of which not more than one-half were fit

much as possible; and *I hope to live to see it abolished altogether.*"—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxviii. 599, 600.

\* The Duke of Wellington added his valuable testimony as to the same state of things. His Grace said, in his celebrated letter to Sir John Burgoyne:—

"I have in vain endeavoured to awaken the attention of different Administrations to this state of things, as well known to our neighbours, rivals in power, at least former adversaries and enemies, as ourselves. We ought

for sea, and even they only half-manned. On the other hand, the French had sixteen sail of the line in commission, one-half in the Channel, and 55,000 men in the *Levée Permanente*, produced by the maritime conscription, constantly ready to man them; and Russia had twenty-eight sail of the line in the Baltic, and thirty frigates constantly equipped and ready for sea. These two powers could at any time, within a fortnight of the time when their respective ambassadors left London, have assembled thirty sail of the line and forty frigates or war-steamer in the Channel, against which Great Britain could only oppose, at the very utmost, half the number, and those manned by crews hastily got together, and altogether untrained to warlike operations. And all this existed at a time when, in consequence of our immensely extended empire, Great Britain was constantly brought into collision with foreign powers, and had, within these few years, been re-to have in garrison, at the moment when war is declared, in

	Men.
The Channel Islands, besides the militia of each, . . . . .	10,000
Plymouth, . . . . .	10,000
Milford Haven, . . . . .	5,000
Cork, . . . . .	10,000
Portsmouth, . . . . .	10,000
Dover, . . . . .	10,000
Sheerness, Chatham, and the Thames, . . . . .	10,000
	<hr/>
	65,000

"I suppose that one-half of the whole regular force of the country would be stationed in Ireland, which half would give the garrison of Cork. The remainder must be supplied from the half of the whole force at home stationed in Great Britain. The whole force stationed at home in Great Britain and Ireland would not afford a sufficient number of men for the mere defence and occupation, on the breaking-out of a war, of the works constructed for the defence of the dockyards and naval arsenals, *without leaving a single man disposable*.

"The measure upon which I have earnestly entreated different Administrations to decide, which is constitutional, and has been invariably adopted in time of peace, is to raise, embody, and discipline the same number of militia for the three kingdoms as during the late war. This would give an organised force of 150,000 men, which we might immediately set to work to discipline. This amount would enable us to establish the strength of our army; and with an augmentation of the regular army, which would cost £400,000, would

peatedly on the very verge of a rupture with France, Russia, or America.

28. Probably there was no member of the Cabinet to whom the facts stated in this able and important state-paper failed in carrying conviction; but the position of the Ministry, only a few weeks in power, and with a House of Commons composed of such heterogeneous materials that it had carried the late Government through the greatest triumph recorded in recent times, and hurled it from power at the same time by nearly equal majorities, rendered it impossible at the moment to undertake so hazardous a step as any addition to the army estimates. But the Duke of Wellington, who had long and earnestly laboured, though in vain, to impress upon successive Cabinets the perilous state of the country, from the evident inadequacy of its military and naval forces, now devised and carried into execution a plan which was extremely well conceived for making, at a very trifling

put the country on its legs in respect to personal force, and I would engage for its defence, old as I am. But as we stand now, and if it be true that the exertions of the fleet alone are not sufficient to provide for our defences, *we are not safe for a week after a declaration of war*.

"I shall be deemed foolhardy in engaging for the defence of this country with such a force as the militia. I may be so. I confess I should infinitely prefer, and feel more confidence in, an army of regular troops. But I know that I shall not have these. I can have the others; and if an addition is made to the regular army allotted for home defence, of a force which would cost £400,000 a-year, there would be a sufficient disciplined force in the field to enable him who should command it to defend the country.

"Our magazines and arsenals are very inadequately provided. This deficiency has been occasioned by the sale of arms, and of various descriptions of arsenal stores, since the termination of the late war, to diminish the demand of supply, to carry on the peace service of the ordnance; in part, by the fire in the Tower some years ago, and by the difficulty under which all Governments in this country labour in *prevailing upon Parliament in time of peace to take into consideration measures necessary for the safety of the country in time of war*. I am bordering on seventy-seven years of age passed in honour. I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being again the witness of the tragedy which I cannot prevail on my contemporaries to take measures to avert."—WELLINGTON to SIR J. BURGoyNE, April 11, 1846.

cost, a very considerable addition to the military resources of the State. This consisted in organising the military pensioners throughout the empire, and the dockyard-men in the naval arsenals, in fencible battalions, which were exercised and drilled regularly for a few weeks in the year, and were liable to be called out by lord-lieutenants in counties, or mayors and provosts in boroughs, if the public peace was seriously endangered. Upon the dockyard-men, being for the most part novices in the military art, little reliance could be placed; but the pensioners, being all old soldiers, easily retained their habits of actual service, and constituted a most admirable force, at once regular and disciplined, constantly accessible either to support the civil magistrate in cases of domestic tumult, or to form reserve and garrison battalions in the event of actual warfare. This force amounted to 20,000 in Great Britain, and 10,000 in Ireland; and it proved of the most essential service in a perilous social crisis, as will be narrated in the course of a future chapter.\*

29. How strongly soever the Whig leaders may have declaimed in the House of Commons against Sir R. Peel's coercion-act for Ireland, they

\* Sir Francis Head, who published a most interesting work at this juncture on the military defences of the State, gives the following vidimus of the military resources of the principal European powers, which is of the more importance as it was framed on official sources of information, and exhibits their state when serious wars were approaching in every quarter:—

## I.—FRANCE.

<i>Regulars.</i>		<i>Men.</i>
Infantry, . . . . .		301,224
Cavalry, . . . . .		58,932
Artillery, . . . . .		30,166
Engineers, . . . . .		18,298
<i>Regular, . . . . .</i>		408,620
National Guards, . . . . .		2,630,800

## II.—RUSSIA.

<i>Regulars.</i>		
Infantry, . . . . .		468,000
Cavalry, . . . . .		85,000
Cossacks, . . . . .		20,000
<i>Regular, . . . . .</i>		573,000
Guns, . . . . .		1,020
Garrisons and Reserves, . . . . .		150,000
Cossack Irregulars, . . . . .		10,000

soon felt, when they came into power, the necessity of some such measure to protect life and property in some of the disturbed districts of that country. No sooner, accordingly, were they installed in office, than they themselves brought forward a new coercion-bill, under the name of an

## III.—AUSTRIA (IN WAR).

<i>Regulars.</i>		<i>Men.</i>
Infantry, . . . . .		484,240
Cavalry, . . . . .		54,560
Artillery, . . . . .		26,104
Engineers, &c., . . . . .		56,549
<i>Regular, . . . . .</i>		626,543
Reduced in peace to . . . . .		378,552
Landwehr, . . . . .		200,000

## IV.—PRUSSIA.

<i>Regular and Landwehr.</i>		
Infantry, . . . . .		265,530
Cavalry, . . . . .		49,662
Artillery, . . . . .		23,400
Engineers, &c., . . . . .		40,800
<i>Regular, . . . . .</i>		379,392
Guns, . . . . .		1,163
Landsturm, . . . . .		222,416

## V.—GREAT BRITAIN.

## IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

<i>Regulars.</i>		
Great Britain—Infantry, Cavalry, and		
Artillery, . . . . .		37,845
Ireland, . . . . .		24,005
British Islands, . . . . .		61,840
Colonies, . . . . .		61,453
<i>Total Regulars, . . . . .</i>		123,293
<i>Irregulars.</i>		
Pensioners, . . . . .		30,000
Dockyard-men, . . . . .		8,000
Yeomanry, . . . . .		13,441
Channel Island Militia, . . . . .		4,700
<i>Total Irregulars, . . . . .</i>		56,141

—HEAD, *Dangers of Society*, 5-36.

## IN COLONIES.

European Colonies, . . . . .	7,951
American Colonies and West Indies, . . . . .	19,835
Africa, . . . . .	3,703
	<hr/>
	31,453
India, . . . . .	30,000
	<hr/>
	61,453

NAVAL FORCES OF THE DIFFERENT POWERS  
IN 1850.

<i>I.—ENGLAND.</i>		<i>Ships</i>
Ships of the line and building, of which 65 are serviceable, . . . . .		93
50 to 70, . . . . .		39
Frigates, . . . . .		110
War-steamers, . . . . .		56



"Arms Bill," differing from the one which proved fatal to their predecessors only in being even more rigorous, and in some respects oppressive. The purport of it was to render the possession as well as carrying of all arms illegal in the proclaimed districts, unless the names of the persons were previously given in and registered by the Government authorities. There can be no doubt that this bill, how stringent soever, was loudly called for by the state of the country, especially in the five disturbed counties; and the frightful increase which took place, during the next winter and spring, in offences against property too clearly proved its necessity. So great was the distaste of the Irish members, however, to any such measure, and so entire the dependence of Ministers on their parliamentary support, that they were under the necessity, after the bill had been read a second time in the Commons, by a considerable majority, of abandoning it altogether, and leaving Ireland, on the eve of the most terrible famine recorded in history, to the passions and the sufferings of its dense and miserable population.

30. The measures of Sir R. Peel for the relief of this suffering, though trifling in comparison of what was done after his relinquishment of office, had been very judicious. They consisted chiefly in the purchase of Indian meal by Government commissioners, after it had come to this country, but

II.—FRANCE.		Ships.
Line, . . . . .		46
Frigates, . . . . .		50
War-steamers, . . . . .		102

III.—RUSSIA.		
Line, . . . . .		45
Frigates, . . . . .		30

IV.—AMERICA.		
Line, . . . . .		11
Frigates, . . . . .		14
War-steamers, . . . . .		14

—*United Service Gazette*, Dec. 1850. *Almanack of Saxo-Gotha*, 1851, 415, 461.

The ships in commission around the British Islands were—Line, 13; Frigates, 9—one-half of which alone were serviceable.

The whole French navy could be speedily rendered serviceable, as their naval conscription amounted to 56,000 men. The British navy was manned by voluntary enrolment.

before it got into the hands of forestallers, so as to retail it at a moderate price to the people. This proved a most seasonable relief, and, combined with public works on a small scale, set on foot by the Government, enabled the country to tide with comparative ease over the first months of the summer of 1846, which, it was feared, would prove the most trying of the whole year, from their embracing the interval between the end of the old and the coming in of the new potato-crop. The potato disease of 1845 proved, as had all along been asserted by the Protectionists, however formidable in particular localities, very partial in its ravages; the crop of oats was immense; and the stock of potatoes remaining over from that year was much larger than was supposed. Thus, generally speaking, during the first seven months of 1846, food was not wanting; but nevertheless, in particular districts, where the peasants' little crops had disappeared, absolute famine stared them in the face, unless they could obtain *some employment to enable them to earn wages to buy the food*. To aid in effecting this most desirable object, Government, in the end of the session of 1846, passed a "Public Works Act," in virtue of which the Lord-Lieutenant was empowered to require special barony sessions to meet, in order to make presentments for the employment of the people;\* the whole of the money requisite for their construction to be, in the first instance, supplied by the Imperial Treasury, but to be afterwards repaid with interest at 3½ per cent, by long-dated assessments, by the districts benefited by the advances. This Act was well conceived in principle, for it went to provide a remedy for the one thing wanted in Ireland, which was not food, but employment. But when applied in practice, it was found to labour under several defects. In particular,

\* These are resolutions for the undertaking of public works, as roads, bridges, &c., which the Sessions of Justices are empowered to set on foot and levy a rate for their completion.

the presentments for roads were so numerous, that they threatened to involve the Treasury in an expenditure of a million sterling on a species of improvement which really was unnecessary, and which the Prime Minister, when Parliament met in November, justly characterised as "not wanted." It is well known to every traveller that, though many other things are wanting, the roads of Ireland are in general excellent—superior to those either of England or Scotland. Government, therefore, as the danger increased, and the crisis became more imminent, courageously, and as became British Ministers in the circumstances, deviated from the Act, trusting to an indemnity, which they immediately received in the next session of Parliament. A far more effectual relief was afforded by the Drainage Act,\* which authorised the Lords of the Treasury to issue £1,000,000 to Ireland, and £2,000,000 to Great Britain, for the purposes of drainage. This Act proved of the most important service, especially to Scotland, by which country the greater part of the loan destined to Great Britain was taken up. This was the last Act of any importance in the session, which was closed by her Majesty in person on the 28th August.

31. We now approach the most awful and memorable catastrophe in modern times; that in which the most appalling destruction of human life took place, the greatest transposition of mankind was induced, and in which the judgments of the Almighty were most visibly executed upon the earth. It had been anticipated by several sagacious observers, in particular by Sir James Graham, that the disease in the potato would be far more widespread and formidable in 1846 than it had been in the preceding year, from the circumstance of a large portion of the seed being planted with the disease in it.† This prediction was too surely

verified in the succeeding year. In addition to the cause here mentioned, there was another which augmented in the most fatal manner the ravages of the disease. The summer, which had been warm and genial in the earlier months, became suddenly overcharged with moisture and electricity in the last weeks of August. Heavy rains fell for above a fortnight together, accompanied by six violent thunderstorms; a peculiarity of the weather which has always been observed in the seasons when the potato disease has been remarkably widespread and virulent. The work of destruction was fearfully rapid; in one or two nights it was complete, and a blooming crop was converted into a noisome mass of putrefaction.\* The consequences were disastrous in the extreme, not only in Ireland, but in most parts of Great Britain. In the former country and in the West Highlands of Scotland, where it formed almost universally the staple food of the people, the potato crop failed almost entirely. Often in a single night, or at most in two or three days, entire fields of this crop became a corrupted surface, utterly unfit for food, and accompanied by a most noisome smell, which was felt for a long distance round. The

tense, as the season advances. The proportion which seed bears to an average crop is very large; it has been estimated at not less than an eighth; and when we consider that a considerable portion of this year's crop in Ireland is already destroyed, and that the remainder, if it be saved, must supply food for nine months as well as seed for next year, it is obvious that no ordinary care is required to husband a sufficient quantity of sound potatoes fit for planting in the spring. Unless this be done, the calamity of the present year is but the commencement of a more fatal series."—SIR JAMES GRAHAM to LORD BESBOROUGH, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Oct. 25, 1845; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 181.

\* "In one week, in the end of July, I had passed over 32 miles of potato fields in full bloom. The next time, on 3d August, I beheld with sorrow a wide waste of putrefying vegetation. The stalk remained a bright green, but the leaves were all scorched black. It was the work of a night. Distress and fear were painted on every countenance; there was a general rush to dig and sell, or consume the tainted crop by feeding pigs, before it became totally unserviceable."—Captain MANN's *Narrative*; NICHOLLS's *Irish Poor-Law*, 310.

\* 9 & 10 Victoria, c. 101.

† "The difficulty arising from the failure of the present crop is hardly felt at this time. It will be progressive, and become more in-

disease was much more violent in the western parts of Great Britain than the eastern, and in rich and highly cultivated localities, than in those more recently brought into cultivation, or where the soil was poor. From Aberdeen to Inverness, where the soil was in general sandy or gravelly, and great part of it had been newly brought into cultivation, the disease was unknown; but in the West Highlands, abreast of this district, it was all but universal, and had almost totally destroyed the crop.

32. What rendered this calamity the more distressing in Ireland and the West Highlands of Scotland was the want of any adequate or efficient system of parochial relief. In both these countries poor-laws had been of recent introduction, and in neither were the administrators of them armed with sufficient power to overcome the stubborn resistance to assessment almost universal among the landed proprietors. In Scotland the Sheriffs could put claimants on the roll, but the Court of Supervision at Edinburgh alone could award them an adequate aliment, which, from the distance of the Hebrides, proved a most inadequate mode of reviewing the decisions of the Parochial Boards. In addition to this, as already explained, in Scotland, by a strange anomaly, the able-bodied had no claim for relief. In Ireland matters were much worse. The poor-laws, as established in 1837, had been so defective in power, from providing only for *in-door relief*, and so strongly resisted, that although the Government commission had reported that in ordinary seasons 2,335,000 people required public relief for nearly half the year, the whole poor-rate levied on a rental of £13,000,000 was only £306,000,\* being about 5d. in the pound on the real rental, a sum which would not maintain the now famish-

\* The rental of Ireland in 1842 was, . . . . . £13,253,825  
The rental of England and Wales, . . . . . 62,546,003

—Order of House of Commons, 3d May 1842.

The assessments for the relief of the poor, and persons relieved in Ireland, in the under-mentioned years, had been as follows, relief

ing multitude for one month; and this rate, trifling and inadequate as it was, was levied with extreme difficulty, and in some cases by armed force. And the fact that the vast majority of the persons thus suddenly deprived of the produce of their little potato-crofts, their sole means of subsistence during nine months in the year, were without either employment or wages to buy food, afforded a melancholy presage of the devastation which must ensue if Government did not come forward promptly and largely for their relief. The mere furnishing of food was, comparatively speaking, of little importance, for it existed in sufficient quantities in most parts of the country, and was even exported to England to a considerable extent during the famine;\* it was employment and wages to above half a million of starving labourers which was the one thing needful!

33. In this awful emergency the conduct both of the Government and of Parliament was in the highest degree courageous and liberal, and such as entitles them to the lasting admiration of posterity. That some errors should have occurred in the mode of grappling with so dire and unprecedented a calamity was inevitable; but the measures upon the whole were judicious, so far as the relief of destitution went, and conducted on such a scale as mitigated to a very great extent its most agonising features. It is only to be regretted that some more durable and productive form could not have been discovered than merely covering good roads with additional loads of metal, which often made them bad

being then administered only in the work-houses:—

Years.	No. in Workhouses.	Sums paid.
1840, . . . .	5,468	£37,057
1841, . . . .	15,246	110,277
1842, . . . .	31,572	281,233
1843, . . . .	35,515	244,374
1844, . . . .	39,175	269,530
1845, . . . .	42,068	316,026
1846, . . . .	94,433	435,001

—NICHOLLS'S *Irish Poor-Law*, 282, 311, 322.

\* The grain exported from Ireland to Great Britain, during the year 1847, was 963,000 quarters.—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, p. 345.

ones, in return for the splendid liberality of the British nation. It was not the fault of Ministers, however, that this was the case. A crisis had arrived which defied all prudential considerations, and set at nought the most sagacious foresight. Notwithstanding their obvious inability even to repay the enormous advances in course of being made by the Treasury, three hundred out of the three hundred and sixty baronies into which Ireland is divided had held presentment sessions, and sanctioned the employment of several millions sterling. The labourers employed on the works, who in September were only 40,000, rapidly increased with the increasing necessities of the country, until, when Parliament met in January 1847, they had reached the enormous number of 570,000, representing with their families at least 2,000,000 human beings. This number swelled in the month of March to the still more appalling figure of 734,000, representing nearly 3,000,000 souls.\* The pay weekly distributed to these labourers in October was £200,000 by the hands of 500 pay-clerks; there were 74 inspectors, 36 engineers, 385 assistant surveyors, 3000 check-clerks, and 7000 overseers! The men got from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 10d. a-day after piece-work was introduced, which at first met with the most strenuous resistance, but at length was everywhere established. As these wages were more than double of what the people had ever been accustomed to, there was a prodigious run upon them, and farmers holding thirty and forty acres were to be seen on the roads breaking stones like common labour-

ers. As might be supposed, in so extreme a case, great abuses crept in, and no inconsiderable part of the magnificent advances of the British Government was wasted on unworthy objects. The tendency to misapply public funds to private purposes, strong in all countries, but especially so in Ireland, broke forth in the most remarkable manner; numbers received Government pay who did not require it, and great part of those who did, loitered about doing nothing. All the efforts of the overseers were unable to keep the huge swarms of idlers in active operation. Worse still, the attraction of much pay for little work proved an irresistible magnet which drew men from all other employments; the Board of Works became the centre of a colossal organisation which threatened soon to absorb all the labour of the country in unproductive work; the fields were deserted, while the roads were covered with metal, and the foundation of another still more terrible famine was rapidly being laid in the means adopted to allay the first.

34. Yet great as were the efforts made by the British Government, largely aided by splendid subscriptions from every part of Great Britain, which soon reached £470,000, and were admirably administered by a Central Board, the magnitude of the distress even exceeded them, and seemed to baffle all the efforts of humanity for its relief. So sudden was the calamity, so appalling its universality in some districts of the country, especially in the south and west, that before any measures of relief could reach them, or they could reach the public works set on foot by Government or the local authorities, great numbers of persons of both sexes and all ages perished. Parochial relief was as yet only afforded in the workhouses, and the aversion of the people was at first extreme to entering these gloomy abodes. But stern famine ere long broke down all these feelings, and their doors were besieged from morning to night by crowds beseeching to be taken in, whose wan cheeks and sunken eyes

\* NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED ON  
GOVERNMENT WORKS.

		Expenses per month.
1846, September, .	43,000	£78,123
„ October, .	114,000	198,024
„ November, .	285,000	498,212
„ December, .	440,000	627,310
1847, January, .	570,000	728,192
„ February, .	708,000	938,000
„ March, .	734,000	1,050,772

—NICHOLLS'S *Irish Poor-Law*, 315, 316.

The greatest number of persons employed on public works to 15th August 1846, had been 97,000, and the sum distributed was £830,372 to that date.—*Ibid.* 313.

revealed too clearly the extremities of hunger they had already endured. All the orders, and they were most stringent, issued by the Poor-Law Commissioners to limit the number of admissions, so as to avoid overcrowding, were overpowered, as barriers often are in a dense crowd, by the pressure of the starving multitude. Numbers who got in brought with them the seeds of contagious disorders, which, spreading with frightful rapidity, again thinned the poorhouses by the stern hand of death. Yet, with all these dangers before their eyes, the crowds at the doors of the workhouses were immense, and everywhere increasing. The description given by the admirable Chief Commissioner, Mr Nicholls, was universally applicable. "Possessed of a workhouse capable of containing only a few hundred inmates, the guardians are looked to with hope by thousands of famishing persons, and are called on to exercise the mournful task of selection from the distressed objects who present themselves for admission as the last refuge from death. It was no longer a question whether the applicants were fit objects for relief, but which of them would be rejected and which admitted, with the least risk of sacrificing life."

35. All that the imagination of Dante has figured, all that the pens of Thucydides or Boccaccio have described, all that the pencil of Reynolds has pictured of the terrible and the pathetic, was realised, and more than realised, in that scene of unutterable woe. Often, when a cottage was observed to be deserted, and the wonted smoke no longer seen to issue from its roof—when the anxious neighbours opened the door, they found the whole family lying dead in a circle, with the new-born infant still locked in its mother's arms, having drained the last drop of nutriment in the dying embrace. Numbers of peasants dropped down on the wayside from pure exhaustion, when striving to reach the workhouse or the nearest Government works. A faithful dog was sometimes found beside the body,

emaciated and weak, but true to its trust even in death.

"Nor yet quite deserted, though lonely extended,  
For, faithful in death, his mute favourite attended,  
The much-loved remains of his master defended,  
And chased the hill fox and the raven away."\*

A mournful scene was very frequently presented at the farmhouses during the winter, especially in the remote parts of the country, where the cattle, deprived for long of their wonted meal, were to be seen standing in silence round the deserted door, occasionally giving a low moan at the prolonged absence of the well-known hands that were wont to nourish them, and whose prostration had been so sudden that they had neither strength to feed nor to slay them. The wail of starving children was to be heard on all sides, begging in vain of their parents the slender pittance on which they had long supported life. A melancholy feature of the times was exhibited in the long trains of convoys with provisions which traversed the country on their way from the sea-ports on the coast, guarded by long files of infantry and cavalry, round which the weeping villagers, with their children, crowded supplicating for a handful of meal to stay the pangs of hunger. The scenes exhibited far exceeded in horror anything yet recorded in European history; for, in the nervous words of Lord John Russell, it was a "famine of the thirteenth which had fallen on the population of the nineteenth century."

36. In the midst of these unparalleled disasters, Parliament met on the 19th January 1847, and her Majesty in person addressed the following observations to her Parliament: "It is with the deepest regret that, upon your again assembling, I have to call your attention to the dearth of provisions which prevails in Ireland and in some parts of Scotland. In Ireland especially the want of the usual food of the people has been the cause of

\* Scott's *Helvellyn*.

severe suffering, of disease, and of greatly increased mortality among the poorer classes. Outrages have become more frequent, chiefly directed against property; and the transit of provisions has been rendered unsafe in some parts of the country. With a view to mitigate these evils, large numbers of men have been employed, and have received wages in pursuance of an Act passed in the last session of Parliament. Some deviations from that Act, which have been authorised by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in order to promote more useful employment, will, I trust, receive your sanction. Means have been taken to lessen the pressure in districts which are most remote from the ordinary sources of supply. Outrages have been repressed as far as was possible by the military and police. It is satisfactory to me to observe that, in many of the most distressed districts, the patience and resignation of the people have been most exemplary. The deficiency of the harvest in France and Germany, and other parts of Europe, has added to the difficulty of obtaining adequate supplies of provisions. It will be your duty to consider what further measures are required to alleviate the existing distress. I recommend to you to take into your serious consideration whether, by increasing for a limited period the facilities for importing corn from foreign countries, and by the admission of sugar more freely into breweries and distilleries, the supply of food may be beneficially augmented."

37. The debate which followed upon this speech turned, as might have been expected, entirely on the Irish famine, and the means to be adopted for its relief. It was conducted on both sides with great temper and moderation, and an entire abstinence from party feelings or ambition. The magnitude of the calamity had banished all such motives, and inspired a universal desire to hurry forward to its alleviation. Ministers admitted that the Government's first plan of employing the poor on public works had broken down, or rather become impracticable; not so much from any defect

in its original conception as from the prodigious numbers who had flocked for employment, threatening to drain away nearly all the labour of the country from productive occupations, and amounting even then to above 500,000 persons. Add to this that great numbers of the most destitute had, from long-continued scarcity of food, fallen into such a state of debility that many of them died before reaching the public works, and such as did get to them were still more frequently unable from sheer exhaustion to do anything. Labour was no longer a test of destitution; on the contrary, things had come to such a point that the capacity to endure its fatigue was rather the reverse. In addition to this, the work expended on the roads, during the four preceding months, had been so immense that all useful employment on them had long since come to an end; and the only effect of now continuing it would be "to render," in the words of one of the Government inspectors, "good roads impassable for public conveyances."

38. Upon these grounds, Ministers justly declared that they regarded the misfortunes of Ireland as an imperial calamity, which could no longer be regarded as affecting that part of the empire only, or capable of being relieved from its resources. The magnitude of the evil was such, that the whole empire must contribute to its relief, and the resources of it all would be strained to the uttermost to effect it. Lord Brougham, when the subject was first mooted in the House of Lords, gave the following striking description of the state of Ireland, and the impossibility, by any effort, of legislating calmly or wisely for its relief. "I hold it to be indispensable," said he, "to draw a line of demarcation between temporary and permanent measures. It is impossible, when the cry of hunger prevails over the land—when there is the melancholy substance as well as the cry—when the country is distracted from day to day by accounts of the most heartrending spectacles I have ever heard or read of—when there is a deep misery and distress prevailing in

and pervading Ireland, rendered only the more heartrending because the more touching by the admirable and almost inimitable patience with which it has been borne; that at a time when this grievous calamity exists, when there are scenes all over those unfortunate districts which nothing can be found to surpass in the page of history, disease and death ever following in the train of famine; to which nothing exceeding is to be found in the page of Josephus, or on the canvass of Poussin, or in the dismal chant of Dante,—that at this very time, and under the pressure of these sights, from which, with instinctive horror, we avert our eyes, but which we are compelled, by a more reasonable humanity, to make an effort to relieve,—that at such a moment, with such feelings pervading millions in both islands, we should be able, calmly and deliberately, to take up a question of permanent policy, I hold to be utterly and necessarily impossible.”

39. Notwithstanding the almost insuperable difficulty thus forcibly stated by Lord Brougham, the measures of Government were vigorous and energetic, and, in the circumstances, among the best that could be adopted. They consisted of two parts. The first was directed to facilitating the introduction of foreign grain and food of all kinds, by the removal of all restrictions on its entrance, and lessening the cost of its transit, and providing means to insure its conveyance to the starving population of the country. Under the first category was included the immediate repeal of all the remaining duties on grain of every kind, even the shilling duty on wheat being for the time taken off, and an entire suspension of the Navigation Laws, so as to give every facility for the importation of food of all kinds from foreign countries. The latter measure was based on the statement, that, to supply the deficiency of food in the British Islands, at least 6,000,000 quarters of grain would require to be imported, being about 850,000 tons; and that, for the carriage of so large a quantity, the whole

commercial navy of Great Britain, large as it was, would not suffice. In addition to this, an Act was proposed, modifying the duties on rum and sugar, so as to equalise them with those on grain used in distilleries; the effect of which, it was hoped, would be at once to give some relief to the West India proprietors, and diminish the pressure on the grain resources in Great Britain. These measures, as well as an Act legalising the deviation from the Public Works Act of the preceding session, under the pressure of necessity, all passed both Houses without any opposition.

40. The second class of measures intended for the relief of Ireland consisted of an extensive modification and extension of the Poor Law, and an establishment of committees to distribute relief, independent of work, to such persons as might require it, to be provided for partly by rates and subscriptions, and partly by grants from the public exchequer. It directed that a relief committee should be appointed in every electoral division, consisting of the magistrates, a clergyman of each persuasion, the poor-law guardian, and the three highest rate-payers. In addition to this it was directed that a finance committee of four gentlemen of character and knowledge of business, should be formed to control the expenditure of each union. Inspecting-officers were also to be appointed, and a central commission, sitting in Dublin, was to superintend and control the working of the whole system. The expense incurred was to be defrayed out of the poor-rates, and when these failed, they were to be reinforced by Government loans, to be repaid by rates subsequently levied. The guardians of the poor were REQUIRED to give relief, either in or out of the workhouse, to the aged and infirm, and to all who were permanently disabled. The workhouses were to be retained as a test, so far as they could be applied, of real destitution; but in cases where accommodation could not be afforded to all who crowded to the doors, relief was to be administered, not in money, *but in*

*food*, whether the applicants who could not be taken in *were able-bodied, thrown out of work, or not.* The great and important principles established by this Act were, that the administering relief to the destitute was rendered compulsory, and enforced by public boards and commissioners appointed for the purpose, and that the relief was to be extended to out-door applicants and the able-bodied unable to find employment. And of the necessity of this change in the administration of the Poor Laws, no better proof can be furnished than was afforded by the barony of Skibbereen, in the south of Ireland, where nearly *the whole population, consisting of eleven thousand persons, perished of famine*, and the deaths in the work-houses were a hundred and forty in a single month. And yet in that scene of unutterable woe the rated rental of the union was £80,000 a-year, the real rental £100,000, and the rate of assessment only 6d. on the pound, while the average of all England was 1s. 7d.! With truth did Lord John Russell say, in introducing this bill, that "in Ireland there was a very great deal of charity, but it was not of the rich to the poor, but of the poor to the very poor."

41. Under authority of this Act, and of the Temporary Relief Act, relief was administered, with a most unsparing hand, in the year 1847; and the rapid rise in the sums levied as poor-rates in that year afforded incontestable evidence of the scanda-

lous neglect and parsimony with which they had formerly been administered.\* Depots of corn and meal were formed, relief committees established, mills and ovens erected, huge boilers, specially cast for the purpose, sent over from England, and large supplies of clothing provided. In July 1847, the system reached its highest point; for "3,020,712 persons received separate rations, of whom 2,265,535 were adults, and 755,178 were children." Three millions of human beings, a larger population than the whole inhabitants of Holland, fed by public charity! History affords no parallel to so widespread a scene of suffering, so magnificent a display of human beneficence. The supplies of all sorts imported into the country were on a corresponding scale. The quantity of all kinds of grain imported in the first six months of 1847 was 2,849,847 tons, equal to the support of six millions of people for a whole year. The price of Indian corn, of which the greater part of this immense importation consisted, fell in consequence so rapidly, that while, in the end of February, it was at £19 per ton, by the middle of August it had sunk to £7, 10s. The price of ordinary provisions, though higher than usual, was by no means extraordinary, and not nearly so high as it has been in several years since, when no scarcity whatever was experienced. That of wheat varied from 54s. to 92s. the quarter; the average of the whole year was 69s. 9d.† That of the preceding year had been 54s. 8d.,

\* EXPENDED ON THE POOR IN IRELAND, AND NUMBERS RELIEVED BY UNIONS.

Years ending 29th Sept.	Number in Workhouses on 29th Sept.	Total Relieved.		Expenditure on them.
		In-door.	Out-door.	
1845	42,068	142,068	....	£316,026
1846	94,437	316,928	....	435,001
1847	86,376	417,139		
1848	124,003	610,463	1,433,482	1,835,631
1849	141,030	932,284	1,210,482	2,177,651
1850	155,173	805,702	368,563	1,430,108
1851	140,031	707,443	47,914	1,141,647
1852	111,515	504,864	13,232	883,267

—NICHOLLS's *Irish Report*, 395.

† The average of the *harvest years*, September 1847 to September 1848, was much higher; it was 72s., and for some weeks it was as high as 110s., and even 120s.



that of the succeeding was 50s. 6d. Happily the next harvest was abundant, and the potato crop free of disease. By the middle of August food was generally abundant, and labour in demand. Relief out of the workhouse was discontinued in one-half of the unions, and it ceased altogether, under the Temporary Relief Act, on the 12th of September.

42. Although, however, the circumstances of the country were so ameliorated that the extraordinary support administered under the Temporary Relief Act ceased, yet the pressure, especially for out-door relief, was only thereby rendered the greater upon the Poor-Law Unions. It soon became excessive upon them, and the utmost difficulty was experienced in separating the deserving from the undeserving, and preventing nearly the whole working classes falling as a burden on the poor-rates. The workhouse test was first applied, but it soon failed, from the impossibility of finding accommodation in these melancholy abodes for the multitudes which thronged their gates. The labour test also failed, from the experienced difficulty of getting any profitable work out of the crowds of persons, many of them old or infirm, who required to be employed upon public works. Provisions gratuitously distributed turned out, in too many instances, to be exchanged for drink: the shape in which they were found to be most beneficial was *when cooked*, in the form of porridge or "stirabout," because it became soon soured, if not consumed on the spot, or near it. In spite of every disposition to resist it, out-door relief on a very large scale was fairly forced upon the Poor-Law Commissioners; and the number of indigent persons so relieved increased in an alarming ratio when the Temporary Relief Act came to an end in August 1847. The number of these reached its highest point in March 1848, when the in-door paupers were 140,536, and the out-door 703,762, making together 844,298 persons living on eleemosynary aid. This was independent of 200,000 children at the same time provided with food

and clothing by the British Association—making in all 1,044,298 supported at one time by public or private charity, being above an eighth part of the entire population of the Island. And the Commissioners, in their report on this year, say that "they cannot doubt that of this number a large proportion are by this means, and this means alone, daily preserved from death through want of food." The history of the world will be sought in vain for a parallel to a visitation of Providence of such magnitude so energetically met by the efforts of public and private beneficence.

43. Notwithstanding all these exertions, the number of poor persons who died in Ireland during the calamitous years when the famine or its effects lasted, either from starvation or the diseases consequent on insufficient or unwholesome nourishment, was deplorably great. From the tables published by the Census Commissioners, in their deeply interesting sixth report, it appears that the average mortality of Ireland before the dearth was 78,000 annually. From the time, however, when the potato famine began, the number of deaths rapidly increased, and in the year 1847 they reached their highest point, being 249,335.\* The total deaths from the beginning of 1846, when the scarcity

\* DEATHS IN IRELAND FROM 1842 TO 1850.

Years.	Deaths.
1842, . . . . .	68,732
1843, . . . . .	70,499
1844, . . . . .	75,055
1845, . . . . .	86,900
	<hr/>
	301,186

Average of three last years, . . . 77,754

1846, . . . . .	122,889
1847, . . . . .	249,335
1848, . . . . .	208,252
1849, . . . . .	240,797
1850, . . . . .	164,093

Deaths in five years, two first being of famine, . . . . .	985,366
Deduct average deaths of three years preceding, 78,000 a-year, . . . . .	390,000

Died of the famine and its effects, 595,366

—Census Commissioners' General Report, No. VI., p. 51.

began, to the end of 1850, when its effects may be said to have ended, so far as mortality is concerned, were 985,000, from which, if we deduct 390,000 for the probable average mortality of the period, there will remain 595,000, which may fairly be ascribed to the famine, or the diseases consequent in its train. A dreadful loss of life, and perhaps unparalleled in recent times in European story, yet not a quarter of what it would in all probability have been, had not Providence granted an abundant harvest and crop untainted with disease in 1847, and had not the British Government and people met the visitation, when at its worst, with Christian beneficence and a noble patriotic spirit.

44. And truly the pecuniary sacrifices and efforts made in Great Britain to mitigate the calamity were on a scale proportioned to its magnitude, and altogether unparalleled in the previous history of the world. When disease and fever appeared, as they did with fearful virulence in the beginning of 1848, three hundred hospitals and dispensaries were established entirely at the expense of Government, which afforded accommodation to twenty thousand patients, and administered out-door relief to above double the number for a very long period. The total sums advanced by the British Government to Ireland in aid of the rates, or as donations, in 1846 and 1847, were £7,132,268, of which £3,754,739 was to be repaid in ten years, and the remaining £3,377,529 was a free gift. To meet these immense demands upon the Treasury, which were felt as the more distressing, as, from the violence of the monetary crisis which simultaneously set in in Great Britain, the public revenue was becoming very embarrassed, a loan of £8,000,000 was authorised by Parliament, and borrowed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. These immense public grants were independent of £470,000 raised by private subscription, one-sixth of which was applied to Scotland, and of £168,000 collected by the "Society of Friends," and distributed for the most part in

clothing and provisions. Thus, between public grants and private subscriptions, nearly EIGHT MILLIONS STERLING were, in two years, bestowed by Great Britain upon Ireland—an example of magnificent liberality unparalleled in any former age or country, and forming not the least honourable feature in its long and glorious annals. The portion of the grant which was nominally to be repaid has since been converted, with the entire approbation of the nation, into a free gift.\*

45. Great as was the devastation produced in the Irish population by the famine and its consequent pestilence, it was as nothing compared with the effects produced by it, combined with the results of free trade, upon that agricultural island. Incalculable has been the influence of these *combined causes* on the people of Ireland, and, through them, on the destinies of the world. The first caused them to lose all confidence in the potato, hitherto their sole means of subsistence, the last deprived them for several years of the profitable market for their cereal crops which Great Britain had hitherto afforded, and which was their chief means of paying the rents of their little possessions. The first effect of this universal panic was a migration from Ireland into the adjoining island of Great Britain on a scale unparalleled even in its long annals of suffering. Liverpool and Glasgow were the two points which principally attracted the immigrants, and on them the inundation of Irish paupers soon became excessive. In the first nine months of 1847, 278,000 immigrants from Ireland landed in Liverpool, of whom only 123,000 sailed from thence to foreign parts, leaving 155,000 as a

\* SUMS ADVANCED UNDER THE DIFFERENT ACTS.

1. Under Public Works Act,	
9 & 10 Vict., c. 1, . . .	£476,000
2. Under Labour Rate Act,	
9 & 10 Vict., c. 107, . . .	4,850,000
3. Under Local Purposes Act,	
9 & 10 Vict., c. 2, . . .	130,000
4. Under Temporary Relief	
Act, 10 Vict., c. 7, 22, . . .	1,676,268
	<hr/>
	£7,132,268

lasting burden upon its inhabitants. For a long period the Irish paupers who landed were 800, sometimes as high as 1100, in a day.\* It was considered matter for public thankfulness when the number sank, in the end of the year, to 2000 a-week. The inundation into Glasgow at the same period, though not so great, was still on a scale of unprecedented magnitude. Between the 1st November 1847 and the 1st April 1848, it was ascertained by an official enumeration, that no less than 42,800 Irish immigrants had landed at the Broomielaw, besides those who came by the railway from Ardrrossan, who were about half as many more. Many of these immigrants were in the last state of destitution, and not a few bore with them the seeds of contagious fever, which rapidly spread among the dense population, and not a little aggravated their sufferings in the disastrous year which followed. Upon the whole, it is no exaggeration to say, that in the course of the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, not less than *five hundred thousand persons* came to the British shores from Ireland, the great majority of whom never again left them, and formed no inconsiderable part of the apparent increase of British population in the census of 1851.

46. The actual value of the crop

destroyed in 1847 was estimated by Lord Lansdowne in Parliament at £11,350,000 in potatoes, and £4,600,000 in oats, or in all about £16,000,000. This amount, though very large when compared to the agricultural produce of Ireland itself, was inconsiderable when set beside that of the whole empire, which at that time was estimated in the British Islands at £300,000,000 annually. But, coming as it did upon a population left almost entirely for half the year without wages, and supported solely by the produce of their little patches of ground, and combined as it was with the repeal of the Corn Laws in England, which lowered to two-thirds of its former amount the average price of grain of every kind in the English market, it induced that despair in the minds of all classes which tore up all the attachments, heretofore felt as so strong, of home and country, and sent them in willing multitudes into the emigrant ships to flee from that land of woe. The emigration to foreign countries, especially America, Canada, and Australia, in consequence became such that no parallel to it is to be found in the whole annals of the world. From the authentic records collected by the Irish Census and Emigration Commissioners, it appears that the total number of *Irish-born emigrants*† who left the

\* "Liverpool was so inundated that in eleven days they were compelled to afford relief to 198,000 cases, in addition to their own poor."—LORD BROUGHAM, *Parl. Deb.*, lxxxix. 771.

† IRISH-BORN EMIGRANTS, FROM JUNE 30, 1841, TO DEC. 31, 1855.

Years.	United States.	Canada.	Australia.	Total.
1841	11,524	1,755	3,678	16,376
1842	49,300	39,442	937	89,686
1843	23,420	13,578	509	37,509
1844	37,269	16,484	520	54,289
1845	50,206	24,713	50	74,969
1846	68,023	37,888	39	105,955
1847	116,863	97,392	1,188	215,444
1848	153,589	22,724	1,840	178,159
1849	176,643	30,735	7,041	214,425
1850	180,542	24,465	4,045	209,054
1851	215,600	29,312	4,797	249,721
1852	199,535	21,617	6,266	220,428
1853	156,970	22,402	12,746	192,620
1854	111,095	22,922	16,202	150,222
1855	57,164	6,251	15,500	78,999
Total,	1,600,753	411,680	74,708	2,087,856

—*Census Report*, No. VI., p. lv.—The influence of the gold discoveries in Australia, which

country between the 30th June 1841 and the 31st December 1855, amounted to the *enormous and almost incredible number of 2,087,856 persons*, of whom 75 per cent were between 10 and 40 years of age, that is, in the prime of life with reference to the means of increase. Only 272,828 of the immense multitude had emigrated before 1846, leaving 1,814,928 who had departed in the ten years immediately subsequent to the introduction of free trade and the commencement of the famine. Of this number 1,600,753 had emigrated to the United States; 411,680 to Canada; and 74,708 to Australia; and only 715 to all other places. History may be searched in vain for a parallel to so extraordinary a deportation of the human race in so short a time.

47. The consequences of this prodigious exodus upon the destinies of the British empire, and the fortunes of the New World, have been great and lasting; and we are still too near the time of its occurrence to be able to estimate them at their real amount. But the effect of it on the population of Ireland itself has already been accurately ascertained; and this presents a result which may fully be considered as unprecedented in modern times. The

population of Ireland, by the census of 1841, was 8,175,124 souls, and by that of 1851 it had sunk to 6,552,385, exhibiting a decrease of 1,612,739 persons. Great as this diminution is, it exhibits less than the real decrease of the population which has taken place since 1846. It is justly observed by the Census Commissioners, that "applying the English rates of 1 birth to every 31 persons, and 1 death to every 45, to Ireland, and supposing the immigration and emigration to be equal, there would have been in Ireland, in 1846, no less than 8,553,084 persons; and in 1851, 9,018,799." But as the population in 1851 was found to be only 6,552,385, it follows that between 1846 and 1851, a period of only five years, there had been an actual decline of the inhabitants to the extent of 2,000,000, of which number 1,700,000 can be easily accounted for.\* This number, how great soever in so short a time, will not appear at all surprising when the extent of the emigration and deaths, above the average number already given, is taken into consideration, which amounted to about an equal number. And the Census Commissioners estimate the decline of population, since 1851 when the census was taken, "including emigra-

first came into play in 1853, in increasing the emigration to Australia, and of the Russian War, which broke out in April 1854, in diminishing the general exodus, is very apparent in this interesting table.

\* DECREASE OF POPULATION IN IRELAND FROM 1847 TO 1851.

Years.	Emigration.	Estimated Ordinary Deaths.	Estimated Ordinary Births.	Natural Increase of Population.
1847	215,444	192,688	278,838	86,750
1848	178,159	194,016	281,636	87,620
1849	214,425	195,963	284,463	88,500
1850	209,054	197,930	287,174	89,387
1851	249,721	192,312	289,121	91,312
	1,066,804	972,309	1,421,222	443,569

*Summary.*

Extra deaths from famine—supposed, . . .	595,366
Ordinary deaths, . . .	972,309
Estimated immigration to Great Britain, . . .	500,000
Emigration abroad, . . .	1,066,808

3,134,479

Deduct ordinary births, . . . 1,421,222

Visible Decrease, . . . 1,713,247

tion, at 475,102 persons, to the 31st December 1855; so that it is probable that at the present time the population does not much exceed 6,000,000; and this number is still diminishing owing to the emigrants from the country continuing to be greater in amount than the assumed excess of births over deaths." In fact, by the census of 1861, the population of Ireland was found to be only 5,798,967. That is, IN TEN YEARS AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF FREE TRADE, AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FAMINE, THE POPULATION OF IRELAND HAD DIMINISHED BY ABOVE 2,500,000 SOULS.

48. Struck with consternation at so unprecedented and melancholy a catastrophe, a large and influential party in Great Britain have done their utmost to represent it as the result, not of the change of commercial policy introduced in 1846, but of the mortality and consequent panic produced by the potato rot, and famine thence arising which ensued in the close of that year. Without disputing what is self-evident, that the terrible nature of the malady in that year must have produced a very great feeling of distrust in the minds of the Irish peasantry in their favourite root, a very little consideration must

be sufficient to show that, however powerful at first, this influence soon ceased to operate. And if we would find the cause of the long-continued exodus of the Irish people from 1847 to 1856, we must look for it in the gloom thrown over the prospects of their agricultural industry by the immense importation of foreign grain which followed the changes of 1846, and lowered the price of their staple produce so much, as made the people despair of being able either to pay their rents or cultivate their land, so as to be able to maintain themselves and their families. The crop of every kind in 1847 was so fine, that by orders of Government a public thanksgiving was returned for it; and the seasons from that time to 1856, with the exception of 1853, were eminently favourable, as is proved by the prices-current of those years, quoted below, which were, till 1852, when the gold discoveries came into operation, which materially raised them, extremely low.\* Some more general and lasting influence must therefore be looked for, if we would discover the real cause of this prodigious exodus, amounting, between 1846 and 1856, to 1,800,000, and which for several years rendered population declining in the

\* PRICES AND IMPORTS OF GRAIN, AND IRISH EXPORTS AND ACRES IN GRAIN, FROM 1845 TO 1856.

Years.	Average of Wheat per Quarter.	Importation of Grain into Great Britain.		Total Importation, Foreign.	Export of Irish Grain to England.	Irish Acres under Cereal Crops.	Irish Emigration.
		Wheat and Wheat-meal.	Other Grain.				
		Qrs.	Qrs.				
1845	50s. 10d.	1,141,957	1,287,959	2,429,916	3,251,000	3,194,582	74,969
1846	54s. 8d.	2,344,142	2,408,032	4,752,174	1,814,802	2,856,694	105,955
1847	69s. 9d.	4,464,757	7,448,107	11,912,864	963,000	3,174,424	215,444
1848	50s. 6d.	3,082,230	4,446,242	7,528,472	1,946,000	3,149,556	178,159
1849	44s. 3d.	4,802,475	5,867,186	10,669,661	1,426,000	3,499,401	214,425
1850	40s. 3d.	4,830,263	4,189,327	9,019,590	1,328,000	2,776,686	209,054
1851	38s. 6d.	5,330,412	4,287,614	9,618,026	1,324,000	2,833,387	249,721
1852	40s. 9d.	4,164,603	3,582,066	7,746,669	1,853,000	2,743,736	220,428
1853	53s. 3d.	6,235,860	3,937,275	10,173,135	1,778,000	2,832,564	192,620
1854	72s. 5d.	4,473,085	3,436,459	7,909,544	2,072,000	2,785,343	150,222
1855	74s. 8d.	3,211,766	3,067,047	6,278,813	2,226,000	2,852,564	78,999
1856	69s. 2d.	5,207,147	4,132,278	9,339,425	2,212,000	2,785,208	79,000

—TOOKE *On Prices*, v. 462; PORTER, 345; *Census Report*, No. V., p. 54; *Agricultural Report*, 1852, v.; *Statistical Abstract*, i. 12, and x. 39; THOM'S *Almanac* for 1860, p. 690, 694.

This very interesting table speaks to the eye, and speaks volumes. As regularly as the importation of foreign grain, and especially wheat, increased, did the Irish exports of grain sink, and the emigrants from that country increase. When the importation of foreign grain had turned 10,000,000 quarters annually, the export of Irish grain sank a half, and the emigration turned 200,000.

whole empire. And if we look at the immense importation of foreign grain throughout the period, the fall in the exports of Irish during the same years, the prices-current of agricultural produce, and the proved diminution of Irish cereal cultivation, we shall have no difficulty in seeing what the cause really was.

49. It is not to be imagined, from all that has been said, that the Irish people are destitute of charitable feelings, or that the poor were driven out of the country by the voluntary failure of the industrial and affluent classes to maintain them. There is no country in the world in which the poor are more kind and humane to each other. Previous to the introduction of the Poor Laws in 1837, the destitute, who exceeded 2,000,000, were maintained almost entirely in this way, and their support, it was computed, cost the industrious poor £1,500,000 a-year. If the landowners were apparently deficient in that duty, it is to be ascribed mainly to the unhappy, distracted state of the country, which rendered absenteeism almost unavoidable with all who had the means of leaving it; and the enormous amount of their mortgages, the interest of which absorbed £9,000,000 out of the £13,000,000 rental. This prodigious burden was mainly owing to the circumstances that the habits of expenditure were contracted during the high prices of the war, and the debt remained under the halved rental produced by the contraction of the currency during the peace. But the effect of it, of course, was that the whole public burdens fell on the clear rental of £4,000,000; and when the poor-rates amounted, as they did in 1847, to £2,000,000, they *absorbed half, and in many of the unions the whole, of the landlord's income.* Amidst this scene of reckless extravagance and industrial suffering, there is one noble and redeeming feature, which should be recorded to the eternal honour of the Irish character. How destitute soever the great majority of the emigrants may have been when they first set out, the strength of the domestic affections among them was such, that

from the time when the great exodus began, the sums they remitted to bring their relations out to the land of promise were so large, that they rose from £460,000 in 1848, to £1,350,000 in 1853. Their amount has remained nearly as great ever since (1864). To the immense fund thus provided by the strenuous industry and undying affection of the Irish poor on transatlantic shores, for their relations left at home, the magnitude of the continued stream of emigration which has since that time left the Irish shores, and the wonderful subsequent improvement wrought in the country, are mainly to be ascribed.\*

50. Such are the details of the Irish famine of 1846, and its effects in subsequent years, the most terrible calamity in modern times, and which, in the rapidity with which it mowed down the human race, greatly exceeded anything recorded in the annals either of war or pestilence. Even the Moscow retreat, or the siege of Sebastopol, occasioned while they lasted a much less destruction of mankind. If to this we add the astonishing fact of an emigration having taken place from the country to the extent of above 2,000,000 souls in eight years after, it may safely be affirmed that the calamity, both in present magnitude and ultimate importance, is unparalleled in authentic history. It demonstrates, in the most striking manner, the enormous extent of the social evils under which Ireland laboured, when Providence adopted such awful means to remedy them, and strikingly illustrates the limited extent of human vision on the subject, when narrowed by party ambition. All that the collected wisdom of the nation in the House of Commons could suggest during forty years, had been to

\* SUMS REMITTED HOME BY IRISH EMIGRANTS  
FROM 1848 TO 1854.

1848, . . . . .	£460,000
1849, . . . . .	540,000
1850, . . . . .	957,000
1851, . . . . .	990,000
1852, . . . . .	1,250,000
1853, . . . . .	1,349,000
1854, . . . . .	1,234,000

—*Irish Census, Sixth Report, lvi.; and MR EVERETT's Letter to LORD MALMESBURY, Dec. 1, 1852.*

admit forty landless Catholics into Parliament, give every starving peasant with £5 a-year a municipal vote, and take £200,000 a-year from the Church to devote it to the purposes of secular education. But if both governors and governed were grievously at fault in the conduct of Irish affairs before the visitation of Providence fell upon them, yet it must be added, to their honour, that both nobly redeemed their errors when it arrived. Never did Government meet a great national calamity in a more intrepid and generous spirit; never did the distant and the affluent aid them more nobly in their efforts to mitigate it; never did the sufferers bear their pains with more patience and magnanimity, or evince a more magnificent proof of domestic affection, than in the efforts made by such as survived to extricate their relatives from the scene of woe. If the former period, whether as regards the rulers or their subjects, makes us blush, the present makes us proud of human nature; and in this, as in so many other pages of history, we may discern the intentions of Providence in what appear at first sight its darkest dispensations. We may learn that it is sometimes well for nations as well as individuals to be in affliction. It will be the pleasing duty of the annalist in a future chapter to show that the virtues elicited during this fiery trial were not without their reward even in this world, and to trace, in the rapid rise of Irish prosperity in subsequent years, the direct consequences of the sufferings undergone by their fathers during a period when the country seemed crushed to the earth in affliction.

51. Ireland was not the only country by which the potato blight was experienced at this period. Scotland also shared largely, though not so universally, in the same calamity. Symptoms of the disease appeared in the autumn of 1846, but not so generally as to excite any serious alarm; but in August 1847 they became so common as to prove that nearly the entire crop, especially in the Highlands and Western Islands, had perished. As the potato furnished food for at least two-

sevenths of the entire population of the country, and that the most destitute portion of it, this afforded serious ground for alarm, the more especially as, from the simultaneous occurrence of a still greater calamity in Ireland, there was little chance of any effective support being received from England. But in this extremity Scotland, though left to her own resources, was true, as she had so often been in former periods of her history, to herself. She did not demean herself by supplication, nor humble herself by lamentation. She neither asked for nor received succour from the Government of her richer and more powerful neighbour. She boldly looked the calamity in the face, and from her own unaided resources, set about combating it.

52. Subscriptions to relieve the destitution in the Western Highlands were immediately set on foot in all parts of the country: that in Glasgow alone, in a few weeks, exceeded £30,000. Corn and meal were instantly bought up and despatched by sea to the afflicted quarters; committees were appointed both to collect subscriptions in the richer, and distribute the succours in the famishing districts. Fortunately the poor-law machinery, established two years before over the whole country, afforded the means both of collecting information as to the wants of the people and distributing the charity. The landholders generally acted in the most liberal and patriotic manner, and the advances made under the Drainage Act for Great Britain, the greater part of which the Scotch had the sense to take up for themselves, afforded in many places both the means of employing the poor in the mean time and permanently improving the country. The assessment for the poor-rate was largely augmented, in proportion to the necessities of the case;\* and the splendid

\* POOR-RATE LEVIED IN SCOTLAND FROM  
1846 to 1850.

1846, .. . . .	£295,232
1847, . . . . .	433,915
1848, . . . . .	544,344
1849, . . . . .	577,044
1850, . . . . .	581,553

—NICHOLLS'S *Scotch Poor-Law*, 269.

sum of £77,683 remitted by the British Association, being one-sixth of the sum they had collected, was thankfully received, and proved of essential service. By these means, aided by two depots for the sale of corn established by Government in the Western Islands, the crisis was surmounted, and that without any external aid but what the Scotch owed to the generous benevolence of their southern fellow-

countrymen. Yet was the suffering endured intense and long continued, for the potato crop failed to a certain extent for several years after, and it led to a very general emigration on the part of all who could get away, which added to the immense flood of human beings which in those years flowed across the Atlantic to the land of promise in the New World.

## CHAPTER LXII.

ENGLAND, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE IRISH FAMINE IN 1847 TO THE MONETARY CRISIS OF 1848.

1. So completely did the all-engrossing subject of the Irish famine absorb the attention both of the Legislature and the public during this disastrous year, that scarcely any other matter for a long period occupied the attention of Parliament. The debates on the subject, however, which were full, earnest, and full of patriotic and philanthropic feeling, have lost much of their interest in consequence of the publication of the authentic records and parliamentary tables, of which an abstract has now been given. One project, however, advanced on the subject deserves particular attention, both from the energy and talent with which it was supported, and the immense accumulation of facts bearing on the state of Ireland which it brought to light. LORD GEORGE BENTINCK had meditated deeply on the condition of that country, and the means of affording it relief; and it appeared to him that these means were to be found in the extension to it of the causes which had relieved Great Britain in 1841 and 1842. England was then in nearly as deplorable a state as Ireland was at this time. 1,500,000 persons were during that crisis maintained by the poor-rates, of whom 483,000 were

able-bodied labourers. What, then, absorbed this immense mass of starving *prolétaires*, and induced in its stead the vast demand for labour and general prosperity of 1845 and 1846? It was ridiculous to ascribe this to the tariff and reduction of import duties. So great a change could never have been produced by lowering the price of bread a penny, and that of meat three halfpence a pound, or cotton five-sixteenths of a penny. It was something affecting the *demand for labour*, not the price of commodities, which must have caused the change, and what this something was could admit of no doubt. It was railway enterprise which effected the prodigy: it was the expenditure of from fifteen to twenty millions on the wages of labour annually, for a course of years, which at once absorbed great part of the unemployed poor, raised the remuneration they received, and, by adding immensely to their means of consumption, caused that general rise of prices which diffused gladness and cheerfulness among all who dealt in articles in general use. It was by the extension of a similar system to Ireland that the public distress was to be mitigated, and labour employed in



a permanently useful and durable form. But the poverty of the country precluded the possibility of this, except by the aid of Government.

2. Impressed with these ideas, Lord George was engaged during the whole autumn of 1846, with the characteristic energy of his disposition, in collecting information on the subject, and obtaining from practical men the knowledge requisite to put his project in an intelligible and practical form. On the 4th February 1847, he introduced it in an elaborate speech in the House of Commons. "It is not my intention," said he, "to make a long preface on the state of Ireland. Suffice it to say, there are 500,000 able-bodied men in that country living upon the funds of the State, commanded by a staff of 11,587 persons, and all employed upon works which have been variously described as 'worse than idleness;' by the yeomanry of Ulster as 'public follies;' by the inspector-general of these works himself, as 'answering no other purpose but that of obstructing the public conveyances.' How long is this to continue? Is the immense array now living at the expense of the State to be permanently employed in works of no earthly utility? The first requisite of labour is to be productive; and the relief afforded by the employment, even on the greatest scale, of the labouring poor, will be evanescent if it is not realised in some works which may add to the funds for its future maintenance.

3. "Doubtless a great calamity is hanging over Ireland; but we who, in former times, far less rich than the present, have seen £103,000,000, on an average of three years, annually spent by the State, are not to be cast down by a loss of agricultural produce which may be estimated at £10,000,000. On the contrary, I trust that good will come out of evil, and that, instead of lying down and weeping over our misfortune, like children lost in a wood, we shall have the spirit to look our difficulties fairly in the face, and be resolved to exercise a firm determination to overcome them. I cannot for-

get that, in very recent times, England, though burdened, conjointly with Ireland, with two millions of Irish poor, did support from her parish rates 1,427,000 poor, of whom 490,000 were able-bodied labourers, who were sustained by the parish. If we look at Great Britain as she was in 1841 and 1842, we shall both be filled with hope as to the future of Ireland, and discern the means by which, under Providence, its amelioration is to be brought about. What has brought England out of that woeful state of depression into its present state of affluence and prosperity? It is not the reduction of five-sixteenths of a penny on the duty on cotton—it is not the admission of 27,000 head of horned cattle free of duty, or of timber at a reduced rate, which has done this; it is railway enterprise which has effected the prodigy. It is the employment, for a course of years, of £13,000,000 on home railways, it is the employment of 200,000 labourers at 22s. a week, who have been called from the parish and the workhouse to execute them, which has done the thing, and occasioned that rise in the price of commodities of all sorts which is the surest sign of general prosperity, and that increased consumption of articles of comfort, which is so agreeable to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

4. "So far back as 1836, the royal commission, of which Lord Devon was the head, charged with inquiry into the condition of Ireland, reported that a system of railways should be carried out in the country, and that it should be done at the public expense. This has so far been acted upon, that, within the last few years, Acts of Parliament have been passed for 1582 miles of railroad; but of these, from want of capital in the country, or of enterprise, only 123 miles have been completed. In England, during the same time, 2600 miles of railway have been completed, and 4000 more are in course of being so. The population of Ireland is not much inferior to that of England, and the most experienced persons consider population as the first element in railway success. Let Gov-

ernment then come forward at once, and boldly, to aid railway enterprise in Ireland, and we may confidently hope, ere long, to see the same resurrection of Ireland which we have recently witnessed with so much success in Great Britain.

5. "The plan I propose is this: Let Government engage, for every £100 provided by a railway company, to give £200 from the public funds, at the same rate of interest at which they themselves borrow it, which at present may be taken at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. There is not a railway in Ireland which would not produce at least £7 for every £200 advanced by Government, so that the security will be ample, and the State will not lose a shilling by the adventure. Such a system would put an immense mass of labourers in motion in every part of the country, and would, at the same time, set free the capital of the shareholders, so as to enable them to devote it to the improvement of their estates. So great would, to a certainty, be the improvement of the land adjoining these railways, that it might be calculated upon adding £23,000,000 in twenty-five years to the value of land in Ireland, besides giving bread for four years to 500,000 labourers, which would go far towards surmounting the evil effects of the famine. The sum proposed to be advanced by Government is £16,000,000, in addition to £8,000,000 provided by Irish capitalists; and the lines constructed, 1500 miles. We have the authority of a most competent observer, Mr Smith of Deanston, for the assertion, that the improvement on the land, for a mile on each side of the railways thus constructed, would be so great, that it would ere long pay the whole cost of construction. The loan is to be repaid in thirty years by instalments; the first payment commencing seven years after a certificate has been given of the completion of the railway.

6. "Indirectly, Government will be benefited, and that, too, to the full amount of the interest of the loans expended by such an outlay. On comparing the amount paid to Excise over-

head by the Scotch above the Irish, we find it is £1, 0s. 2d., or, deducting soap and brick duties, not paid in Ireland, 16s.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. Now if, by means of this expenditure of £16,000,000, we have 500,000 labourers employed at good wages, such as are earned in England, it is not unreasonable to presume that their expenditure on excisable articles will come up to the Scotch. This would give £447,448 additional revenue from the Excise alone to the Government. Then in the Customs, there is a difference of 7s. 4d. a-head between Scotland and Ireland; and this would represent a sum of £202,000. Thus between the two there will be an addition to the revenue of £649,000, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on £18,000,000. It is a gross calumny to say that Irish loans are never repaid; many instances exist to the contrary: the Devon commission has reported the reverse. If by this measure I can fill the bellies of the Irish people with good beef and mutton, and their cottages with fine wheat and sound beer, and their pockets with English gold to purchase the blankets of Wiltshire, the fustians of Manchester, and the cotton prints of Stockport, I, though a Saxon, will answer with my head for their loyalty, and will lead them through their warm hearts and sympathies, not to sever, but to cement, the union of Ireland and England."

7. So obviously well-founded were the allegations, so reasonable the proposals in this very remarkable speech, and so entirely did it coincide with and work out the manly and patriotic efforts of the Government to combat the great prevailing calamity, that, if it had been brought forward at an earlier period, and before the plans of Ministers had been matured, it is probable that it would have been readily embraced by the Administration. As it was, they did not oppose the leave given to bring in the bill, and it was for some time hoped that the Cabinet would adopt the measure. But, unfortunately, before it came the length of a second reading, commercial embarrassments had so much increased in

Great Britain, owing to the immense import of grain, and consequent export of gold, that Government, not unnaturally, shrank from the responsibility of going into the money market, and still farther increasing the pressure, by borrowing £16,000,000, in any form, to set the undertaking on foot. Perhaps, too, there was a less excusable jealousy on the part of Ministers to substitute for their own plan for Irish relief that propounded by the Protectionist chief. The result was, that, without opposing Lord George Bentinck's bill on its first introduction, they mustered all their forces to throw it out on the second reading; and on this occasion Sir R. Peel lent them his aid in a very powerful speech.

8. "The state of the country," said the right honourable Baronet, "is this: Last year there was a balance of receipts in exchequer over expenditure of £2,800,000. It is impossible to expect for the present financial year, or the next, a more favourable state; and if the necessary and agreed-to expenditure for the relief of Irish suffering is taken into consideration, which will probably amount to £10,000,000 sterling, we shall at the very least, by the end of next year, be landed in a deficit of £6,000,000 or £7,000,000. Is this a time when it would be either prudent or expedient to go into the market for an additional sum of £16,000,000, which must either be contracted for in a direct way or in a fresh issue of exchequer bills to that amount? It is a mere delusion to say you can pledge the credit of Government to commercial undertakings without subjecting the country to any risk whatever. How is the money to be raised without entailing a burden for its interest upon the country? It is very easy to say the sum expended will enrich the country to as large an extent as itself. Very possibly it may, but will that relieve Government of the burden of the £600,000 a-year required for the interest of the exchequer bills on loan by which it is provided? Will such a proceeding not tend to injure public credit, and cripple the finances of the State, if required by

unforeseen exigencies to be applied to other purposes? The credit of the State is one of the elements of our national strength, and you cannot impledge it to commercial speculations without foregoing its application in some other direction, which may be still more indispensable, and it is in fact the same thing as applying the sums raised by direct taxation in the same way.

9. "It is said the expenditure of this money will increase the value of land in Ireland to as great an amount as the sum expended. Twenty-three millions is to accrue to the Irish landlords in consequence of railway enterprise! Then why do they not themselves attempt it? Lord Granby tells us the fishermen of Claddagh will be able to fish up £4000 a-night if the railroads are made! Are not these precisely the commercial considerations which should induce the Irish themselves to enter into them? But it is said they have no money; but is there not that, whence, when it really exists, money is so easily raised in this country, the prospect of gain? If land is difficult to be got by the railway companies, by all means simplify the acquisition of it in the country by Act of Parliament; but do not on account of any such technical difficulty involve Great Britain in a serious financial embarrassment, the consequences of which, in the present state of the country, no man living can foresee.

10. "The proposed grant to Irish railways is worse than useless: it would be pernicious. If the Government are to hold the doctrine that Ireland is different from other countries, that it is not fit to be intrusted with its own concerns, and that the Administration must do everything for it, rely upon it, its industrial inactivity and religious animosities will continue, and the very springs of improvement in the country will be dried up. She must be left to her own energies if she is ever to be righted; 'Aidez-toi et le ciel t'aidra,' applies to her as well as to all other countries. I firmly believe that if you do not overpower Irish

commercial enterprise by English Government interference, that effect will take place. Hitherto grants of public money to Ireland, given with no unsparing hand by this country, have led only to endless jobbing, profligate expenditure, and an entire failure of the ends for which they were given. It is by the salutary interference of private and local interest in the administration of the money to be expended that this inherent propensity can alone be checked. I call on the Irish landlords to put their own shoulders to the wheel, and by their own energy and self-reliance to work out the improvement of their own country. If they will do this—if, forgetting religious and political differences, they will seek in good faith the mitigation of the calamity under which their country is labouring,—if they will do this, my firm conviction is, that they will do more to promote the interests of their native land, than if, resigning themselves to sloth, idleness, and despair, they place all their confidence in Government grants, and all their hope in Government patronage.”

11. This speech, which was loudly cheered by the House, and was too agreeable to a Ministry which already foresaw a very serious financial embarrassment approaching at no distant period, not to be implicitly adopted by them, proved decisive against the proposal of Lord George Bentinck, which was thrown out on the second reading by a majority of 204, the numbers being 322 to 118. The English Protectionists alone supported it; not only the whole Whigs, Peelites, and Liberals, but the *whole Irish Catholic members*, including young O’Connell, Mr Shiel, O’Connor Don, and Mr Smith O’Brien, voted against it! Yet it is now evident that the majority composed of this strange coalition was decidedly in the wrong, and that the proposal was the one best calculated to combine present relief with ultimate benefit to Ireland. The arguments urged on the other side by Sir R. Peel, and so loudly cheered by the majority of English Liberals and Irish Catholics, were so obviously sophistical, that

it is impossible not to suspect that so powerful a mind as his was inflamed rather by a feeling of political animosity against the mover, than influenced by the real merits of the question at issue in bringing them forward. The considerations he adduced were perfectly well-founded in the abstract, but they were wholly inapplicable to the question at issue. It was no doubt true, that in the general case it is inexpedient to engage Government in mercantile speculations; but what application has that rule to a case when a country, ravaged by a terrible famine, is threatened with a calamity far worse than any foreign war, and is utterly destitute, without Government support, of the means of averting it? It was mere mockery to call on the Irish landlords to put their shoulder to the wheel, when it was well known that nine millions out of the thirteen millions which constituted their rental, were absorbed by the interest of mortgages, and that more than half of what remained would be drawn off in poor-rates, even supposing, what could not be expected, that it was, amidst the general failure of the potato crop, all collected. It was gross exaggeration to represent Lord George Bentinck’s bill as adding sixteen millions to the sum already proposed to be borrowed for Ireland, when he knew that eight millions of it was already agreed to, and that the only question was, whether it would not be more expedient to *extend* the sum to sixteen millions, and thereby render it all productive, than retain it at eight, and thereby keep it all in an unproductive form. These considerations are so obvious, that they could never have escaped so acute a mind as Sir R. Peel’s, though, like a skilled debater, he carefully kept them out of view; and they lead to the conclusion that his opposition to this well-conceived project was founded on personal hostility, and intended as a requital for his own ejection from office by the noble mover, by throwing out an equally well-founded bill, on which he had staked the existence of his administration. And thus within a year were two bills, alike

salutary in their operation, and called for by the circumstances of Ireland, sacrificed to the rivalry of parties in the British senate !

12. It is observed by Mr Disraeli, in his very interesting *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, that the common saying, that when great men arise they have a mission to accomplish, and do not disappear till it is fulfilled, is not always true. After all his deep study and his daring action, Hampden died on an obscure field before the commencement of the mighty struggle which he seemed born to direct. In the great contention between the patriotic and the cosmopolitan principle, which had hardly begun, and on the issue of which the fate of these Islands, as a powerful community, depends, Lord George Bentinck appeared to be produced to represent the traditional influences of our country in their most captivating form. Born a natural leader of the people, he was equal to the post. Free from prejudices, his large mind sympathised with all classes of the realm. His courage and constancy were never surpassed by man. He valued life only as a means of fulfilling duty, and truly may it be said of him that he feared nothing but God. Upon calmly reviewing the course of his unfortunately too brief career, history must ratify this warm eulogium pronounced by an attached friend. His mind is not only interesting as an extraordinary example of the success of energy and perseverance in overcoming great natural disadvantages, but as the finest type of a character which has now become purely historical, from society having changed so much, at least in these Islands, that its reproduction has become almost impossible.

13. Born of the ducal house of Portland, he inherited from his long line of ancestors the genuine Whig principles by which they have always been distinguished. Early in life he was for three years private secretary to Mr Canning, who was married to a sister of the Duchess of Portland, and under his tuition he combined with the

old principles of his family the wide philanthropic views so eloquently supported by that brilliant parliamentary leader. He was accordingly a warm supporter of civil and religious liberty, desired not only emancipation, but even state establishment, for the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and he advocated the Reform Bill from having shared, as so many other of the Whig leaders did, the strange delusion that it was an aristocratic and conservative measure, which would prove protective to the great producing classes of the State. But no sooner did the reverse appear, and it became evident that Sir R. Peel, at the head of the commercial and urban interests of the empire, was about to make war on the agricultural and productive, than he went over with Lord Stanley to the other side, and became the determined opponent of the new Free-trade policy now adopted by the Government. This at once made a change in his position in Parliament. Though he had sat through eighteen years as the representative of King's Lynn, yet he had never taken an active part in the debates, and was almost entirely engrossed by sporting pursuits, of which he was passionately fond. But on the breaking up of the Conservative party by Sir R. Peel's proposal to repeal the Corn Laws, he was in a manner forced to the front by the desertion of its natural leaders ; and his political friends, to whom his great abilities and indefatigable energy were well known, ere long gladly conceded to him, or rather compelled him to accept, the honourable position of leader. In the strife on the breach, or when the vessel is drifting on the breakers, the most capable seldom fails to find himself at the head.

14. It was the vigour and energy of his mind, joined to the fearless determination of his character, his quiet perception and prompt decision, which procured for him this honourable distinction. He was, comparatively speaking, inexperienced in debate, was little skilled in oratory, and was by no means gifted by nature with

the physical qualities which are generally so powerful in ruling popular assemblies. His person was tall, his figure fine, and his air commanding; but his voice was shrill and feeble, and when he began to speak he generally laboured under what was to his auditors a painful hesitation in expression. But these impediments, which would have been fatal to an ordinary speaker, were in his case, as they had been in that of M. de Villèle, compensated, and more than compensated, by the vigour of his understanding, the tenacity of his memory, the intrepidity of his character, and the indomitable energy of his will. Fearless of the consequences, he threw himself into the breach, when so many others more practised than himself held back, or retired in despair, and, supported by a sincere love of his country, and an entire devotion to its cause, renewed the conflict, when to all appearance it was hopeless. In this way he soon acquired the lead of the Opposition, from the universal feeling that he deserved it.

15. The great thing which so quickly gave him, though a young man, such an ascendancy among the veterans on both sides by whom he was surrounded or opposed, was that his mental qualities precisely suited the wants at that period of the House of Commons. He was a great statistician, and devoted the energies of his mind and his immense powers of research to deducing from the facts which he had collected the conclusions most serviceable to the industrial interests of his countrymen. He was therefore an invaluable advocate for the agricultural, West India, and shipping interests, which were threatened with invasion during the brief period of his active parliamentary career. The pains which he took, and the labour which he underwent, in collecting and digesting from private sources information which he produced in his speeches, were almost inconceivable, and, beyond all doubt, brought him prematurely to the grave. He had one admirable quality, which is by no means universal among speakers and writers

on statistical subjects: he was not only scrupulously correct in his facts, but still more cautious *not to overstate his case*, and ever ready to mention on his own side all the considerations which went to diminish the weight or lessen the amount of the figures which he brought prominently forward. Thus he not only acquired a character for accuracy, and came to be referred to as an authority on matters of detail, but he deprived his opponents of the advantage, often so considerable in debate, of pointing out an unintended exaggeration, or an unobserved opposite consideration.

16. His private character and turn of mind had procured for him the warm friendship, and almost romantic admiration, of a large circle of attached friends, composed of the first young men in the country. On the turf, to which in early life he was so much devoted, he was regarded as the model of honour, inasmuch that many of the most delicate disputes between sporting characters were referred to his decision. In society he was simplicity itself; he had the unassuming modesty which, when accompanied by great talents, is the invariable mark of a magnanimous mind. Utterly devoid of vanity, he was, as such men generally are, naturally proud; he could not stoop to conquer; and sometimes, by the unbending character of his mind, was obliged to forego advantages that might otherwise have been within his reach. His countenance was a model of manly beauty—the face oval, the forehead high, the nose aquiline and delicately moulded, the upper lip short, the eye keen and flashing. He sold his magnificent stud of racers, one of which soon after won the Derby, when he felt himself called on to engage in the greater race of political life, in defence of what he regarded as the best interests of the nation. Kind and affectionate in all the relations of domestic life, and indifferent to the ordinary excitements of society, he was absorbed in his last years entirely in the great contest going on in Parliament. Like Mr Pitt, he was married to his country, and,

like him, he fell a victim, while still in the vigour of manhood, to his unceasing devotion to its cause.

17. The Budget of 1847, brought forward on the 22d February, and based on the experience of the current financial year, which was to expire on the 5th April next, was much more favourable than might have been anticipated, and was remarkable chiefly for the utter insensibility to the approaching danger by which it was distinguished. "The current quarter, the first of 1847," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Feb. 22, "exceeds the corresponding quarter of last year by £500,000; and although circumstances obvious to the most unreflecting mind lead to the conclusion that we have arrived at the period when our onward progress may be checked, as it had been in the years 1825 and 1836, yet *nothing warrants the belief that it will be attended with anything like the revolution which occurred on these occasions.* The experience of the past has not been lost upon us, and trade is conducted now on sound, not on speculative principles. We have now truer notions of currency, and, instead of purchasing Mississippi stock and Pennsylvania bonds, have been investing our capital in works of great importance at home. I am therefore confident that no such results as had occurred formerly will follow any temporary check on our onward progress. Bullion, indeed, has been exported for the purchase of food, and that in its turn has produced a temporary pressure on the money market, which has checked enterprise. The demand for bullion, however, has not been very formidable, for there is only £1,200,000 less gold now in the Bank than there was on the 13th February last year. I therefore conclude that we have paid for the corn in manufactured goods; a circumstance on which I congratulate the country, as well as on the better position which the Bank of France has lately assumed—an event which must always be of importance to this country. On the 5th January there was a balance in the Treasury of £9,000,000, and, in

consequence, for the first time in the memory of the oldest financier, it has been unnecessary to have recourse to deficiency-bills, and the quarterly balance in the Exchequer has been sufficient to pay the dividends."

18. The income of the financial year 1847-48 the Chancellor of the Exchequer took at £52,065,000, and the expenditure at £51,576,000, exhibiting a probable surplus of £500,000.\* In this statement, however, no mention was made of the advances to Ireland, which required to be provided in the year, and which were of the most formidable amount. The sum hitherto advanced for Irish work was £2,000,000; and a farther advance of £8,000,000 would, to all appearance, be required. No taxation, no increase of the property-tax, could provide so large a sum, and therefore it was indispensable to go into the money market; and it was deemed advisable to supply the deficiency at once in the form of a loan rather than disturb the Bank by requiring farther advances from its coffers. The large balance in the Exchequer at the beginning of the year would be all drained away by the advances to Ireland, and to England and Scotland, under the Drainage Acts, which were beginning to tell seriously. Nothing remained, therefore, but a loan, and it was at once agreed to. The terms on which it was contracted were, considering the cir-

\* ESTIMATED INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

Income.		
Customs,	.	£20,000,000
Excise,	.	13,700,000
Stamps,	.	7,000,000
Land and Assessed Taxes,	.	4,270,000
Property-tax,	.	5,300,000
Post-Office,	.	845,000
Crown Lands,	.	120,000
Miscellaneous,	.	330,000
		£52,065,000
Expenditure.		
National Debt,	.	£28,045,000
Charges on Consolidated Fund,	.	2,700,000
Army,	.	6,840,074
Navy,	.	7,561,876
Ordnance,	.	2,679,127
Miscellaneous,	.	3,750,000
		£51,576,077

—*Parl. Deb.*, xc. 324, 326.

cumstance of the times, more favourable than could have been expected. They were, £89, 10s. for £100 stock—the interest to be at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In the course of his speech on this subject, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the extraordinary fact, that while Great Britain was making such efforts for relief of Irish distress, “Ireland has hitherto, whatever she may hereafter do, *paid nothing* except the poor-rate, which was £390,000 last year” (1846), being not 5d. in the pound on the rental of the country, while in England the average was 1s. 8d. !\*

19. But whatever pains Government might take to convince the House and the country that all was safe—that the nation had learned wisdom by experience—and that, under a wise system of currency-laws, no danger of a

monetary crisis was hereafter to be apprehended,—they were soon taught by woeful experience that these hopes were altogether fallacious, and that a commercial storm of the most violent kind was not only rapidly approaching, but was already on them. The causes of this were twofold, and what is very singular, they arose partly from the prosperity on which Ministers justly prided themselves, and partly from the disaster against which they were making such extensive provision. The great increase of imports, which had advanced from £64,000,000 in 1841 to £93,500,000 in 1848, had not been attended by any proportional augmentation of exports, which had only increased, during the same period, from £51,000,000 in the former year to £52,849,000 in the latter.† Thus the foreign commerce of the nation had

\* The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave some interesting details on the increased importation of some of the chief articles of consumption between 1843 and 1846, under the combined influence of reduced duties and the railway expenditure:—

	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.
Coffee—lb., . . .	30,031,422	31,391,297	34,318,095	36,781,391
Butter—cwt., . . .	148,295	180,965	240,118	255,130
Cheese—cwt., . . .	166,563	212,206	258,246	327,490
Currants—cwt., . . .	254,727	285,116	309,799	359,315
Sugar—cwt., . . .	4,037,921	4,139,983	4,180,606	5,231,848
Tea—lb., . . .	40,304,407	41,269,351	44,183,135	46,728,208

—*Parl. Deb.*, xc. 335, 336.

† EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FROM 1841 TO 1849.

Years.	Imports. Official Value.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Balance against the Country.
1841, . . . . .	£64,377,962	£51,634,623	£12,743,339
1842, . . . . .	65,204,729	47,381,023	17,823,706
1843, . . . . .	70,093,353	52,278,449	17,814,904
1844, . . . . .	85,441,555	58,584,292	26,856,263
1845, . . . . .	85,281,958	60,111,681	25,190,877
1846, . . . . .	75,953,875	57,786,875	18,177,000
1847, . . . . .	90,921,866	58,842,377	32,078,489
1848, . . . . .	93,574,607	52,849,445	40,725,162
1849, . . . . .	105,874,607	63,596,025	42,278,582

—*PORTER'S Progress of the Nation*, p. 356.

For an explanation of the principles upon which this table is constructed, and the limitations subject to which its results must be received, see the note to sect. 67, chap. xix., given at vol. iii. p. 254. It is sufficient here to observe that, as the declared value of the exports shows their worth at the place of embarkation—that is, the cost of production and the manufacturers' profit only—to make the comparison with the imports fair, there must be added to it a certain percentage for the profit of the exporter, and the cost of freight and insurance. To cover this it is probable that from 15 to 20 per cent must be added to the amount of the exports, and as much taken from the general balance against the country. This will still leave a large annual balance of from £10,000,000 to £25,000,000 against the country, which, since 1852, it has paid with Australian gold. This explains both the frequency of monetary crises since 1846, and the extreme nervousness of all the mercantile classes as to the state of the foreign exchanges, and any circumstance, such as a bad harvest, which threatens a serious increase to the drain on its metallic resources. The nation is at all times on the verge of a great drain, and with difficulty maintains its ground against it. Any accidental cause increasing the drain upsets the balance, and lands it in a serious monetary crisis. The real or *computed* value of the imports is not given before 1854, but it is considerably *above* the official value.



run into a heavy balance of imports over exports, which had latterly come to be from £30,000,000 to £40,000,000 a-year. A great part of this balance, of course, required to be paid in cash; and though the drain might for a time be averted, or rather postponed, by bill transactions, yet in the end it inevitably fell upon its metallic treasures, and produced a serious chasm in the bullion of the Bank of England, which had sunk from £16,500,000 in June 1845, to £14,800,000 in the beginning of 1847, and £9,200,000 on the 24th April of that year, and in the October following it fell to £8,300,000.\*

20. This immense balance of imports over exports always must, in a great commercial country, arise under a Free-trade system, after a few years of more than ordinary activity and prosperity, for this plain reason, that the rich and old state can consume much more of the rude produce of the poorer one, from which it is derived, than the latter, from its poverty, can take off of its manufactured productions. But, without doubt, this natural tendency was much aggravated in this particular case by the Irish famine, which occasioned so prodigious an importation of foreign grain, both in the years when it occurred, and those which immediately followed. The imports of foreign grain of every kind into Great Britain and Ireland, which in 1843 had been only 1,370,000 quarters, rose in 1847 to the enormous

amount of 11,900,000 quarters, of which no less than 4,460,000 was of wheat and wheat-flour, and this high rate has not yet been diminished in any material degree.† On the contrary, it is now (1862) above 15,000,000 quarters annually. The cost of the importations from June 30, 1846, to November 30, 1847, was £33,000,000; and as the greater part of this large sum required to be paid in specie, because it came from nations which would take nothing else, it is easy to see to what cause this extraordinary drain upon the Bank of England, and the severity of the monetary crisis during the last panic months of 1847, is to be ascribed.

21. This drain first became serious in the beginning of April 1847, being the time when the bills drawn to pay for the great importation of grain and flour, in the November and December preceding, were payable; in consequence of which the Bank raised the rate of its discounts to 5 per cent, it having been at 3½ in the beginning of the year. In the course of the year that establishment changed the rate of its discounts *thirteen times*; and on the 5th August it was advanced to 5½, at which rate it continued till 25th October. At this time there was no undue speculation in any department of commerce or manufacture; the drain arose entirely from the immense balance of imports over exports which the Irish famine had so fearfully aug-

\* BULLION IN THE BANK OF ENGLAND IN BOTH DEPARTMENTS.

	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.
January, . . .	£15,200,000	£14,800,000	£13,200,000	£14,800,000
June, . . .	15,900,000	16,500,000	14,900,000	10,200,000
On April 24, 1847, . . .				9,200,000
On October 23, 1847, . . .				8,300,000

—Tooke *On Prices*, iv. 444, 446.

† IMPORTS OF WHEAT, WHEAT-FLLOUR, AND OTHER GRAINS, INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM 1843 TO 1850.

Years.	Wheat and Wheat Flour. Qrs.	Other Grains. Qrs.	Total. Qrs.
1843, . . . . .	1,064,942	368,949	1,433,891
1844, . . . . .	1,379,262	1,651,419	3,030,681
1845, . . . . .	1,141,957	1,287,959	2,429,916
1846, . . . . .	2,344,142	2,408,032	4,752,174
1847, . . . . .	4,464,757	7,448,107	11,912,864
1848, . . . . .	3,082,230	4,446,242	7,528,472
1849, . . . . .	4,802,475	5,867,186	10,669,661
1850, . . . . .	4,830,263	4,189,327	9,019,590

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. I., p. 12.

mented. The crisis, especially in the end of April, was, however, dreadfully severe; it was afterwards stated in Parliament that the 27th of that month was the most fearful day ever known in the city. Mr Baring mentioned the case of a gentleman who was possessed of £60,000 in silver bullion, who was unable to obtain the slightest advances upon it. The Bank directors, true to the principle of the Act of 1844, resolutely threw out the paper even of the richest and most respectable houses; and every other bank in the country immediately did the same. Mr Langley stated at this time in the House of Commons, that in the north of England 25 per cent was given for money. The effects were immediate and decisive. Consols, which had lately been at 93, fell to 85; Exchequer bills, recently at 14 premium, were at 4 discount; mercantile paper even of the very highest class could nowhere be discounted. The panic was universal and unprecedented.

22. The crisis was unlike any other that had ever occurred, and well illustrated the working of the new law on the subject. There was no over-trading; there was no commercial embarrassment irrespective of the monetary pressure; the credit of the Bank of England was above suspicion; there was no run upon the other banks; capital was abundant, and more than equal, as the events of the following years demonstrated, to all the undertakings which were in hand or in contemplation. There was simply and only a want of currency to make the advances with, because the Bank, restrained by the Act of 1844, could not lend money with a few hundred thousand pounds only in the banking department, though in the other end of their establishment they had above £8,000,000 in the issue department! But nevertheless the pressure was such, from this cause, that all undertakings of every kind were brought to a stand, the first houses were on the verge of bankruptcy, and society, like a vast machine in which the moving power of steam is suddenly withdrawn, was

all at once stopped, and every wheel dependent on its expansion ceased to revolve.

23. This deplorable state of things excited, as well it might, the utmost solicitude, both in Parliament and among the public, and a very interesting and important debate took place on the subject in the House of Commons on the 10th May. On that occasion it was observed by Lord G. Bentinck and Mr Baring: "The usual rate of discount in London and Liverpool for the best paper, which has only sixty days to run, is now 8 per cent; a state of things altogether unprecedented in this country, and which calls for very different plans of relief from the temporary expedients proposed by Government. Wheat has risen this day to 120s. the quarter; the stocks of all kinds of produce, both at home and abroad, are unusually low; the imports of last year were £10,000,000 below those of the preceding; while the export of gold was to an unprecedented extent. The only remedy which Ministers can propose for this long catalogue of disasters, is to put on the bank screw, and thereby force back the gold. But supposing that method of getting back specie to be effectual in attaining the desired end, how does it effect it? Why, by palsyng all mercantile operations, stopping the orders for grain, provisions, and cotton when on the verge of famine, and starving the country from one end to the other, both in the means of subsistence and the materials for industry. Surely there must be something wrong in a monetary system which can only secure the retention of gold by such desperate and suicidal measures.

24. "The case of the country is such as to require prompt and immediate remedies. We are brought to a dead lock for want of money, while the credit of the Bank is yet good, and it has still £9,000,000 in its coffers, which the Bank Act forbids it to touch. Ought we not, then, to remove those restrictions on our currency, which keep us in a manner perishing in the midst of plenty, and

are ruining the trade and credit of the country, and starving the people, in order to feed with gold that idol of some parties, the Bank Charter Act? It has already become apparent that free trade and a restricted currency cannot work together; and since we have made our election to have the first, let us lose no time in repealing the last. We have seen the ruinous consequences of leaving the people to supply themselves, and trusting to the dogma that industry will right itself. There is now only alarm and panic in this country, but in a few weeks it may turn into a sad reality; for under the present system we are every day getting nearer a still more fearful state of things, the effects of which may be so disastrous that nothing like it has been experienced in Europe. How is such a calamity to be averted? Experience tells us how this is to be done in the clearest manner. In 1793 our trade was in difficulties; Mr Pitt at once relieved it by an issue of £5,000,000 to the mercantile interest. In 1816, when there were two thousand bankruptcies within the year, Government postponed for three years the resumption of cash payments, which was equivalent to a large supply of notes to the money market, and the country immediately revived and enjoyed prosperity till 1819, when cash payments were resumed, and immediately the most fearful distress followed. From this the country was rescued by an issue in 1822 of £1 and £2 notes, and an obligation to allow them to circulate for ten years. Then came the terrible crisis of 1825-26, when the country was within twenty-four hours of barter: the crisis was stopped, not by any supply of gold, but by the accidental discovery of one million £1 notes in an old box in the vaults of the Bank of England, the issue of which immediately satisfied the wants of the country. Resting on these precedents, I think myself justified in calling on the House to set the Bank of England free, and restore confidence to the mercantile world. I would apply to the Bank Charter Act, which had not

produced any good fruit, the language which had been applied to the barren fig-tree: 'Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?'

25. "There is at present, and has been for ten days, a total want of the means of obtaining accommodation by the most solvent houses upon undoubted security, and that because the Bank of England by its charter is unable to afford it. I know an instance where it was found impossible to raise a penny upon £60,000 worth of silver, a precious metal which is a legal tender in most parts of the civilised world. It was not a question of price with the Bank, but a question affecting its own safety. The Bank could only issue notes on silver to the extent of one-fifth of the bullion in the Bank; and that they had not, so they could not purchase the silver. When we come to a drain of gold to meet an unavoidable want, there must be some means of avoiding measures by which the commerce of the country will be dislocated. That commerce is carried on almost entirely on a system of credit. If you drive it to a ready-money system, you at once paralyse it in the manufacturing districts. What is required is to give facilities for exports, in order to be able to pay for the corn which we must import in manufactured goods instead of bullion. But the houses in Manchester cannot carry on their trade on four months' bills, which are valueless, as they now are, when they take them for discount into Lombard Street. How can the mercantile interest carry on the export trade, which must be conducted on credit, when all accommodation is refused them? The country has exported perhaps £700,000 of gold, and the effect of this export has been to destroy property to the extent of £100,000,000! Is there any necessary connection, or any connection other than that founded on arbitrary regulation, between these two things? Foreign countries will take gold to any extent at once, but manufactures they will only take as they want them, which is during a course of years. Therefore you must give them time for the demand to grow

up, and the supply to be furnished. But how is either to arise, when a system is pursued in this country which is bringing all our manufactures to a state of bankruptcy?\*

26. "It is in vain to ascribe our present difficulties either to the extent of railway enterprise, or the imprudent conduct of the Bank of England. Where were the difficulties arising from railways in August last, when the Bank was discounting bills at 2½ per cent, though bills involving an expenditure of £120,000,000 had passed Parliament? The true cause of the present embarrassment is the vast exportation of gold which has taken place, partly to purchase grain, partly to pay for the balance of unrestricted imports. It is the Bank Act which is grinding the trade and commerce of the country, by forcing the Bank directors to contract their issues, against their wish, and against the evident interests of the country, whenever an adverse state of the exchange drives gold out of the country. It has been said that 'corporations have no souls;' but if it is so, I am sure that cabinets have no hearts. What can be so monstrous as to make the credit, enterprise, and industry of a country teeming with all the three, stagnate and go to ruin merely because the Bank cannot retain in their coffers gold, the most mercurial and evanescent of earthly things? It can be no more right that the Bank of England should be tied down beforehand to a particular amount of issues, under various circumstances, than it would be right to pass a law obliging ships in all weathers to carry either studding-sails or foresails. By this law we are put in the extraordinary position, that though trade is in danger of being destroyed for want of the assistance of the Bank, and the Bank is both most willing and able to give that assistance, she is shackled and prevented from doing so by the operation of this law. It is just as if, when one strong man was standing on the bank

of a river in which another was drowning, the law were to step in and bind the willing and ready arms of him on the bank, so as to make it impossible to save the other who was drowning."

27. On the other hand it was argued by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir C. Wood), Mr Cardwell, and Sir R. Peel: "We must take care lest, in seeking relief from the repeal of the Act of 1844, we incur the risk of aggravating incalculably the present difficulties of the country. We are now suffering from an unexpected deficiency of food, from a spirit of speculation which had run riot in 1845, and from an extraordinary failure of the cotton crop, which has increased to an unprecedented degree the price of the raw material of one of the staple manufactures of the country. There is no country exposed to the triple pressure of three such causes which would not feel it most severely, no matter what modification may be made in the charter of the Bank, or what amount of £1 notes it might have in circulation. Are the gentlemen who urge such measures aware of the state of the law which would be restored if the Bank Charter were repealed? Are they prepared to let in again the law by which all country banks were at liberty to issue notes to any extent, and the Bank of England might do the same on its own responsibility, and without reference to the state of the exchanges? In that case, what security will exist against a recurrence of the disorders of 1838 and 1839? The main object of the Act of 1844 was to prevent these disorders, and it proposed to do this by rendering perpetual the convertibility of paper into gold. This must at all times limit the circulation, because the consciousness of the impending necessity to pay in gold will check imprudent advances. On the other hand, this risk will be instantly augmented by an issue of inconvertible paper to any amount, because the immediate effect of that will be to open the way to fresh speculations and undertakings, which can end in nothing but an increased run on the Bank for gold.

\* The preceding paragraph is taken from Mr Baring's speech.—*Parl. Deb.*, xcii. 635, 636.

28. "The slightest consideration of the causes which, independent of the Act of 1844, have been acting, not only upon this country, but on the whole civilised world, must convince us that it is in them, and not in the operation of that Act, that the real cause of the distress under which the country is now labouring is to be found. We have it on official authority that the destruction of the potatoes and cereal crops in Ireland alone has been to the extent of £16,000,000. It is difficult to over-estimate the effect of such a sudden abstraction of capital, especially when it is caused by such a calamity as a scarcity of food. Nor has the calamity been confined to this country. Scotland, France, Belgium, Holland, have also in some degree suffered under it, and the countries on the banks of the Rhine are sustaining extreme pressure in consequence. All these countries are looking to the United States as the only source from whence food is to be derived. What effect must not that have had in paralysing our trade, in deranging our ordinary commercial speculations, and depriving us of the usual markets for our manufactures? Mr Baring has said that there never was a year when speculation ran riot as it did in 1845. Well, if men will speculate and run riot, depend upon it, whatever legislative measures you may pass respecting the currency, they will inevitably suffer from the consequences of their actions. Thus, in addition to the failure of food, you have speculation running riot, and such an investment in railways that, in the course of last year, applications were made to Parliament which, if all acceded to, would have required £340,000,000 to meet the undertaken engagements. In addition to all this, there was a very great failure of the cotton crop, which has enhanced enormously the price of the raw material of the great staple of our manufacture. How absurd, then, to charge the effects of these great and manifold calamities against the Bank Charter Act!

29. "Are those who are now so ready to throw the blame of every dis-

aster on the Bank Charter Act aware that, in 1814, 1815, and 1816, when we had an inconvertible paper currency, 240 private banks failed? Recollect what took place in 1839, when the Bank had the power of issuing notes irrespective of the exchanges. Why, the Bank was then reduced to £1,600,000 in gold, and there was every prospect of its being unable to fulfil its engagements. Always bear in mind what was the object of the Act of 1844. The main object of that Act was to insure the convertibility of paper into gold, and to prevent, in times of difficulty and distress, the temptation to which it is so easy to yield, of giving accommodation by issuing paper without reference to the exchanges, and thereby purchasing temporary ease by afterwards aggravating the commercial pressure by a panic which leads to a demand for gold in exchange for paper. It is of the utmost importance that, in those periods of commercial difficulty, we should not be exposed to that other difficulty which so much aggravates the first—a run upon the Bank, in consequence of doubts of its ability to pay its notes in gold. What would be the state of affairs now, if, in addition to the state of things so strongly dwelt on on the other side, we had a pressure on the Bank for gold? What would have been the state of things if the Act of 1844 had not been passed? Suppose there had been on the part of every country bank, while this riotous speculation in railways existed, a power of fostering it by uncontrolled issues of paper. Would the state of affairs have been as advantageous as it is? Severe as I admit the pressure to be, and deeply as I regret it, yet can any man deny that the Act of 1844, controlling the issues by country banks in a time of rash speculation, affords security for ultimate solvency? Would not speculation without that check, even now admitted to have run riot, have precipitated us to the verge of ruin?

30. "It is said the Government should possess a dispensing power to authorise the Bank, under extraor-

dinary circumstances, to increase their issues. We were decidedly of opinion, when the Bank Charter Act was passed, it should possess no such power. The whole objects of the Act would have been frustrated if it was known that such a dispensing power existed in any quarter. If any functionaries—as the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—possessed any such power, application would be made to them from all quarters calling on them to exercise it, the precaution which individuals ought to take would be neglected, and every mere temporary pressure would be declared irremediable otherwise than by the exercise of the power so possessed by the Government. We were well aware of the memorial of the London bankers, which recommended the adoption of such a discretionary power by the Government; but we declined to embrace it, being desirous to leave the responsibility of its banking operations to the Bank directors, and to control them absolutely, as we have done, only in the issue department. If I thought that any relief would be afforded to the country by a relaxation of the Bank Charter Act, no pedantic adherence to formerly expressed opinions would prevent me from recommending it. But as it is my firm belief, founded on the information at present in my possession, that any relaxation of the Act authorising the issue of £2,000,000 of notes on Exchequer bills would only aggravate the evil, and purchase present relief by future suffering, I feel it my duty to give it my most decided opposition. Depend upon it, if you attempt to purchase present relief by endangering the convertibility of paper, you will inflict a severe blow on the prosperity of the country—you will shake all confidence in the medium of exchange, and depreciate the value of property of every description.”\*

31. No resolution of the House followed on this debate, as, in truth, a motion of a mere formal nature was alone before it when it took place.

\* The last paragraph is taken *verbatim* from Sir R. Peel's speech.

The decided opinion, however, expressed by Ministers and Sir R. Peel against any modification of the Bank Act had a great effect, and encouraged the directors of the Bank in that steady refusal of accommodation which, while it averted the danger from themselves, did so only by spreading it fearfully throughout the community. Some gold arrivals, however, came opportunely at this time, which postponed the risk; and the Bank directors, encouraged by this circumstance, at the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, considerably augmented their discounts, which had the effect of materially relieving, in the mean time, the pressure on the money market, and postponing, till the end of autumn, the catastrophe which was approaching.

32. This debate, however, is highly interesting, not merely as containing an admirable summary of all that either was or could be advanced on either side of this all-important subject, but as evincing a striking instance of the rhetorical skill of the very eminent statesman who took so prominent a part in defence of the Bank Charter Act. It is not easy to say which is most to be admired—the cogency of the arguments adduced on his own side of the question, or the skill with which he evaded every consideration which tended to the other. Sir R. Peel observed, with truth, that one cause of the monetary crisis of 1847 was the country having “run riot” in 1845 with railway speculations; but he forgot to add, what was equally true, that that very “running riot” had been induced by his own measure in reducing the deposits on railway shares from 10 to 5 per cent, and the effect of the Bank Act itself in prosperity, which immediately threw down the rate of discount from 4 to 2½ per cent. He dwelt with justice and force on the aggravation which the railway mania would have received from an unlimited issue of notes by irresponsible country bankers when it was going on; but he seemed to be insensible to the far more serious aggravation which it had received from that Act,

which compelled the Bank to purchase every ounce of gold brought to its doors, and thus rendered inevitable the efflux of notes, whether required or not, simultaneously with the influx of foreign treasure. He dwelt on the vehement excitement and excessive undertakings of the last three years; forgetting that this excitement, and the demand for labour consequent on it, had been mainly owing to his own Bank Charter Act, which inflamed speculation during prosperity as much as it aggravated distress in adversity. It had been the subject of constant and just self-congratulation by him when it was going on, and ascribed by him entirely to his own Free-trade measures. He described, with force and justice, the grievous nature of the deficiency of £16,000,000 in agricultural produce, which had arisen from the potato rot in Ireland, and the necessary derangement of the currency which resulted from the purchase of so large a part of the national subsistence with gold; forgetting that this casual and passing calamity was what his Free-trade measures had rendered the chronic and settled malady of the country. He dwelt on the inconveniences arising from the high price of cotton, in consequence of a shortcoming of the crop in 1846;\* forgetting how much the effects of that scarcity had been aggravated by the Free-trade measures which had rendered the importation of that article so immense in the two preceding years.

33. The crisis having by these means been postponed, Parliament had leisure to attend to various matters of lesser but still great importance. The first of these was the Navigation Laws, which were violently assailed by the Liberal party, with Mr Ricardo at their head, as prejudicial to British shipping, and

in an especial manner inconsistent with the spirit of the Free-trade principles and cheapening system which had recently been introduced. The motion for a committee was strongly opposed by Mr Liddell, who contended that the Navigation Laws were the main stay of our commercial superiority, and the only secure bulwark of our national independence. The motion was supported by Sir R. Peel, and carried by a majority of 155 to 61—an ominous division, and which first rung the knell of that shipping system which Sir R. Peel admitted to have been “much older than the Protectorate, and almost simultaneous in origin with the military and commercial marine of the country.”

34. Inferior in general importance to the vast question of the Navigation Laws, another of still more pressing interest to a large and interesting portion of the community was happily brought to a close during this session of Parliament. The FACTORY QUESTION, involving as it did the number of hours when operatives, and especially children, were to be employed in manufactories, had been long and warmly agitated in the country; but the extreme anxiety which it excited on both sides, and the great interest at stake in the issue, had hitherto prevented any satisfactory arrangement being effected on the subject. Mr Fielden, however, brought the matter to an issue by a motion, brought forward on the 6th February, which was to the effect, that “the labour of young persons between the ages of thirteen and eighteen be limited to twelve hours a-day, allowing two hours out of the twelve for meals—that is, to ten hours per day of actual work, for five days in the week, and eight hours on Saturdays. This alteration to be carried out by restricting the hours of actual labour to sixty-three hours in the week until May 1, 1848, and after that to fifty-eight hours; and that these restrictions shall apply to females above eighteen years of age.”—“I ask for this change,” said Mr Fielden, “because the people employed in factories have long wished for it, and have long

\* COTTON WOOL IMPORTED FROM AMERICA.

Years.	lb.
1841, . . . . .	358,240,000
1842, . . . . .	414,030,000
1843, . . . . .	574,738,000
1844, . . . . .	517,218,000
1845, . . . . .	626,650,000
1846, . . . . .	372,401,949
1847, . . . . .	364,599,000

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, 1841-50, 170.

petitioned the Legislature to concede it to them, and because the ministers of religion, medical practitioners, and, indeed, all classes who have opportunities of observing the consequences of the present system, deprecate it as destructive of the moral and physical condition of a vast and most important class in the community. It is a question which involves the very existence of thousands, who are, I am afraid, annually sacrificed for the want of those due and sufficient regulations, without which, the late Sir Robert Peel asserted, an improved machinery would become our bitterest curse."

35. In support of this motion Mr Fielden quoted several most important facts, disclosed in the Registrar-General's Reports, bearing with decisive force on the present question. "The population of the extra-metropolitan districts of Surrey was, in 1841, 187,868; and the population of the town sub-districts of Manchester was 163,856; and yet in Manchester, with less population, the deaths registered in seven years (1838-44) were 39,922, and those in Surrey only 22,777, making a difference of 16,165. The population of Surrey exceeded that of Manchester, yet in seven years 16,000 persons died in Manchester over and above the deaths in Surrey. The difference between the mortality of young children in the two districts is still more alarming. There were, in 1844, 23,523 children under five years of age in Surrey, and the deaths of children of that age in the same period were 7364; *the children in Manchester of the same age were in the same year 21,152; the deaths, 20,726.* In the seven years, 13,362 children in Manchester alone fell a sacrifice to known causes, which, it is believed, may be removed to a great extent; and the victims in Liverpool were not less numerous. Other parts, and particularly the towns of England, are similarly affected." The Registrar-General adds: "The returns of the first quarter prove that nothing effectual has been done to put a stop to the disease, suffering, and death by which so many thousands perish. Thousands of the men and women themselves per-

ish of the diseases formerly so fatal, for the same reasons, in barracks, camps, jails, and ships. Children suffer from every kind of neglect while the mother is employed in factory labour, while their health is undermined by the use of opiates and by the ill-kept state of their homes. These results exceed the horrors of war, and cannot be justified on any assumed plea of necessity.

36. "In May last, when the subject was under discussion, Mr Cobden said that, if the measure were put off for a year, the feelings of the working classes on the subject would change. The measure has been put off for a year; but the only effect of that delay has been, not a weakening, but a strengthening of their convictions on the subject. The only argument adduced on the subject is the 'tyrant's plea'—the plea of necessity. But even that plea fails here: nay, it is rolled over to the other side. The only effect of working the factory girls and women to death is over-production, which speedily necessitates a diminution of supply to arrest the fall of prices; and thus the pendulum oscillates between over-labour and under-time. All the mills at Manchester are now at short time—some six, some eight, some ten hours. Would this have been the case if a uniform ten-hours bill had been introduced last session? You have limited the labour of the slaves in the West Indies to forty-five hours a-week; can you refuse to restrain that of your own female operatives to fifty-eight hours—that is, thirteen hours more? Is the white slave, toiling in rooms at 80° of Fahrenheit, less our object of pity, or less entitled to protection, than the black slave, working in the open air under a similar temperature? It is in vain to allege that the market for the produce of our factories will be injured if this bill passes. The same thing was said when the agitation first began in 1815, at which time the children were working from twelve to fourteen hours a-day. It was said, 'We shall be ruined if you prevent the children working fourteen hours a-day.' Well, the thing was done; the working hours were reduced from seventy-



nine hours a-week to sixty-nine hours for adults, working young persons in the night was prohibited, and young children were not allowed to work more than six hours a-day. And yet the cotton trade, so far from being thereby injured, has enormously increased, and 25,000,000 pounds more of cotton yarn were exported last year than in any previous year. After such an example, it is idle to speak of the present bill as having any tendency to lessen the market for our cotton manufactures."

37. Government was at first undecided what course to follow on the subject; but at length, on the second reading, Lord John Russell gave the bill his support, although the Cabinet were divided upon the subject. From the first, however, it was vigorously opposed by Sir R. Peel, Sir James Graham, Mr Hume, and the whole Free-trade and cheapening party in both Houses. It was argued by them: "The opponents of the bill are the true friends of labour. If you diminish the hours of labour, you increase the cost of production. This additional expense must either increase the price of the article, or it must form a deduction from the profits of the manufacturer or the wages of the workmen, or be divided between them. This argument has never yet been met, and if foreign competition is as formidable as is supposed, the effect of the change will be to drive us from the foreign markets. The bill will affect the four staple articles of manufacture — cotton, woollen, linen, and silk. These four articles comprise £37,000,000 out of the £51,000,000 of our exports. The price of food is now higher than it has been for several years; and at such a time it is proposed, for the first time in the history of our manufactures, to limit the running of machinery in these four branches. That the cutting off of two hours' work in a day will augment the cost of production, if it is not compensated by a reduction in the wages of labour, is self-evident; and is this a time, when provisions are so high, and distress everywhere staring us in the

face, to introduce a measure which, if it does not drive us from the foreign market, will undoubtedly have that effect?

38. "What are the three securities for the present prosperity of our manufactures? They are our capital, our machinery, our labour. Now, we are every day exporting our machinery; there is nothing to prevent increased investment of our capital in foreign countries; the increased facilities of locomotion and communication enable the working man to seek employment at pleasure abroad. It is under such circumstances that it is now proposed to restrict, nominally, the labour of women and children, but practically that of adult men, for they cannot work without them. Labour is to be restricted to five days out of six. Such a change appears in the highest degree dangerous. If it passes into law, you will lower the wages and abridge the comforts of the working men, at the very time when you are making every exertion to increase their intellectual cultivation. If you do this, their enlarged information will only become a source of danger to themselves and the State. We should all work to this one point, whether by sanitary improvements or otherwise, to elevate the character, brighten the prospects, and enlarge the comforts of the working classes: the future peace, prosperity, and happiness of the country are indissolubly wound up with such measures. But how are we to do this if we curtail their wages? and what is a reduction of the hours of labour by a sixth in a week, but an income-tax to that extent laid exclusively upon the working classes? Rather let us allow them to continue as they now are, and by honest industry lay the foundation, like the honourable member for Salford (Mr Brotherton), of a fortune which hundreds have acquired."

39. Plausible as these arguments were, they did not prevail with either House of Parliament. The bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of 104 to 46; the Peers, by 53 to 11. It was evident from these figures that some great change had taken place from former years, when the bill had

been rejected in the Commons, first by a majority of 138, then by one of 10. Nor was it difficult to see what this change was. In the interim the Corn Laws had been repealed, and the county members were now determined to retaliate on the millowners. The whole Protectionists in both Houses voted for the bill. Lord Brougham, who strongly opposed it in the House of Peers, ridiculed the idea of its having a tendency to afford the working classes leisure for mental improvement. "After ten hours' work," said he, "a man is too tired to read: if the Saturday is taken as a holiday, it will be spent in the public-house. I have been trying to educate the peasantry these twenty-five years, and *the competitor and antagonist by which I have always been defeated is Sleep.*"

40. Notwithstanding this sweeping and characteristic denunciation of sleep by the learned lord, there can now be no doubt that the measure was a wise and judicious one, and that the philanthropic men who had so long and so strenuously laboured for its support—Lord Ashley,\* Mr Fielden, Mr Brotherton, and Mr Oastler—are to be regarded as the permanent benefactors of mankind. Experience has now demonstrated this in the most unequivocal manner; it has declared in favour of the Ten Hours Bill as clearly as it has against instant negro emancipation. So far from the cotton manufacture having been injured by this abridgment of the hours of labour, its progress since the change has been unexampled: considerably greater than it was before the alteration was made. Nor is it difficult to see how this effect has taken place, and how so great a boon as the cutting off a sixth from the hours of weekly labour has been conferred on the working classes without any diminution in the amount of the national production. The steam-engine has done the whole. It has compensated, and more than compensated, this diminution in human toil by the increased power of machinery. The working classes have gained two hours more a-day of nature's best friend

\* Now the Earl of Shaftesbury.

—sleep; and the national industry has not been in the slightest degree injured. The wheels have worked instead of the children, and done more than the little hands could do.\* Since the Ten Hours Bill was passed, so unanimously petitioned for by the working classes, the agitation on this subject has entirely ceased; a clear proof that the remedy introduced had hit the proper medium between over-exertion on the one hand and over-relaxation on the other. And of the necessity of legislative interference on the subject no better proof can be afforded than the fact, unhappily too well known to all who are conversant with the subject, that the young women and children, whom the bill was principally intended to protect, were not in reality free agents, and that the tyranny against which law was required to protect them *was that of their own parents.* Incredible as it may appear, it was proved in evidence before the parliamentary committee on the subject, that at the age of six years a child can be profitably employed in factories; and instances were not wanting, before law interposed on the subject, of *parents' bread having been earned by children only three years of age.*†

\* BRITISH COTTON MANUFACTURES AND  
YARN EXPORTED.

Years.	Declared Value.
1840, . . . . .	£24,668,000
1841, . . . . .	23,499,000
1842, . . . . .	21,647,000
1843, . . . . .	23,447,000
1844, . . . . .	25,805,348
1845, . . . . .	26,119,331
1846, . . . . .	25,599,826
1847, . . . . .	23,333,225
1848, . . . . .	22,681,000
1849, . . . . .	26,771,000
1850, . . . . .	28,257,401
1851, . . . . .	30,088,836
1852, . . . . .	29,878,087
1853, . . . . .	32,712,902
1854, . . . . .	31,645,850
1855, . . . . .	34,811,706
1856, . . . . .	38,284,760

—PORTER, 178; and *Statistical Abstract of United Kingdom*, No. IV., p. 21.

† "It has been ascertained that children as young as three years of age labour for their own bread and the bread of their parents. What does the State do on these occasions? It only says to the master, You shall not employ a child in a factory, working, as some are doing now, from five in the morning till

41. But while every friend of humanity must rejoice at this great step having been gained in behalf of the working classes, yet it must not be supposed that it removed either the whole or the most serious part of the evils under which they labour in great towns. On the contrary, though it has doubtless lessened one great cause of suffering in them, others not less formidable remain behind, and exercise an important influence on the happiness and increase of the human species in the later stages of every opulent and commercial society. The delusion so stoutly maintained and so steadily adhered to by the commercial party, that population increases faster in great towns and manufacturing districts than rural, has been now completely demolished by what the *Times* justly calls "the unpitiable logic of the Registrar-General." There is, indeed, in the former a greater number of marriages in proportion to the population than in the latter, and those marriages are more prolific. Nature, it would appear, strives to maintain her ground amidst the numerous difficulties with which she is there surrounded; and the higher rate of wages insures a constant influx of young persons of both sexes, for the most part in the prime of life, into those great hives of industry. Thus, there is generally a rapid increase of numbers for a considerable period in such localities. But it is entirely derived from extraneous sources. Such is the mortality in great towns and manufacturing districts, that no amount of general prosperity, or early marriages, can enable them unaided to maintain their own numbers. While the annual proportion of deaths in agricultural districts in Scotland is from 100 to 107 out of 10,000 in the rural counties, in Lanarkshire, which is at once mining and manufacturing, it is 268. The proportion of deaths of children under five years of age, in the agricultural counties, is 29 per cent of the whole; the average of eight great towns is 49 per

seven at night, till it is *eight years* of age."—MR ROEBUCK, on 21st April 1843, quoted in *Parl. Deb.*, xc. 771.

cent, and in Glasgow it is generally above 50, sometimes as high as 57, and even occasionally reaches 61. The general mortality of 133 town districts in Scotland, in 1855, was 261 in 10,000, or 1 in 38; in 94 rural districts it was 169, or 1 in 28. From a very curious table,\* compiled by the Registrar of

\* If the area of England is grouped in districts, in proportion to the density of the inhabitants, as measured by the respective proportion of the inhabitants to the square yards of the districts in which they dwell, the following curious and startling result is arrived at:—

Persons to a square mile.	Proximity of person to person. Yards.	Annual deaths to 1000 living.
56	252	15
106	184	16
144	158	17
149	155	18
182	140	19
202	133	20
220	128	21
324	105	22
485	86	23
1216	54	24
1262	53	25
2064	42	26
2784	45	27
4134	28	28 to 36

—Registrar-General's Report, 1853, p. xvi.—Introduction.

It is chiefly the immense mortality in crowded situations, of children under five years of age, which occasions this extraordinary difference. The proportion of deaths, per cent, of children under five years of age, in the eight principal towns of Scotland, in March 1857, was as follows:—

	Population in 1857. Estimated.	Deaths.	Proportion, per cent, under 5 years.
Perth,	27,619	64	39
Leith,	35,807	69	45
Greenock,	37,724	110	36
Paisley,	48,269	116	47
Aberdeen,	78,933	163	31
Dundee,	90,731	188	40
Edinburgh,	177,260	348	29
Glasgow,	374,505	1120	56

—Scottish Registrar's Report, March 1857.

The deaths in England, in 1853, were 421,097, which is at the rate of 22.88 to 1000 living. The proportion, per cent, of the deaths under five years of age to 1000 living was, in 1853, as follows:—

Ages.	
2 . . .	7.346
5 . . .	7.847

Under five years, 15.193 for 1000 living.

—Registrar-General's Report, 1853, p. xii.—Introduction.

England, it appears that the chances of life are invariably in inverse proportion to the density of the inhabitants, despite all the superior medical advantages of such as dwell in cities and crowded localities. It is to be hoped sanitary improvements, increased temperance, and comfort in living, and other causes, may in time lessen this great disproportion. But there seems no reason to suppose it will ever be entirely removed; and it would appear to be a great law of Nature, intended to prevent the undue aggregation of mankind in particular localities, and insure the dispersion and general progress of the species.

42. The system of recruiting for the army underwent a great change in this year, in consequence of a measure introduced by Government, and which received the sanction of both Houses of Parliament. Hitherto, notwithstanding several attempts to introduce an opposite system, recruiting had been chiefly for life. On 22d March, Mr Fox Maule (now the Earl of Dalhousie), the Secretary at War, introduced a bill, the purport of which was to limit the term of enlistment in the infantry to ten years, and in the cavalry, artillery, and engineers, to twelve. After the expiration of these respective periods, the man, if in actual service, might be detained for two years longer; and it was to be in his option to enlist again, with the benefit of his former service, for eleven years in the infantry, or twelve in the cavalry or artillery. After ten years' service, the soldier might enrol himself for a deferred pension, in which case he would be liable to serve twelve days in the year, and after serving twenty-two years in that capacity, he would become entitled to a pension of 6d. a-day in the same way as by eleven years of active service. The pensioners were stated by him to amount to thirteen thousand, and for all purposes, when great exertions were not required, were as fit for duty as when they fired their muskets at Waterloo.

43. The bill was strongly supported in both Houses by the members of the Government and several officers of the

army inclined to Liberal opinions, particularly Sir De Lacy Evans and Major Layard, as tending to introduce a superior body of men into the service, and remove the objection that a man who enlisted lost his freedom, and became a serf for life. It was as strenuously opposed by Lord Londonderry, Sir Howard Douglas, and several other experienced officers, upon the ground that it would banish the old soldiers who formed the bone and muscle of the army, and lead to a constant influx of new and inexperienced men into the ranks. So strongly were these apprehensions expressed, that even the veteran reformer, Lord Brougham, admitted that he shared them, and contemplated with dismay the thoughts of "touching so noble and perfect a machine as the British army." The Duke of Wellington, however, cast the balance in favour of the measure, by the observation, which experience has abundantly proved to be well founded, that after a man has been ten years in the army, he has become so habituated to military life that he is incapable of taking to any other; and thus, that nearly all the soldiers who were worth keeping would enlist anew, for the entire term of twenty-one or twenty-four years, after their first term had expired.\* In agreeing, however, to the bill on this ground, he concurred in the strongest

\* This was abundantly proved by a fact mentioned by Earl Grey, in his very able speech introducing the bill into the House of Peers: "In 1829 Lord Hardinge introduced the plan of allowing men a free discharge after sixteen years of service, a period reduced to twelve years by Mr Sidney Herbert in 1845; and from a memorandum in Lord Grey's hands, I find that the number of soldiers who, between 1830 and 1844, under the reduced service, were discharged without any gratuity, amounted to fifty-three annually in the whole British army, being less than one man for every two regiments."—*Parl. Deb.*, xci. 1334. Lord Grey, on this occasion, mentioned a most gratifying fact in regard to the great diminution of corporal punishments in the army, in consequence of the wise and humane changes introduced in recent times,—that while in 1818, out of 28,900 men in foreign stations, 80 out of every 1000 men underwent corporal punishment; last year, in the same stations, the proportion was only 4 in 1000.—*Parl. Deb.*, xci. 1324.

manner in the statement as to the infinite superiority of old soldiers over young ones, especially in the commencement of real warfare; and his words are alike important as containing the true wisdom on the subject, and as prophetic of the mournful disasters which their oblivion was so soon to bring upon the British nation.\*

44. Less momentous in its immediate results, but not less so in its ultimate consequences, the important matter of PUBLIC EDUCATION formed the subject of very interesting debates in this session of Parliament. These took place in consequence of the promulgation of certain minutes of the educational committee of the Privy Council, on which Ministers proposed to issue grants of public money for the purposes specified. These were deemed unduly favourable to the Establish-

\* "I am decidedly of opinion that we should do nothing to deprive the country of the services of the old soldiers; but having maturely considered this bill, I think it will not tend to any diminution of the old soldiers. *Old soldiers, my lords, are, in my opinion, absolutely necessary to the very existence of an army.* Although this country has been under the protection of peace for thirty years and more, I have had under my consideration during that time military operations of great extent and importance, not only in the Mediterranean, but in North and South America, in South Africa, and all over Asia, nearly at the same time; and if you had not had the highest discipline and best troops in the world, it would not have been possible for you to have carried on these operations. Look at China. In that case it was necessary to transport troops from Australia, and land them in China, where they were called on to act on rivers, in creeks, and upon islands, in concert with the ships of her Majesty. They succeeded in effecting all that was expected of them. How was that done? It was done by the discipline of your troops—the discipline maintained by the old soldiers. They were the men who led the young ones, and, acting together, they were able to achieve any conquest. Again, one night during the operations against the Sikhs, a regiment was lying on their arms, and Lord Hardinge was on the ground at their head. The enemy opened fire upon them, and annoyed them very much, in consequence of which my noble friend ordered the men to rise and advance upon the guns. They did so, and the guns were captured. This was at night, remember. I ask, could such a feat have been performed under such circumstances by any but

ed Church by the Dissenters, and their opposition led to animated debates in both Houses of Parliament. In introducing the subject on the part of Government, Lord Lansdowne lamented that the sectarian jealousies between the two great bodies of Churchmen and Dissenters rendered it impossible to bring forward a plan for universal education; but he gave very gratifying information as to what, under the limited system, which alone was practicable, had actually been done since the Government system had been introduced in 1833. From that time to 1846, Parliament had granted £490,000 for the purposes of education; the schoolhouses for which grants had been made would, when completed, accommodate 550,000 scholars, besides 150,000 more in 3500 schools which had invited inspection, without having obtained grants of public money.

old soldiers? It would have been impossible. Bear in mind the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon with respect to old soldiers; remember the manner in which he employed them. Recollect, too, how they are prized by every power all over the world; and then I will once more entreat your lordships never to consent to any measure which would deprive her Majesty's service of old and experienced men, and thus pave the way for disasters which would assuredly follow when the army should come to be employed in war.

"I should be rejoiced if the measure at present under consideration should induce a superior class of men to enter the army; but I confess I very much doubt it. But putting that out of the question, I believe that, looking at all the circumstances of the case, looking at the advantages held out to the soldier in the reward for good conduct, after five, ten, fifteen, and twenty years' service, the army will suffer no injury from the measure, and that the soldiers will re-enlist after the ten years. Therefore it is that I recommend your lordships to try the measure of limited enlistment. It is my firm belief that this measure will make no difference in the number of old soldiers in the army."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S *Speech, Parl. Deb.*, xci. 1338. On another occasion the opinion of the Duke in favour of old soldiers was still more energetically expressed. At a review of the Household troops and several very fine regiments in London, which made a splendid appearance, he said to an officer from whom I had the anecdote: "These are fine men, sir; finely drilled and dressed, and in the best order: but I'll tell you what it is—with ten thousand of my old bandy-legged Peninsular blackguards, I would send them all to the devil in half an hour."

The chief object of the proposed grants was to extend this system of inspection, which, so far as it went, had worked well, and to grant to all the teachers power to select a certain number out of the most promising of their pupils, who were to be trained up, under the name of apprentices, to the duties and practice of education, so as to fit them to become in their turn teachers of others. For each of these apprentices or normal pupils a certain annual allowance was to be provided, and for such as could not find situations in the Government schools, employment was to be given in the revenue departments. Pensions also, after fifteen years of public service, were provided to well-conducted schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. Lord Brougham warmly approved of the proposed measure, regretting at the same time that "no general and comprehensive plan was practicable, because society was divided into two great classes, Churchmen and Dissenters, who loved education much, but controversy more."\*

45. Although the Ministry of Sir R. Peel had been overthrown by a combination of Whigs and Protectionists on the question of the Coercion and Arms Bill for Ireland, yet experience was not long of proving that the measure, then so unceremoniously rejected, was in itself necessary and expedient, and that without some similar enactment government had become imprac-

ticable in the sister island. So threatening did affairs become in some parts of Ireland in the end of 1846, and first months of 1847, that Ministers were themselves under the necessity of introducing a measure for the repression of crime, which was in effect almost the same as that which had been so recently thrown out by their coalition with the Protectionists in the Lower House. The facts which Sir George Grey adduced to justify the measure were such as amply proved its necessity. It is remarkable that the increase of crime, which was so alarming, had taken place only in a few counties; over the country generally there not only was no increase of offences, but a marked diminution, notwithstanding the universal distress which prevailed. Sir George Grey mentioned that the number of serious offences during the whole of 1846 had been 2885; whereas, up to the end of October 1847, they did not exceed 1035. But in some districts, particularly Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, there existed a secret conspiracy, which had spread such intense dismay over the country that it became the absolute duty of Government, at all hazards, to put it down.\* "The present, therefore," said he, "is no general indictment against a whole people; it is a measure empowering the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim certain baronies and counties, and the effect of that proclamation will be that the carrying of arms between sunrise and sunset becomes illegal, and arms can only be kept legally in possession upon a licence from Government." The Lord-Lieutenant was authorised to send down an additional police force from the reserve at Dublin, at the expense, in the first instance, of the public treasury, but ultimately of the dis-

\* In the debate on this subject in the House of Commons, Mr Macaulay observed on 19th April: "In Hertford House of Correction, out of 700 prisoners, about one-half are unable to read, and only 8 could read and write well. In Maidstone Prison, out of 8000 prisoners, 1300 were unable to read, and only 50 could read well. In Cold-Bath-Fields Prison, out of 8000, not one could read and write well. From the registers of marriages, we find that out of 130,000 couples married in the year 1844, 40,000 bridegrooms and 60,000 brides could only sign by a mark. What does this imply? The most grievous want of education for many of the remainder, who have been unable to sign their names. How many of the day-schools are nothing but a dirty room, with a heap of fuel on one side and a brood of chickens on the other, and the only instruments of education are a dog-eared spelling-book and a broken slate!"—*Parl. Deb.*, xci. 1016.

\* The increase of violent crime, chiefly in Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, in the first six months of 1846 and 1847, was respectively—

	1846.	1847.
Homicides, . . . .	68	96
Firing at the person, . .	55	126
Robberies of arms, . .	207	530
Firing into dwellings, . .	51	116

—*Parl. Deb.*, xcvi. 276.

turbed districts. Sir R. Peel's triumph was now complete, and he put the finishing-stroke to his victory by himself voting, with all his followers, for the very bill which had been made the instrument of his overthrow. So evident had the necessity of the case become, that it passed the Commons by an overwhelming majority, being 296 to 19, or 277, and in the Lords unanimously.

46. Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person on 23d July, and next day dissolved by royal proclamation. The elections were languidly conducted, and excited very little attention. There was neither any great social or national question at stake, nor any keen contest of parties to awaken the dormant energies of their adherents throughout the country. It was universally understood that the Conservatives were, for the time at least, utterly disjointed and broken up, and that any attempt to reconstruct the great body which Sir R. Peel had headed was out of the question. The Liberals were evidently destined for a long time, perhaps for ever, to retain the reins of power; and though the old Whig party was nearly as much displaced from the lead as the Tories were, that did not shake the majority of English borough Liberals, Scotch Radicals, and Irish Catholics, in whom, by the Reform Bill, the government of the empire was now vested. In addition to this, the course of current events had turned men's minds to very different objects. The famine in Ireland had frozen every heart with horror; the monetary crisis in Great Britain threatened every one engaged in trade with ruin; and men, in the utmost state of alarm for their private affairs, had neither money, nor leisure, nor care

to bestow on political disputes. From these causes the elections excited very little attention; the old members were in general returned without a contest, and the only difference in the result was an addition to the Liberal ranks, slight indeed, but sufficient to secure them a working majority.

47. It was no wonder that the attention of the country was fixed on other objects than the hustings, for the appearances in the commercial world had now become threatening in the extreme. The panic, which had been so severe in April, had indeed passed away, chiefly from the announcement received in the beginning of May that the Emperor of Russia was about to invest a portion of his accumulated treasure, amounting to 30,000,000 silver roubles (£4,750,000), in the public funds of France and England. This was the first time that the gold mines of the Ural Mountains, now producing £3,000,000 annually, had been brought on a large scale to bear on the money market of Western Europe, and the effect was very considerable, chiefly by diminishing the terror of an increased demand for gold to pay for the immense importations of food which were still going on. The season also was favourable, and hopes were entertained, which were happily more than realised, of an abundant harvest in autumn. From this cause, joined to the great amount of the imported grain, the prices of food fell considerably in the end of May and beginning of June; but the pressure for money, owing to the combined effect of the immense importations and heavy railway calls, was such that no reduction of the current rate of interest took place, which still remained at 5 per cent.\* The sums expended on food (great part of which

\* CAPITAL AUTHORISED TO BE RAISED AND EXPENDED ON RAILWAYS.

		Authorised.	Expended.
1845.	First half-year,	} £59,000,000	{ £3,500,000
	Second do.		{ 10,600,000
1846.	First do.	} 124,000,000	{ 9,800,000
	Second do.		{ 26,685,000
1847.	First do.	} 38,000,000	{ 25,700,000
	Second do.		{ 22,800,000
		£221,000,000	£96,085,000

required to be sent abroad in specie) in that year were £33,000,000, and the expenditure on railways £47,000,000.

48. These causes necessarily renewed the pressure, and it became very severe in August, when the rate of discount at the Bank rose to 5½, while the Bank reserve sank to £4,704,000 against £14,000,000 liabilities; and consols, which had stood at 93 in the beginning of the year, fell rapidly to 85. These were sufficiently strong premonitory symptoms, but the Government did not take the alarm, and persisted in the belief that, under the admirably constructed self-balancing system of 1844, the currency would right itself without any serious detriment to the general interests of the community. This idea was increased by the fineness of the season and abundance of the harvest, which was so remarkable that on the suggestion of Government a general thanksgiving was returned to Almighty God for the blessing. But though this lessened a danger of one kind, it induced another hardly less serious, which was the immediate cause of bringing on the catastrophe which was approaching. The fineness of the weather and harvest, coupled with the enormous amount of the importation, which in the harvest year from September 1846 to September 1847 had risen to the unprecedented amount of 11,800,000 quarters, of which 5,000,000 were wheat, occasioned a prodigious fall in the price of grain of every description. Wheat, which in June 1847 had been at 92s. 10d., sank in August to 66s., and in September was as low as 52s., at which comparatively low figure it stood during the remaining months of the year.\* This immense and rapid fall, coming suddenly upon so large a portion of the mercantile capital of the country as was engaged in grain speculations, was attended with the most calamitous results. One after another the greatest houses in the corn trade came down, and with them a whole host of the lesser firms engaged

in the same traffic, or involved with them in business. The effect of these failures, of course, was to augment in a most serious degree both the demand for money and the general alarm. Everything tended to the same point, and that was an augmented pressure on the Bank for advances which the Bank Charter Act left them absolutely without the means of meeting. Free Trade had landed the country in a balance of imports over exports, requiring in great part to be paid in gold, which had come now to exceed £30,000,000 a-year; the Irish famine had sent half as much out of the country to buy food; railway undertakings required an expenditure at home of above £40,000,000 a-year; and the great houses which had so largely imported grain were assailed by a fall in the article to little more than a half of its price three months before. Never was there a time in European history when, from the combination of so many concurring causes, large Bank advances to support credit and carry on undertakings were so loudly called for; and the Bank had ample means to meet them, for they had still £9,000,000 in their coffers. But here the Bank Charter stepped in and locked up £8,000,000 sterling, amidst the universal pressure, in the issue department. Reduced to £1,000,000 in the banking department, the directors were compelled to be extremely cautious, and accordingly on 1st October they intimated that "5½ would be charged on all bills falling due before the 15th October, and that they declined to make any advance on stock or Exchequer bills."

49. This announcement produced, as might have been expected, a fearful impression on the Stock Exchange. Consols rapidly fell from 85 to 83½; Exchequer bills were at 37s. discount; and such was the pressure for money that interest at the rate of 50 per cent was given for the use of it for only nine days. The failure of mercantile firms of the oldest standing and the highest respectability, beginning with that of Gower, Nephews, & Co., soon became very frequent, and much exceeded in amount anything recorded in

\* In May the average price of wheat was 102s.; in September it was 48s.—CHANCELLOR OF EXCHEQUER'S Statement, Nov. 23, 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, xcv. 386.



British history, the severe monetary crisis of 1825 itself not excepted. It soon appeared that the crash was not to be confined to the grain trade, in which it had begun, but extended to other branches of business and banking firms. On 13th October the Abingdon old bank came down; this was followed on the 18th by the stoppage of the Royal Bank of Liverpool, which was the more alarming as its paid-up capital was known to be £800,000, and it stood in the very front rank of the banking institutions of the kingdom. Consols in consequence fell to 77½; a fall of 15 per cent from what they had been three months before, and the lowest point they reached during the crisis. Important bank failures ensued in Liverpool, Manchester, Lancashire, and Newcastle. In the last-mentioned town the banking discredit was exceedingly severe, and the most important bank in the district had a very narrow escape from a suspension of payment. The Bank of England reserve sank between 16th and 30th October from £3,070,000 to £1,600,000 against £13,600,000 liabilities, and the bullion in both departments was only £8,300,000 on 23d October, while the notes in circulation still amounted to £21,200,000. In a word, the two weeks ending 23d October were an uninterrupted progression of disaster, discredit, and dismay; and at the close of the week everything portended not merely a crisis, but a *total suspension of all business and of all payments*.

50. Still Government, supported by Sir R. Peel, stood firm. The most earnest representations were made to them as to the state of the country, and the imminent ruin which threatened the whole of its commerce if the Bank Charter Act were not suspended, without effect. A most respectable deputation from Liverpool, representing the trading interests of that great emporium, was coolly dismissed with an answer that the Bank Act must at all hazards be maintained. A highly important communication from the Marquess of Londonderry, as Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Durham, portraying the tremendous risk to which,

from the suspension of credit and the want of money, the coal districts in that county were exposed, met with no better success. Even an earnest request for assistance from the Scotch banks, hitherto deemed so flourishing, failed in shaking their steady resolve to maintain at all hazards the convertibility of a Bank of England note. But at length they were assailed in a quarter where they had no defence, and the country in consequence was saved. On Friday, 22d October, the London bankers had a meeting, at which it was agreed that, if Government would not sanction a deviation from the Act on the part of the Bank, they would withdraw their whole balances from it. This was decisive. The bankers' balances in the hands of the Bank of England were £1,774,472, and the reserve in the Bank to meet this amount was only £1,600,025.\* In these circumstances, submission was a matter of necessity. The bankers' resolution was communicated to Government on Saturday 23d, and early on Monday 25th the celebrated letter signed by Lord John Russell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to the Bank, authorising a deviation from the Act.†

\* "Question 2881.—Supposing the London bankers had been, from the pressure upon them, obliged to withdraw a large amount of the balance, which, I believe, equalled pretty nearly the amount of your reserve on the 22d October, what would have been the effect?—On the 22d October, the reserve in London was £1,600,025, and in the country £776,447, making together £2,376,472. *The bankers' balances were £1,774,472.* Supposing their balances had been withdrawn from us in the course of business, we should have had an opportunity of going into the market, and, by *selling securities*, we should have strengthened ourselves by taking notes out of the market, and then met the bankers' demand."—Mr MORRIS's (the Governor of the Bank of England) Examination; *First Report on Commercial Distress*, 1848, p. 221.

† "Her Majesty's Government have seen, with the deepest regret, the pressure which has existed for some weeks upon the commercial interests of the country, and that this pressure has been aggravated by a want of that confidence which is necessary for carrying on the ordinary dealings of trade. They have been in hopes that the check given to transactions of a speculative character, the transfer of capital from other countries, the influx of bullion, and the feeling which a knowledge of these circum-

That which neither a representation of the impending ruin of Liverpool and the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, nor the prospect of a hundred thousand colliers being thrown out of bread in the mining districts, could effect, was at once brought about by the dread of the Bank being "chequed out," in mercantile phrase, by the drafts of the London bankers. The Bank was authorised to issue notes beyond the limit prescribed by the Act, and in the mean time the rate of interest was fixed at 8 per cent.

51. The Scholiasts, on the revival of letters in Europe, were in error when they said that an adverse balance of trade against a nation necessarily impoverished it, because it drained all its specie abroad; and Adam Smith long ago exposed the absurdity of this as a general proposition. But though not generally correct, it is true, and fearfully so, when combined with a monetary

stances might have been expected to produce, would have removed the prevailing distrust. Their hopes have, however, been disappointed, and her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion, that the time has arrived when they ought to attempt, by some extraordinary and temporary measure, to restore confidence to the mercantile and manufacturing community.

"For this purpose, they recommend to the Directors of the Bank of England, in the present emergency, to enlarge the amount of their discounts and advances upon approved security; but that, in order to restrain this operation within reasonable limits, a high rate of interest should be charged. In present circumstances, they would suggest, that the rate of interest should not be less than 8 per cent. If this course of dealing should lead to any infringement of the existing law, her Majesty's Government will be prepared to propose to Parliament, on its meeting, a bill of indemnity. They will rely upon the discretion of the Directors to reduce, as soon as possible, the amount of their notes, if any extraordinary issues should take place, within the limits prescribed by law. Her Majesty's Government are not insensible to the evil of any departure from the law which has placed the currency of the country upon a sound basis; but they feel confident that, in the present circumstances, the measure which they have proposed may be safely adopted; and that, at the same time, the main provisions of that law, and the vital principle of maintaining the convertibility of the Bank of England note, may be firmly maintained. — We are, &c., JOHN RUSSELL, CHARLES WOOD."—TOOKE, iv. 449, 450.

system which renders the support of mercantile credit dependent on the retention of gold in the public banks. When this is the case, the drain of the precious metals to meet the adverse balance instantly gives a shock to credit, and, if continued for any considerable time, may destroy it. The nation, it is true, is not impoverished by the adverse balance, because it gets full value for the gold which it sends abroad. But if the withdrawal of that *peculiar species of wealth* which consists in the precious metals has the effect of suspending all advances by bankers except on first-rate securities, and shaking credit through the whole country by interest being run up to 8 or 9 per cent, incalculable misery and destruction of property must ensue in a mercantile community. This is exactly what took place in 1847, again in 1857 from the same cause, and again in 1864, in the last of which years the adverse balance of trade was very great, and in consequence the Bank, to defend itself and attract capital to its coffers, was obliged to raise its discounts to 9 per cent. Under such a system of combined freedom in trade with restriction in currency, disaster widespread and long-continued is the inevitable result of a high state of commercial prosperity, and may be expected to succeed it as regularly as night follows day. Great commercial riches induce a vast internal consumption, which causes the imports greatly to exceed the exports; and as this leads to a continued drain of the precious metals, any of the ordinary chances of time—a bad harvest, a foreign war, a cotton famine—may subvert the equilibrium, and cause a contraction of credit fraught with ruin to hundreds of thousands of individuals, and destruction to hundreds of millions of property. These terrible calamities can be avoided only in one way, which is, to have a currency in reserve, limited in extent, but inconvertible when issued, which shall supply the place of gold when it is withdrawn, and be liable to be itself drawn in when, in the mutations of commerce, it returns.

## CHAPTER LXIII.

## ENGLAND, FROM THE SUSPENSION OF THE BANK CHARTER ACT IN OCTOBER 1847 TO THE TERMINATION OF ITS EFFECTS.

1. Thus did the famous Bank Charter Act, after having been three years in unrestrained operation, break down from the effect of its own provisions; but not until it had brought the country to the very verge of ruin! In the first two years of that period, it had inflamed to a most perilous degree the prevailing passion for speculation, and set on foot undertakings of the most gigantic kind, which required all the disposable capital of the country to carry forward and complete. During the last year it had acted not less powerfully in contracting the circulation and suspending credit, at the very time when *both* were most imperatively required to carry forward the undertakings which *itself* had set on foot, and meet the effects, in the drain of gold, of the combined operation of the system of Free Trade recently introduced,

and the Irish famine then in its full intensity. At this critical juncture, when, beyond any other recorded in British history, liberal paper advances were most called for to sustain the credit and currency of the country, now strained to the uttermost by so many concurring causes, the bank-notes in circulation in the two islands were, by the operation of the Bank Charter Act, CONTRACTED TO THE EXTENT OF EIGHT MILLIONS below what they had been less than two years before.\* It may safely be affirmed, that a more ruinous and suicidal act never was perpetrated by any government on any country, and it is no wonder that it produced the most disastrous effects. And at last Sir R. Peel and the Ministers were compelled, by sheer necessity, to repeal their own Act, and do that which had been the one thing

\* TABLE SHOWING THE WHOLE BANK'S AND BANKERS' NOTES IN CIRCULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM JUNE 1844 TO DECEMBER 1851.

Months ended.	ENGLAND AND WALES.				SCOTLAND.	IRELAND.		
	Bank of England.	Private Banks.	Joint Stock Banks.	Aggregate monthly Circulation of Country Issues.		Bank of Ireland.	Private and Joint Stock Banks.	Total for United Kingdom.
1844. June 22	20,634,000	4,743,057	3,665,104	8,408,161	3,117,938	3,488,300	2,080,277	37,728,726
„ Dec. 7	20,936,000	4,442,725	3,086,676	7,529,401	3,486,818	3,900,275	2,945,046	38,847,540
1845. June 21	21,277,000	4,398,833	3,131,109	7,529,942	3,485,531	3,882,600	2,736,432	38,911,505
„ Dec. 6	22,015,000	4,569,278	3,221,883	7,791,161	3,804,031	4,404,975	3,311,855	41,327,022
1846. June 20	20,553,000	4,456,629	3,123,185	7,584,814	3,508,655	4,119,850	2,852,176	38,618,495
„ Dec. 5	21,055,000	4,596,549	3,190,417	7,786,966	3,996,861	4,375,025	3,464,505	40,678,857
1847. June 19	19,078,000	4,385,608	3,088,327	7,473,935	3,647,314	3,327,400	2,137,551	35,664,200
„ Dec. 4	20,161,000	3,691,304	2,576,686	6,267,990	3,732,585	3,175,400	2,147,341	35,484,316
1848. June 17	18,683,000	3,628,563	2,598,625	6,227,188	3,437,587	2,863,800	1,797,546	33,009,121
„ Dec. 2	18,702,000	3,703,728	2,727,165	6,430,893	3,570,126	2,851,750	2,117,300	33,672,069
1849. June 16	19,312,000	3,540,417	2,661,300	6,201,717	3,380,902	2,481,775	1,564,700	32,941,094
„ Dec. 1	19,244,000	3,676,728	2,703,093	6,379,821	3,500,186	2,656,225	2,017,906	33,798,138
1850. June 15	20,401,000	3,552,821	2,745,227	6,298,048	3,471,528	2,530,125	1,711,686	34,412,387
„ Dec. 28	19,757,000	3,450,811	2,685,543	6,136,354	3,345,649	2,647,600	2,209,359	34,095,962
1851. June 14	20,154,000	3,513,765	2,805,280	6,319,045	3,474,171	2,460,900	1,808,018	34,216,134
„ Dec. 27	19,899,000	3,370,976	2,678,391	6,049,367	3,356,974	2,470,225	2,256,542	34,032,108

needful from the beginning—viz., authorise the Bank Directors to “enlarge the amount of their discounts and advances upon approved security,” beyond the amount authorised by law.

2. Never was a step taken by Government attended with such immediate and beneficial effects as this was. It never required to be acted upon: the knowledge that it had been granted was of itself sufficient to dispel the panic. The statement which the Chancellor of the Exchequer said had been constantly made to him for a few days before, “*Let us have notes; charge 10 or 12 per cent upon them; we do not care what the rate of interest is; we do not mean to take the notes, because we shall not want them; only tell us that we can get them, and that will at once restore confidence.*” Mr Huskisson’s words, on a former occasion, “*the stagnant and straitened circulation of the country wanted life and aid, and became every day more embarrassed, whilst each new calamity produced by such a state of things contributed to spread and increase the general apprehension,*” were now realised. In this disastrous state of things, the knowledge that the Bank Charter Act, which was the principal cause of the embarrassment, had been set aside, acted at once as a charm in restoring the suspended vitality of the country. The barrier which cut off the bullion in the issue department from the banking department having been removed, the pressure and apprehension which had existed for some weeks, owing to a knowledge of the smallness of the Bank’s reserve, and of the bullion available for banking purposes being so nearly exhausted, were at once removed. Eight millions of bullion being, if required, let in to the banking department, the general terror was at an end. Hoards of bank-notes and coin which had been secreted during the panic, immediately came forth; and although the high rate of interest was not immediately reduced, yet merchants in good credit no longer found any difficulty in getting their notes discounted. In a word, the crisis was at an end, and the Directors

were ere long able to reduce the rate of interest charged at the Bank, till, on 27th January 1848, just three months after Lord John Russell’s letter was written, it was lowered to 4 per cent\*—a decisive proof that the previous high rates had been entirely owing to a want of *currency*, and not of *capital*; for unquestionably, as will immediately appear, during the intervening period, the available wealth of the country, so far from increasing, had undergone a serious diminution.

3. As a matter of course, Parliament was called together, after this severe crisis, earlier than usual, both to deliberate on the state of the country, and to interpose the necessary sanction to the deviation authorised by Ministers from the Bank Charter Act. As might have been expected, the leading topic in the Queen’s Speech, and in the debates which followed upon it, were the monetary crisis, and the working of that Act. The Speech said, “Her Majesty has seen, with great concern, the distress which has for some time prevailed among the commercial classes. The embarrassments of trade were at one period aggravated by so general a feeling of distrust and of alarm, that her Majesty, for the purpose of restoring confidence, authorised her Ministers to recommend to the Directors of the Bank of England a course of proceeding suited to such an emergency. This course might have led to an infringement of the law. Her Majesty has great satisfaction in being able to inform you that the law has not been infringed, that the alarm has subsided, and that the pressure on the banking and commercial interests has been mitigated. The abundant harvest with which this country has been blessed, has alleviated the evils which always accom-

\* The rate of interest charged at the Bank was reduced as follows:—

25th October 1847, . . .	8 per cent.
22d November „ . . .	7 „
2d December „ . . .	6 „
23d „ „ . . .	5 „
27th January 1848, . . .	4 „
15th June „ . . .	3½ „
2d November „ . . .	3 „

—TOOKE, vol. iv. p. 330; vol. v. p. 238.

pany a want of employment in the manufacturing districts. Her Majesty, however, has to lament the recurrence of severe distress in Ireland, owing to the scarcity of the usual food of the people. Her Majesty trusts that this distress will be materially relieved by the exertions which have been made to carry into effect the law of last session for the support of the destitute poor. The Lord-Lieutenant has employed with vigour and energy the means which the law places at his disposal to detect offenders, and prevent the repetition of offences. But she feels it her duty to ask the assistance of Parliament in taking further precautions against the perpetration of crime in certain counties and districts of Ireland."

4. Foreseeing that, in the agitated state of the commercial classes in the country, it would be impossible to prevent inquiry into the working of the Bank Charter Act, Ministers prudently resolved to take the matter into their own hands, and thereby secure for themselves the appointment of the committee of inquiry in both Houses. A long and important debate, which was continued through three nights, took place on the motion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the appointment of a committee; but as the topics and arguments were the same as those of which an abstract has already been given on a recent occasion, they need not be again recapitulated, further than to notice the very important admission of Sir R. Peel on the working of the Bank Charter Act. The Right Honourable Baronet said: "I do not deny that one of the objects contemplated by the Act was the prevention of the convulsions which have hitherto occurred in consequence of the neglect of the Bank of England to take early precautions against the withdrawal of its treasure. I am bound to say that in that hope I have been disappointed. Looking to recent events, the depression which has since prevailed, and the numbers of houses which have been swept away, I am bound to admit that that purpose of the Bill of 1844, which sought to im-

pose, if not a legal, at least a moral obligation upon the Bank, to prevent the necessity of extreme measures of stringency by timely precautions, has not been fulfilled. But the Bill of 1844 had a triple object. Its first object was that in which I admit it has failed—namely, to prevent, by early and gradual, severe and sudden contraction of the currency, and the panic and confusion inseparable from it. But the Bill had two other objects of at least equal importance—the one to maintain and guarantee the convertibility of the paper currency into gold, the other to prevent the difficulties which arise at all times from undue speculation being aggravated by the abuse of paper credit in the form of promissory-notes. In these two objects my belief is, that the Bill has completely succeeded. My belief is, that you have had a guarantee for the maintenance of the principle of convertibility, such as you never had before; and that, whatever difficulties you are now suffering, those difficulties would have been greatly aggravated if you had not wisely taken the precaution of checking the unlimited issue of the notes of the Bank of England, of joint-stock banks, and of private banks.

5. "The country is now suffering from the diminution of its capital and the extent of its speculations, and is visiting its blame on the very measure which has prevented its difficulties being ten times greater. Everybody is asking for money, and no one is willing to lend it, and parties talk of the Act of 1844 being the cause of this state of things, *the real want being a want of capital*, which no government can supply. The increase of currency is not a multiplication of capital, but only a check on the industry of individuals. At all times, a low rate of interest has led to exactly the same results of increased speculation in the first instance, and of great embarrassment in the next. The results we now witness are ascribed by the gentlemen opposite to Free Trade and the Act of 1844; but the history of the last sixty years proves that, in peace

and in war, under the old standard, and before it was restored in the time of an inconvertible currency, as well as afterwards, a low rate of interest had always produced the same melancholy results. It was so in the panics of 1784, 1793, 1810, 1819, 1826, 1836, 1837. If you repeal the Act of 1844, you will render the operations of the Bank uncontrolled, and give back to joint-stock and private banks the power of unlimited issues. There has recently been undue speculation, a great issue of paper, and a discounting and rediscounting of bills, quite novel in the history of commerce. This country and the United States, with a small amount of the precious metals, possess a greater amount of bank-notes and promissory-notes than any country in the world. This gives great facility to enterprise, but it is accompanied by great corresponding evils. We have of late been carrying on a system of commerce far beyond our capital, and the standard ought not to be endangered for the sake of bolstering it up. In such a case, it is unjust to charge the Act of 1844 as having been the cause of the deficiency of money, when men ought to be thankful for its having prevented the aggravation of their distress by checking an unlimited issue of paper.

6. "The present pressure, in the main caused by undue speculation, has been most seriously aggravated by the expenditure of £33,000,000 in the last year in the purchase of food, which has caused a great exportation of gold, and by the application of an enormous capital for the construction of railways, which, though not in the end a dead loss, is, for the present at least, unaccompanied by profit. In these causes an ample explanation of the recent embarrassment is to be found, without imputing it to the Act of 1844. I cordially approve of the conduct which Government adopted with regard to the Bank on occasion of the crisis. The remedy for the existing evils was to be found, and could only be found, in the efforts of individuals, and in the contracting of engagements. If Government had re-

laxed the law earlier, the exertions of individuals would have been stopped, and new engagements would have been entered into. When, however, the general distrust in the commercial world had reached the length of panic, the intervention of Government to check it was justifiable and proper. No argument, however, can be drawn from the necessity of issuing the letter of 25th October against the Act which it suspended, for panic is one of those cases in which not legislation, but the discretion of Government, must be applied."

7. On the other hand, it was maintained by Lord George Bentinck and Mr Thomas Baring, the last of whom had at first been a supporter of the Act of 1844: "The strongest condemnation of the Act of 1844 is to be found in the facts, that it had not prevented the crisis, that it had not checked it after it occurred, and that, in order to stop it, an infringement of the law had become absolutely necessary. So far from having checked undue speculation, and so prevented the crisis, it had done just the reverse. The theory on which the Bill was founded was, that the Bank would be constrained to lessen its issues of paper as the gold in its coffers was diminished, and that speculation would be checked the moment it became dangerous. Has the result corresponded to this anticipation? So far from it, the gold in the coffers of the Bank, on 12th September 1846, was £16,354,000, and its paper in circulation was then £20,980,000. On 17th April 1847, the gold was reduced to £9,330,000, and the circulation, so far from being diminished, had *increased* to £21,228,000—that is, by £246,000! So much for the working of the Bill, in giving a timely check to undue speculation.

8. "The common opinion is, that if there is an over-issue of bank-notes, it will drive the gold out of the country. That was the fundamental position of the famous Bullion Report in 1811, and it has been the basis of all our subsequent legislation on the subject. But in this case, the very reverse

took place; for, when it was known that notes would be freely issued, *hoards* of gold immediately made their appearance, and the stock of bullion in the Bank instantly began to *increase*. The notes came out, and, what was directly contrary to the theory, the gold came back at the same time. The effect of the infraction of the law, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement, was altogether magical; the whole panic ceased; the notes came out, the gold came in, all at the same time, and confidence was at once restored, all in consequence of the announced violation of the Bank Act. Apparently, that is an Act honoured more in the breach than the observance; but what is to be said in defence of an Act which never proves beneficial till it is repealed? What is to be said as to the scourge of 8 per cent inflicted on the commercial community, a direct tax to that amount, imposed not on income, but on *endangered capital*, which all must admit sweeps away all prospect, while it lasts, of commercial profit, and is confessedly a direct consequence of the Act of 1844?

9. "We are told that it is the famine in Ireland which has caused all the distress, and it is doubtless true that a great deal of gold has gone out of the country in quest of provisions. But the real cause of it all is the combination of Free Trade with the Bank Charter Act. It is not the high price of grain which has occasioned the difficulty. During the last seven years of the war the average of wheat was 94s. 6d., and yet we were able to raise £70,000,000 yearly in taxes, and borrowed £180,000,000 in those years, taken together, which was at the rate of £26,000,000 a-year, and that not spent in our own country, but in foreign lands. Were we a poverty-stricken people then? In the year 1815 we had 207,000 regulars, 80,000 militia, and 340,000 local militia in arms, besides 140,000 seamen, and we spent £131,000,000; and now, with wealth and number increased by at least a half, we are told that we cannot employ 300,000 labourers in our

own country without bringing the country to the verge of ruin. It is very easy for Government now to decry the railways, but who set them all agoing by lowering the deposit money from 10 to 5 per cent, and plumed themselves so long on the prosperity and increased consumption of taxable articles, which the expenditure on them occasioned in the country? Look around you at America, France, Belgium, Bavaria, Prussia, Russia, and everywhere you see the railway system extending, as much, in proportion to their resources, as it has done here, and yet none of them have been rendered bankrupt in consequence. Belgium and France have had the potato disease as well as Ireland, and yet in the opening speeches of the legislative bodies in both these countries the Sovereigns congratulate the Chambers on the flourishing state of their respective countries. Instead of doing as Mr Pitt did in 1793, and other great men have done on such a crisis, and coming forward with £5,000,000 to meet the commercial distress, lent at £3, 16s., you delay setting the Bank free from its shackles till you yourself are on the verge of the precipice; and when you do so, you say you will make money as money-lenders of the public necessities, and raise the rate of interest to 8 per cent. While you have been intent only on saturating the country with gold and starving it of paper by means of the Bank Charter Act, France has been contracting, not the number of her notes, but the denomination, from £20 to £8. Bavaria has established saving-bank notes on the one hand, and railway-bank notes on the other; and the Emperor of Russia, while sending away his gold, has established three new sets of bank-notes of £950,000 each. When more money is required for undertakings, they provide more; when the same takes place with you, you take away what already was there, and the consequence is that England, which in 1845, with a plentiful currency, stood on the highest pinnacle of prosperity, presented in 1847 a lamentable spectacle of shame, bankruptcy, and disgrace."

10. No division took place on this able and interesting debate, but on the fourth night, on a question whether Mr Labouchere's name should stand on the committee, Ministers had a majority of 66, the numbers being 167 to 101, while on the original appointment of the committee the majority was still greater, being 212. Committees were appointed accordingly in both Houses, composed of men of the greatest ability, and most acquainted with the subject of investigation. They both commenced their labours, and examined a great number of witnesses on both sides. The two committees, however, arrived at directly opposite conclusions on the subject. The Lords' committee, by a majority of 1, sanctioned a most able and luminous report, which charged the Act of 1844 with having aggravated the commercial distress in 1847.\* On the other hand the committee of the Commons, by a majority of 12 to 10, came to the decision, "that, after a careful review of all the evidence, your committee are of opinion that it is *not expedient* to make any alteration on the Bank Act of 1844." But this result arose from the accidental circumstance of two determined opponents of the report (Mr Herries and Mr Thomas Baring) having been absent on the final division, whose presence would have rendered the numbers 12 to 12, and

brought the issue to the casting-vote of the chairman, Sir Francis Baring. And from the opinion expressed by him in the debate on the question, as to the difference between the result of the Act on the Bank circulation and the anticipations of the authors of the Act, there is reason to believe he would, to a certain extent at least, have voted for a modification of the Act. And thus the Bank Charter Act would have stood condemned by the committees of both Houses of Parliament, nominated by Ministers themselves.

11. Sir R. Peel's pleading on this occasion, on behalf of the Bank Charter Act, is a model of that species of rhetorical skill in which he so much excelled, and which consisted in eluding difficulties instead of meeting them, and giving his speech an air of candour, while in fact he was throwing the whole blame of the catastrophe which had occurred off his own shoulders upon those of others. Thus he took credit to himself for the candid admission that the Bank Act had not answered his first object, which was, during prosperity, to check imprudent speculation; nay, he went so far as to quote the graphic description given by Mr Alexander Baring (now Lord Ashburton) of the mania of 1825, as peculiarly applicable to that which had immediately followed the passing of his own Bank Charter Act.\* By so doing, un-

\* "The committee are of opinion that the recent panic was materially aggravated by the operation of the Bank Charter Act, and by the proceedings of the Bank itself. This effect may be traced directly to the Act of 1844, in the legislative restriction imposed on the means of accommodation while a large amount of bullion was held in the coffers of the Bank, and during a time of favourable exchanges; and it may be traced to the same cause indirectly, as a consequence of great fluctuations in the rate of discount, and of capital previously advanced at an unusually low rate of interest. This course the Bank would hardly have felt itself justified in taking, had not the impression existed, that by the separation of the issue and the banking departments, one inflexible rule for regulating the Bank issue had been substituted by law, instead of the discretion formerly vested in the Bank. The banking department was thus considered to be absolved from all obligation but that connected with the pecuniary interests of the proprietors."—*Lords' Report on Commercial Distress*, p. 4.

\* "The Bank of England, by the facilities which they afforded, had been the authors of that dangerous redundancy of money that gave rise to the wild speculations which abounded in every part of the country in 1825. It seemed as if bedlam had broken loose on the Royal Exchange. The same frantic spirit overran the country. The bankers in London, and their agents in the country, and the customers of both, were actuated by the same universal desire to put out their money in any way they could. Then, all of a sudden, the very reverse of this system came into practice. A panic seized the public. Men would not part with their money on any terms. Men of undoubted wealth and real capital were seen walking about the streets of London not knowing whether they would be able to meet their engagements next day. All confidence was lost, and scarcely one man could be found to trust his neighbour. Men were known to seek for assistance—and that too without effect—who were known to be worth £200,000." Thus far Lord Ashburton. "These words," said Sir R. Peel, "with al-



der the air of candour, he in effect laid the responsibility of all that had occurred upon the Bank Directors for not having earlier taken precautions to check the mania. He said, with truth, that a low rate of interest has for long been the invariable precursor of imprudent speculation and commercial distress in the British empire; but he forgot to mention that it was his own Act which at once flung down interest from 4 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and gave rise in a great measure to all the extravagant manias which followed. He blamed the Bank Directors for the extent of their issues of notes, forgetting that the Act *compelled* them to issue them in exchange for all gold brought to their doors, that when it came in abundance, as it did in 1845 and 1846, their notes necessarily issued in equal numbers; and that they had no means of defraying the cost of the immense treasure accumulated in their vaults but by lowering discounts and pushing their business to the uttermost. He blamed them for not having sooner taken the alarm, and contracted their issues the moment exchanges became adverse, forgetting that this was impossible without general ruin when so large a capital was involved by his own acts in railway undertakings, which required several years of constant outlay for their completion; and that the only effect of an earlier contraction of the currency would have been an earlier commencement of the catastrophe. He boasted that, at least in the general crash, the convertibility of the Bank of England notes had been preserved—insensible to the fact that that convertibility had been maintained by a nation's ruin, and that to peril commercial existence on the retention of gold, the most difficult of earthly things to be retained, is the same thing as to render the national subsistence entirely dependent, as in Ireland, on one, and that the most precarious, species of food.

12. Parliament was prorogued on the 20th December till 3d February

*most equal fidelity.* describe the state of affairs in 1846."—SIR R. PEEL'S *Speech*, Dec. 3, 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, xc. 663.

1848, and Ministers flattered themselves that the worst was over, and that, as the Bank interest had now been lowered to 4 per cent, commercial enterprise would revive, and manufacturing industry resume its wonted activity. They were never more completely mistaken. It is as easy to bring on a monetary crisis as it is to cut down a tree; but long years of growth and suffering are required to obviate its effects. The four years, from 1848 to 1851, barely sufficed to restore the credit and enterprise of the nation; and in fact it never was completely restored till the gold discoveries came into operation, which in 1852, by providing an adequate currency for all nations, changed the face of the world. The bankruptcies in the United Kingdom, which in 1845 had been 1263, rose in 1846 to 1729, and in 1847 to 2136. In 1848 the number reached the unparalleled amount of 2370, being nearly double of what they had been three years before. It was computed that in the three last months of 1847, before the interference of Government, the failures in Manchester and the surrounding manufacturing districts of Lancashire amounted to £15,900,000.\* In Glasgow, Liverpool, and Birmingham, things were not less disastrous; and not even in the worst period of the crisis of 1826 and 1839 had the pressure in the metropolis been so widespread and severe.

13. But these figures, great as they are, give but a faint idea of the disasters of this melancholy period. It is computed by the best informed writers on the subject on the Liberal side, that, up to October 1848, £200,000,000 had been called for to pay up the calls on railway shares, for which the holders had given up £250,000,000, and

\* "In July two houses became insolvent, the joint amount of whose liabilities was £100,000; in August sixteen gave way for a total amounting to £2,639,000; in September twenty-six broke down for £6,520,000; and in October thirty-five went for a total of £6,840,000—in all, from July to the period when her Majesty's Ministers interfered, £15,909,000."—LORD STANLEY, Dec. 2, 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, xcv. 495.

that, at that date, the whole was not worth more than £150,000,000; so that £100,000,000 had, in a year after the crash of October 1847, been lost on these investments alone. Consols had fallen from 93 to 79½, at which last figure very large sales had been made to meet the demands consequent on the crisis, involving a loss of at least £100,000,000; and as stock of every description, whether of other shares or goods, had fallen within the same period on an average 30 per cent also, it is not unreasonable to estimate the entire loss of that commercial crisis at the enormous sum of £300,000,000—"a tolerably high price to pay," as was well observed by one of the ablest members of the House of Commons, and the best informed and enlightened on the subject of the currency, "for the convertibility of the Bank of England's note.\*"

14. Three circumstances conspired to augment the distress of this disastrous period, which were in a great measure independent of the monetary crisis in Great Britain, though both the indirect effect of similar measures in other countries. The first of these was the great rise in the price of cotton, which took place at the very time when the distress was at its height, in consequence of the diminished supply of that article in the United States of

America, from the effects of the crash produced there by the insane crusade of General Jackson against the banks of that country, the details of which have already been given. The effect of this had been to produce such ruin among the cotton-merchants of the Southern States, that cotton fell from 6d. to 3d. a-pound; for several years cultivation of that great article of produce could scarcely be carried on at a profit, and the greater part of those engaged in it were rendered insolvent. The effect of this great reduction of the supply, of course, was ere long attended by a corresponding rise in its price; and, accordingly, Georgia cotton, which in 1845 was 3½d. the pound, had risen, in 1847, to 6d. and 8d. This great enhancement of the price of the raw material must have proved a serious clog upon manufacturing enterprise and success, whenever it had happened; but it became doubly severe from its occurring at the very moment when accommodation had been rendered so difficult from the sudden contraction of the currency in the last months of 1847, and the simultaneous occurrence of internal and external disasters, at the same period, in the British Islands, and on the continent of Europe.†

15. The next circumstance which came to aggravate most seriously the

\* Edward Stillingfleet Cayley, Esq., M.P. for the North Riding of Yorkshire. "Such," said he, "had been the results of a system which was called sound and stable, and which, to secure the convertibility of about £10,000,000 bank-notes into gold, had sacrificed about £300,000,000 of property."—MR CAYLEY, Dec. 2, 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, xciv. 477.

TABLE OF PRICES OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF COMMERCE, 1845-51.

Years.	Wheat. Per qr.	Cotton. Per lb.	Iron. Per ton.	Sugar. Per cwt.	Tea. Per lb.	Silk. Per lb.	Coffee. Per cwt.
1845	50s. 10d.	3½d. to 4½d.	£7 10	33s. 0½d.	11d.	16s.	26s. to 34s.
1846	54s. 8d.	3½d. „ 5d.	10 0	35s. 4½d.	9d.	15s. 6d.	31s. „ 35s.
1847	69s. 9d.	6d. „ 8d.	10 0	33s. 10d.	8d.	12s.	28s. „ 32s.
1848	50s. 6d.	4½d. „ 6d.	8 0	21s. to 29s.	8d. to 18d.	10s. to 16s.	25s. „ 128s.
1849	44s. 3d.	4½d. „ 5d.	6 0	23s. „ 27s.	8d. „ 21d.	12s. „ 17s.	20s. „ 100s.
1850	40s. 3d.	5½d. „ 6½d.	6 0	23s. „ 27s.	10d. „ 21d.	14s. „ 19s.	35s. „ 100s.
1851	38s. 6d.	5d. „ 6d.	5 10	18s. „ 26s.	8d. „ 18d.	14s. „ 20s.	35s. „ 80s.

—TOOKE *On Prices*, iv. 415, 427, 435; v. 248, 265; and *Statistical Abstract*, No. VI. p. 30.

† "Subsequent to 1839, from the great monetary pressure in England, the price of cotton had fallen in England to about half of what it was in 1838, so that it became more profitable to cultivate maize, sugar, and coffee, than cotton. From this cause our cotton manufacturers have been suffering from a scarcity in the raw material, in these fabrics, and a rise in its price."—MR CAYLEY, Dec. 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, xciv. 6, 75.—MR Cayley's speech on this occasion was the best delivered in either House of Parliament; and so Lord J. Russell admitted.

general distress arising from the monetary crisis, was the extreme variations which occurred in the course of the year in the price of provisions. Wheat, which in the end of May had been at 102s. the quarter, was selling in the middle of September at 49s. 6d., and all other species of grain in proportion. The effect of this prodigious change, the consequence of the Irish famine and vast importation, besides involving almost every person engaged in the grain trade in ruin, was to expose the working classes, during the first half of the year, to all the suffering produced by famine prices, and to subject all those engaged in the cultivation of the soil, in the latter part of it, to severe distress, arising from the difficulty, with such reduced prices, of paying rents and poor-rates. The results were most serious; for it at once spread the embarrassment from the commercial to the agricultural classes, who for some years had enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity; and thus reopened the old divisions arising from the repeal of the Corn Laws, at the very time when the united efforts of all classes were required to stem the flood of misfortune with which the nation was from other causes overwhelmed.

16. Contemporaneous with this evil was another of still greater magnitude, which for the whole of 1848 seriously affected the export trade to several countries of Europe, and produced a considerable diminution in the general exports of the country. This was the FRENCH REVOLUTION IN FEBRUARY, which overturned Louis Philippe, induced for a brief season a republican government, and was the harbinger of numberless calamities to every part of Europe. Previous to that great event there had been a very

severe monetary crisis in France in the latter part of 1847; but the convulsion of the succeeding year paralysed commerce in that country so completely that the British exports to it fell at once to considerably less than a half of what they had been in the preceding year, and did not recover for some years after. The same was the case in a lesser degree with Germany, to both of which countries the convulsion rapidly spread, and the effect, combined with the monetary crisis in Great Britain itself, was to lower the general exports of the country six millions.\* This was not a very great decline on an export trade at that period amounting to £58,000,000; but coming as it did at a period when the country was already overwhelmed by difficulties arising from other causes, it proved a very serious aggravation of the general distress.

17. Serious as this source of embarrassment was to the classes engaged in the export trade to Europe, it yet yielded in importance to the effect of the prodigious inundation of Irish poor which flowed into all the western counties of Britain, at the same period, from the effects of the famine in Ireland. The numbers which, impelled by hunger and the dread of starvation, then crowded every vessel from the ports of Ireland to those of Britain, would be deemed incredible if not attested by contemporary evidence, and ascertained by authentic inquiry. It has been already mentioned, that such was the influx of Irish poor into Liverpool in December 1847, that in eleven days the parishes of that city had to furnish relief to 198,000 paupers in addition to their own; and that it was deemed a subject of general thankfulness when the number was *only* 2000 a-week.

\* BRITISH EXPORTS (DECLARED VALUE) FROM 1846 TO 1849.

Years.	France.	Germany (Hanse Towns).	Prussia.	Tuscany.	Naples and Sicily.	To all World.
1846	£2,715,963	£6,326,210	£544,035	£919,173	£993,731	£57,786,876
1847	2,554,283	6,007,366	553,968	637,748	636,690	58,842,377
1848	1,025,521	4,668,259	404,144	751,953	695,666	52,849,445
1849	1,951,269	5,386,246	428,748	777,273	1,115,260	63,596,025

And it was ascertained by an official inquiry, set on foot in Glasgow by the magistrates and sheriff, that between November 1, 1847, and April 1, 1848, no less than 42,800 Irish landed in that city, almost all in a state of destitution, and not a few bringing with them the seeds of contagion and death. The magnitude of this burden will not be duly appreciated unless it is kept in view that, in Glasgow and its immediate vicinity, there were in the latter month 39,000 persons out of employment, involving at least 100,000 more in utter misery. It is not going too far to say that, during the winter and spring of 1847-48, half a million of Irish poor migrated into and settled permanently in the provinces of western Britain, then suffering severely under their own causes of disaster—a transposition of the human race unparalleled in modern times, and which resembles the era, twelve centuries before, when the myriads of the migratory northern nations poured into the decaying provinces of the Roman Empire.

18. One circumstance which had never before occurred, rendered this monetary crisis, beyond any other, long-continued and severe, especially to the middle classes. This was the immense sums which, during the prosperous years 1845 and 1846, had been invested in railway shares, chiefly by those classes in towns; undertakings which not only required a very great expenditure of capital, but a very long time for their completion. The sums requisite to finish the railways which had been set on foot were little short of £300,000,000; and in December 1845, there had been paid up of this sum £100,000,000, the shares corresponding to which were worth £160,000,000. But two years after—in December 1849—the aspect of things was totally changed. The sum paid up was then no less than £230,000,000; and the market price of the whole was only £110,000,000, showing a loss on the *paid-up capital* of £120,000,000; and on the market value, compared with December 1845, of £180,000,000. The effects of this immense change were to

the last degree disastrous. As has been well observed by Tooke, “During 1844 and 1845, every person engaged in railway speculation grew richer and richer; and from 1847 to 1850, every person holding railway shares grew poorer and poorer.” The consequence was, that great numbers of the railway undertakings were abandoned, and those which were continued were carried on only at the cost of an incredible amount of suffering and ruin to the persons engaged in them.\* What rendered the demands for payment of the calls on these shares so eminently disastrous, was, that unless they were paid up, the whole money previously advanced upon them was lost; that a great proportion of them had become unsaleable, and none could be disposed of but at a ruinous loss; and that, at the very time when the calls upon them were most urgent, the banks, one and all, sternly refused all accommodation, even on the most ample security. The contraction of the currency by eight millions at a time when an extension of it was most loudly called for, rendered such refusals on their part a matter of absolute necessity. In these circumstances, the calls on the railway shares, which in 1848 and 1849 were not less than £100,000,000, had to be provided almost entirely from the incomes and savings of the unfortunate shareholders, who were chiefly found in the middle and wealthier classes; and when it is recollected that this occurred during a period of a severe monetary crisis, great foreign anxiety, and absolute famine in the neighbouring island, it may be conceived what ruin and suffering they necessarily occasioned,† and at what a sacrifice to the nation the magnificent network of rail-

\* “In December 1845, the official list of the London Stock Exchange quoted no less than 230 different kinds of railway shares; in December 1849, the number had fallen to 160.”—TOOKE and NEWMARSH, v. 371.

† “From the fall of dividends on all the lines, and continued pressure of calls, the distrust of all railway property became such, that towards the autumn of 1849 large masses of it were practically unsaleable. The retrospect of the third quarter of 1849 is the most dismal picture it has ever been our duty to lay before our readers. Gloom, panic, and confusion

ways, with which it is now overspread, has been constructed.

19. Yet has the vast, and to the individuals concerned too often ruinous, expenditure on these railways, been attended with important benefits, both immediate and ultimate, to the country. In the first instance, it *forcibly prolonged* a great, and to the working classes profitable, outlay on the wages of labour, under circumstances when, but for the peculiar nature of these investments, it would have been entirely stopped. It is evident that when the ordinary banks refused to grant any further accommodation, and most of those set up to make advances on shares had become bankrupt, if the shareholders of the railways had not been forced to go on with their undertakings, they would either have abandoned altogether, or at least suspended in the mean time, their prosecution. Then the whole labourers employed on the works themselves, being 300,000, besides at least double the number engaged in preparing iron or other articles necessary for their completion, would have been thrown out of employment. But fortunately for the public, though unfortunately for the shareholders, this was rendered impossible by the nature of the undertakings.

These required years for their completion, and all concerned in them were aware that the only way to render the capital already sunk in their construction productive, was to force them on, at all hazards, to their completion. Hence, though about a third of them, being chiefly those in which no sensible progress had been made, were abandoned, yet the principal lines were all, by great exertions on the part of the directors and shareholders, prosecuted, and finally brought to a conclusion. Thus was the storm averted during a considerable time—and that the most critical in the modern history of Great Britain—from a large proportion of the working poor. This was done, doubtless, at the expense of the middle classes, holders of the shares, who were impoverished or ruined, to an unparalleled extent, by the calls on them as railway proprietors, and the fearful reductions which had taken place in the value of their stock. But how calamitous soever to individuals, and even important classes in society, this must be considered as a very fortunate circumstance for the country, because it brought to a completion these noble and useful undertakings, and diminished, in a sensible degree, the sufferings of the labourers and other

appeared to have taken full possession of the railway market, and a commensurate depression in the value of all lines, good, bad, and indifferent, has been the result. A glance at the market will suffice to convey a knowledge of the overwhelming depreciation which now exists—a depreciation including even the principal lines, the main arteries of the internal traffic of the country. Within the last few weeks the stock of the London and North-Western Railway has fallen 20 per cent. In some of the journals, the loss in September 1849, sustained by the then holders of railway shares, has been estimated *at so large an amount as 180 millions sterling.*—*Railway Times*, Sept. 30, 1849.

The following table exhibits the variations on the price of the stock of the leading railways, from January 1846 to January 1852, when the gold discoveries set in:—

Railways.	Jan. 1, 1846.	Jan. 1, 1847.	Jan. 1, 1848.	Jan. 1, 1849.	Jan. 1, 1850.	Jan. 1, 1851.	Jan. 1, 1852.
London and North-Western,	215	196	150	125	109	123	118
Great Western, . . . .	195	150	105	93	58	77	86
South-Western, . . . .	150	170	120	80	61	66	87
Midland, . . . . .	150	130	107	85	45	47	57
Brighton, . . . . .	135	118	82	62	80	87	95
South-Eastern, . . . .	190	120	90	72	57	66	64
York and North-Midland, .	210	190	144	110	34	44	44

—TOOKE and NEWMARSH, v. 360, 361.

Thus, even after the lapse of seven years, the prices of railway stock, till the gold discoveries came into play, which they did in 1852, was, even in the most favourable cases, little more than a half, in many only a third or a fourth, of what it had been at the beginning of the period.

workmen, when already involved in distress, burdened by an inroad of half a million of Irish, and at a time when the events in France had, to a great extent, revived the spirit of Chartism in the country.

20. And truly the railway system, which, during these calamitous years, and under all the difficulties arising from a restricted currency and monetary crisis, was carried on and completed in Great Britain, was of the most perfect and magnificent description, and deservedly places this country at the head of all similar undertakings in any part of the world. A comparison of the railways in Great Britain with those in France, Germany, Belgium, or America in the end of 1854, proves that, in proportion to the area of the country, the system is more complete than in any other country taken as a whole, and exceeded only by those of Massachusetts in America, in a part of a country.\* Even in Scotland the progress of these undertakings has been nearly twice as rapid as in Germany; and if allowance is made for the extent of mountain surface, where they are impossible, it enjoys a more complete sys-

tem than either Belgium, the garden of continental Europe, or the Western States of America, where they are constructed at the least expense, and with the greatest facility. When the circumstances of unexampled difficulty and distress under which the greater part of these lines were made are considered, their completion must be regarded as perhaps the most wonderful monument that ever was erected of British wealth, enterprise, and perseverance.

21. When calamities so great and serious, arising from so many causes, had stricken a nation, it was inevitable that its general industry, foreign trade, and revenue should suffer. This accordingly took place in Great Britain to a remarkable extent at this time: both the revenue and the exports exhibited a serious falling-off in 1847 and 1848, as compared with the years which had preceded and followed them. The surplus of expenditure above income in these two disastrous years was £2,956,684 in the first, and £796,419 in the last, besides the loans of £8,000,000 for the Irish famine. The imports alone exhibited a great and striking increase in these two years

\* COMPARATIVE EXTENT OF RAILWAY OPEN IN THE END OF 1854, IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

	Area in English Square Miles.	Miles of Railway open in 1854.	Miles of Railway to each 100 Square Miles.
England and Wales, . . . . .	57,800	6,100	15.2
Scotland, . . . . .	30,240	1,040	3.5
Ireland, . . . . .	31,870	900	2.8
	119,910	8,040	6.7
France, . . . . .	205,000	2,910	1.4
Germany, . . . . .	268,000	5,400	2.0
Belgium, . . . . .	11,000	530	4.8
	484,000	8,840	1.8
Massachusetts, . . . . .	7,800	1,300	16.6
New York, . . . . .	47,000	2,700	5.8
Pennsylvania, . . . . .	46,000	2,000	4.3
Ohio, . . . . .	40,000	3,000	7.7
Indiana, . . . . .	33,800	1,500	4.4
Illinois, . . . . .	55,400	2,800	5.0
Twenty-two other States of the Union, .	1,351,000	8,200	0.6
Totals, . . . . .	2,184,000	38,380	1.5

—TOOKE and NEWMARSH, v. 377.

In the year 1862, the miles of railway open in Great Britain and Ireland were 11,551; the number of passengers conveyed in the year, 180,000,000; and the traffic receipts, £29,000,000, of which £14,000,000 was absorbed by the working expenses.—*Statistical Abstract*, No. XI., p. 91.

—having advanced from £75,000,000 in 1846 to £93,000,000 in 1848, and £105,000,000 in 1849.\* This arose partly from the lavish expenditure on the railways, which was wrenched out of the middle classes, and bestowed on the working—of course, the great consumers of imported articles—but chiefly from the enormous importations of grain which took place in these years, in the last of which it amounted in value to £33,000,000 instead of two or three millions, which had gone out for similar importations before the change in the Corn Laws had taken place.

22. But these figures, expressive as they are, convey no adequate idea of the general suffering during these calamitous years. It is in the records of pauperism and crime that the real mirror of the condition of the working classes is to be found—and the picture

they presented was to the very last degree gloomy. From the statistical returns it appears that in the quarters ending July 1847 and 1848, the poor relieved in England and Wales had amounted to the enormous number of 1,721,350 and 1,876,541 respectively, of whom no less than 480,584 in the first year, and 577,445 in the second, *were able-bodied*. The expenditure on this enormous mass of paupers had swelled in a similar proportion; it had risen in England to £6,180,000, being nearly as high as it had been in 1834, when the new Poor-Law Act, from which so much was expected, was passed. In Scotland, the paupers relieved, including casual poor, rose to 204,416 in 1848, while in Ireland the number relieved in that year was 2,177,651.† Thus, in the two islands, the number relieved in one year was 4,258,609, being above 1 in 7 of the

\* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, REVENUE, SHIPPING, AND EXPENDITURE OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1845 TO 1850.

Years.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Imports. Official Value.	Revenue.	Shipping. Cleared out.	Expenditure.
	£	£	£	Tons.	£
1845	60,111,082	85,281,958	53,060,354	6,031,587	49,242,713
1846	57,786,876	75,953,875	53,970,138	6,314,571	50,943,830
1847	58,842,377	90,921,866	51,546,264	7,083,163	54,502,948
1848	52,849,445	93,547,134	53,388,717	6,780,691	54,185,136
1849	63,596,025	105,874,607	52,291,749	7,084,488	50,853,623
1850	71,367,885	100,460,433	52,810,680	7,404,588	50,231,874

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 1842-56, 19, 4, 27; PORTER, 356.

† NUMBER OF POOR RELIEVED, AND SUMS EXPENDED ON THE POOR IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, FROM 1845 TO 1851.

Years.	ENGLAND.		SCOTLAND.	IRELAND.	SUMS EXPENDED.		
	Number of Poor.	Of whom able-bodied.			England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1845	1,470,970	..	63,070	114,205	£5,039,703	£258,814	£280,945
1846	1,332,089	..	69,432	243,933	4,954,204	295,232	425,183
1847	1,721,350	480,584	74,161	2,043,505	5,298,787	433,915	803,684
1848	1,876,540	577,445	77,732	2,142,766	6,180,765	544,333	1,835,634
1849	1,043,886	201,644	82,357	1,174,267	5,792,963	577,044	2,177,651
1850	978,373	151,159	79,031	755,557	5,395,022	581,553	1,430,108
1851	920,543	154,525	76,206	519,775	4,962,704	535,943	1,141,647

No one who has not engaged in the task can conceive the labour which has been expended on the above table, simple as it may appear, chiefly from the contradictory accounts presented in different official reports of the number of paupers relieved, owing to the *periods of the year* when the returns were made, which often made them vary by nearly a half. This explains the vast difference between the English poor, as given by PORTER, 94, and NICHOLLS, 466, and the *Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 35, from the former of which the above table has been compiled. The Scotch poor does not include those casually relieved, which in 1848 was 126,684, of whom 81,938 were in Lanarkshire alone.—NICHOLLS'S *Scotch Poor-Law*, 222.

entire population, which at that period was about 27,000,000; while the sum assessed for their support was no less than £8,350,000, besides £8,000,000 borrowed by Government, and expended on the Irish poor.\* It may safely be affirmed, that so magnificent an instance of charity never before was exhibited in the history of the world; and that as unquestionably it was the means of bringing Great Britain safely through the terrible crisis which at that period proved fatal to so many other states, so it worthily, by the blessing of God, earned that salvation.

23. Other indications of extreme and general suffering, not less decisive than the poor-rate returns, appeared at the same period. Crime, that sure index to straitened circumstances among the working classes, increased so rapidly between 1845 and 1848, that it had advanced, in that short period, above 70 per cent; it had swelled from 44,000 committals

to 74,000.† The traffic on railway lines, which in 1845 was £2640 per mile, had sunk in 1849 to £1780—a decline, as the *Times* justly remarked, “sufficiently alarming, and which looks like a sinking to zero.”‡ But every other feature of the general distress was eclipsed by the astonishing start which the number of emigrants from the United Kingdom took, which mounted up suddenly from 70,000 in 1844, to 300,000 in 1849, and has since that reached 368,000 in a single year.§ So great a transportation of human beings across the ocean never took place since the beginning of the world; and that it was mainly owing to other causes than the potato famine of 1846 is decisively proved by the fact that it went on steadily increasing for a course of years *after* that calamity had ceased, and reached its highest point in 1852, five years subsequent to a public thanksgiving, offered up by order of Government for the abundant harvest of 1847. Dur-

\* Viz. in 1848:—

	Number of Poor.	Sum assessed.
England and Wales, . . . . .	1,876,540	£6,180,765
Scotland, in all, . . . . .	204,416	544,333
Ireland, . . . . .	2,177,651	1,627,700
Total, . . . . .	4,258,607	£8,352,798

—NICHOLLS's *English, Scotch, and Irish Poor-Laws*, 466, 363, 222.

#### † COMMITTED FOR SERIOUS CRIMES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Years.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
1844	26,542	3,575	19,448	49,565
1845	24,303	3,537	16,696	44,536
1846	25,107	4,069	18,492	47,668
1847	28,833	4,635	31,209	64,677
1848	30,349	4,909	38,521*	73,780
1849	27,816	4,357	41,959	74,142

\* Irish Rebellion.

—PORTER, 668, 646, 658.

‡ *Times*, Oct. 21, 1849.

#### § EMIGRANTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Years.	Emigrants.	Years.	Emigrants.
1841, . . . . .	118,592	1847, . . . . .	258,270
1842, . . . . .	128,344	1848, . . . . .	248,089
1843, . . . . .	57,212	1849, . . . . .	299,498
1844, . . . . .	70,686	1850, . . . . .	280,849
1845, . . . . .	93,501	1851, . . . . .	335,966
1846, . . . . .	129,851	1852, . . . . .	368,764
	6,598,186		6,179,136
Average, . . . . .	99,697	Average of 6 years, . . . . .	298,572

—*Parl. Papers; Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 1842-56, p. 36.





wealthy classes in Glasgow, the general suffering was relieved until the advent of more prosperous times.

25. It was in this state of anxiety and suffering, especially in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain and in the whole of Ireland, that the French Revolution of 1848 suddenly broke upon the country, and the example was afforded of a powerful government, supported by a large revenue and splendid army, being suddenly overthrown by a well-concerted urban revolt. Although the country had hitherto been quiet to a most extraordinary degree, in the midst of all its suffering, yet it could hardly be expected that, with such an example before their eyes, and under the pressure of such severe and general distress, something of the same sort should not be attempted in this country. It was probably owing to the extreme suffering which had long existed in Glasgow that, notwithstanding the proverbial caution of the Scotch character, the spark first kindled among its inhabitants. During the months of December, January, and February, great efforts had been made, by large subscriptions, to mitigate and relieve the general distress; and although several meetings of the unemployed had been held, yet everything at them had been conducted in the most regular manner, and they professed themselves deeply grateful for the relief they had received. No placards on the walls, or indications of excitement in the streets, appeared even after the news of the Revolution at Paris, which reached Glasgow on the 25th February, had been received. The police had received no information of any outbreak being designed. So little was any danger apprehended, that the Lord Provost was in London on official business, the Sheriff was on a visit in East-Lothian, and returned in the night on being sent for. No defensive preparations had been made by the police, as no danger was apprehended, when suddenly, at 3 P.M. on 5th March, a body of five thousand men, who had assembled on the Green of Glasgow to discuss their

prospects, moved to a neighbouring iron railing, which they tore up, with which they armed themselves, and, instantly marching into the city, commenced an attack on the principal shops, chiefly those of gunsmiths and jewellers, in the chief streets. So sudden was the onset, and so formidable the body of rioters, that the police, who were dispersed over their several beats, could at first make no head against them; and before the military arrived, which they did about five o'clock, and cleared the streets, under the orders of the magistrates, forty shops had been pillaged and gutted, and property to the value of £10,000 carried off or destroyed.

26. During the night, large bodies of troops arrived by railway from Edinburgh and Stirling, and next morning two thousand soldiers were collected in the city. The pensioners, with praiseworthy alacrity, mustered of *their own accord* when they heard of the tumult, and did good service on the following day; and great numbers of special constables were sworn in in all parts of the town. The rioters, however, encouraged by their success on the preceding day, were nowise daunted, and resolved on further outrages. At ten on the following morning (6th March), a large body, which soon swelled to above ten thousand persons, assembled on the Green, armed with muskets, swords, crow-bars, and iron rails, which they had got possession of on the preceding day, and unanimously passed four resolutions, which were, — 1. To march immediately to the neighbouring suburb of Calton, and turn out all the workers in the mills there, who, it was expected, would join them; 2. To go from thence to the gas-manufactory, and cut the pipes, so as to lay the city at night in darkness; 3. To march next to the jails, and liberate all the prisoners; and, 4. To break open the shops, set fire to and plunder the city. They immediately set out for the mills of Calton, which were in the immediate neighbourhood of the place of meeting, and on their way, when in the centre of that suburb,

fell in with a detachment of fourteen pensioners in charge of a prisoner, under the command of Sergeant Smart, one of the officers of police.\* To surround the detachment and liberate the prisoner was the work of an instant, and they were proceeding to close in with the soldiers, to wrest their arms from them, when Sergeant Smart authorised the men to defend their lives. The veterans immediately fired with steady aim, with such effect that two fell dead and three were wounded by the discharge. Upon this a yell of fury burst from the mob—"Blood for blood!" was heard on all sides; and before the men had time to reload, they were closing in with them, and beginning to wrest their muskets from their hands, when the acting chief magistrate of Glasgow† and Sheriff of Lanarkshire came up at the gallop at the head of sixty-six of the dragoons. At the sight of the glittering helmets and drawn swords, the mob gave way, and the squadron arrived at the spot where the conflict had taken place, and where the dead bodies were still lying on the ground. The Sheriff then addressed them in a few words, saying, if the soldiers had been to blame, they would be punished, and if the people had been to blame, they would be punished in their room; but in the mean time, they must leave it to the law, and return home.‡ The mob

saw they were mastered, gave three cheers, and dispersed.

27. The speedy suppression of this insurrection gave the greatest satisfaction to the Government and the country, as it was the first occasion on which the fidelity of the military and spirit of the people had been put to the test after the shock of the French Revolution had supervened in a time of such general and hazardous distress. It soon appeared of how much consequence it was that the rioters had been prevented from gaining success in the outset. It turned out that the Radicals in all the manufacturing towns of the west of Scotland—Paisley, Greenock, Port-Glasgow, Dumbarton, Airdrie, Kilmarnock, Hamilton, and Ayr—only awaited the signal of success in Glasgow to have risen in insurrection, and commenced pillage; and as the whole military in the south of Scotland had been concentrated in Glasgow, it was not easy to say how the disturbances could have been suppressed. The conduct of the military at Glasgow, however, showed that they could be relied on; and the spirit evinced by the better classes in that city, during the crisis, when eleven thousand special constables tendered their services in twenty-four hours, demonstrated how sound the real strength of the nation was at heart. Numerous arrests by the police took place during the day immediately fol-

\* Now Chief Superintendent of the Glasgow police, and a most active and efficient commander.

† Robert Stewart, Esq. of Omoa and Murchison, since Lord Provost of Glasgow.

‡ The collision which terminated in this tragic result would have been prevented, had it not been for the same circumstance which occasioned the conflict of the military with the Cato Street conspirators in 1820, already recounted, chap. x. § 46, note. This was the different meaning which military men and civilians attach to the words, "ready to turn out at a moment's warning." The magistrates and sheriff had requested the commanding officer at the cavalry barracks "to have a squadron all day ready to turn out at a moment's warning;" and at ten o'clock, hearing of the meeting on the Green, they sent to say they were immediately required, and that the chief magistrate and sheriff would meet them in front of the court-house on the Green as soon as

they could come. Thither they went accordingly; but the military did not come up till eleven, and when they did so, the party immediately set off at the gallop across the Green. But in the interim, the collision took place, and the discharge was heard just as they were entering the streets of Calton. The delay was owing to the military understanding by the words, "ready to turn out at a moment's warning," to have the horses saddled and the men armed, but nothing more; which, of course, left the necessary operations of bringing out the horses, mounting, telling off by threes, and the like, to be done after the orders to move were received, which took half an hour. Nothing could exceed the promptitude, spirit, and humanity displayed by the whole military, both horse and foot, when they did arrive; and the Author, who witnessed it all, has great pleasure in bearing public testimony to the service they rendered to their country on this distressing occasion.

lowing the outbreak, and above a hundred were soon in custody, embracing all the ringleaders, of whom twenty-four were selected for trial, and afterwards sentenced, at the Spring Circuit, to various periods of transportation and imprisonment, from twenty-one years of the former to twelve months of the latter. It did not appear, from the evidence adduced at the trials, that there was any project of altering the frame of government in the minds of the leaders of the outbreak, but only a desire to turn the general suffering and strong excitement produced by the French Revolution to the best account in carrying out the projects entertained by a comparatively small body of desperadoes intent on general plunder.

28. Disturbances, but of a much less formidable description, occurred in London, Manchester, and Edinburgh, soon after receipt of the intelligence of the French Revolution, but they were suppressed, without the interposition of the military, by the activity and efforts of the police. The truth was, that the Chartists and Radicals were not at the moment prepared to make the most of that great change; the convulsion fell on them, as it had done on all the world, wholly unexpectedly, and when in a state of entire want of preparation. But by degrees they became sensible of the immense advantage which that astounding event gave them, when coinciding with the poignant and general suffering which existed both in Great Britain and the neighbouring island; and a general revolutionary movement was organised in all the three kingdoms. With this view, and in order to furnish a pretext for the great assemblage in the metropolis, by whom it was to be effected, a Chartist petition was got up in all the manufacturing districts of England, which the journals of that party boasted had 5,000,000 of signatures affixed to it; although, as afterwards appeared, there were not half the number. It was sufficiently bulky to evince, however, the great pains which had been taken in getting it up, as well as the numbers who, in this

period of general suffering, thought they would escape from their distresses by adopting Chartist principles. Great anxiety was felt in the country, and no small terror in the metropolis, when the period for presenting the petition arrived. The 10th April was the day fixed on by the Chartist leaders; and few more memorable are recorded in British history.

29. The Chartist petition prayed the House of Commons only to adopt the six points of the Charter, which, as already mentioned, were annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, paid members of Parliament, and no property qualification. But the designs of the leaders went a great deal further, and aimed at nothing less than *achieving all their objects at once and by force*. For this purpose, it was proposed to assemble their followers in great numbers on Kennington Common, on the south side of the Thames, and return from thence over Westminster and Blackfriars Bridges; and, after uniting, to move in a dense mass up Parliament Street to the House of Commons, where the petition was to be presented by as many as could force their way in. In the terror of the moment, it was expected Government would not venture to make any resistance; and if they did, it was confidently hoped that the troops would not second them in the attempt. Once in possession of the hall, a republic was to have been proclaimed, as in Paris, when the mob broke into the legislative body, and a Provisional Government appointed. Deputies from all the Chartist associations in the kingdom were to be on the spot, besides all those from the metropolis and its vicinity in person; and it was confidently expected in all the manufacturing towns of the kingdom that the evening telegraph would bring intelligence of the overthrow of the Government.

30. In this eventful crisis, the conduct of Ministers was at once prudent and resolute, and they were admirably seconded by the spirit and courage of all the better classes in the metropolis.

Some days before, a proclamation was issued setting forth the Act 13 Charles II., which forbids "more than ten persons to repair to his Majesty, or either House of Parliament, upon pretence of presenting a petition, at any one time," and warning all persons "not to attend, or take part in, or be present at, any such assemblage or procession." At the same time it was announced that no opposition would be made to the constitutional right of meeting, nor to the proper presentation of the petition; but that any attempt to pass or return in an organised procession would be stopped by force of arms. As this was the point upon which it was expected the Chartists would insist, great preparations were made to resist it; and, under the personal direction and superintendence of the Duke of Wellington, they were at once of the most extensive and judicious description. Strong bodies of police were stationed at both ends of the bridges over the Thames, especially Blackfriars, Waterloo, and Westminster, by which it was expected a passage would be attempted from Kennington Common to the House of Commons; and in the immediate vicinity of the northern end of each, large military forces, with cannon, were stationed, concealed in the mean time in yards and houses, but ready to appear at a moment's warning, and entirely commanding, from the windows and roofs, the whole length of the bridges. Two regiments of the line were in reserve at Millbank Penitentiary; twelve hundred infantry at Deptford Dockyards; and thirty pieces of heavy field artillery were ready at the Tower, to be shipped instantly on board armed steamers lying at the quay, and conveyed to any part of the metropolis where they might be required. The Guards, horse and foot, were all under arms from three in the morning, stationed out of sight in Scotland Yard, the great area of the untenanted Rose Inn Yard, in Bridewell, at the Horse-Guards, Buckingham Palace, and other points of importance at the west end. The public offices in Parliament Street, Somerset House, and in the City, were

filled with musketeers; and the Bank of England, besides being strongly occupied by infantry, had all its windows closed by loopholed barricades and sandbags, and some pieces of light artillery placed on the roof. In addition to this, no less than 170,000 special constables were organised in different parts of the metropolis, under the guidance of the first in rank, and the highest in station, by whom they had been previously exercised. In one detachment, commanded by the Earl of Eglinton, appeared as a private a man bearing a name destined to future immortality, PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE. Many officers of rank hastened to the Horse-Guards to tender their services to their old chief on this crisis, among whom was the Marquess of Londonderry, who, though in infirm health and advanced years, was there at daybreak, to bring the aid of a chivalrous heart and experienced eye to the service of his country. The Duke was never absent from his post during either the preceding night or the whole day. The Queen, with the characteristic courage of her nature and race, was most anxious to have remained and faced the danger in person; but the Ministers justly thought the chance was too hazardous, and she was prevailed on, much against her will, to remove, with Prince Albert and their family, two days before the 10th, to Osborne House, in the Isle of Wight.

31. When the eventful day arrived, nothing remarkable was observed in the metropolis except an unusual stillness and vacancy in the streets. Not a soldier was to be seen; few policemen were visible; the gentlemen and better classes were all at their rallying-points, anxiously waiting orders to act. About ten the different processions, with banners and bands of music, began to appear in their march to Kennington Common. Six thousand in great pomp passed London Bridge; and seventeen hundred marched with the National Convention, *en grand tenue*, from its hall in John Street, Fitzroy Square, across Blackfriars Bridge, to the place of meeting. At

its head was a great car, with the leaders, Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones, in the front rank, and the whole Convention, with the reporters, in the same vehicle. Banners with appropriate Chartist devices followed, one bearing the singular words, "*And M. Guizot laughed immoderately.*" When they reached the Common, it appeared a solid mass of human heads, extending over its whole surface. The numbers were variously estimated at from 15,000 to 150,000. The most probable account was, that they were about 50,000. When the car stopped in the middle of the crowd, a police inspector, of gigantic figure, but a mild expression, made his way through the crowd, and, addressing Mr Feargus O'Connor and Mr McGrath, informed them that Mr Inspector Mayne wished to speak to them near the Horns Tavern. Thither they went, accordingly, preceded by the huge policeman, and they were informed by Mr Mayne that no hindrance would be given to the people meeting, and passing any resolutions they thought fit; but that any attempt to pass the bridges in procession, either going or on their return back, would be resisted. Mr O'Connor engaged that the meeting should occasion no breach of the peace, and gave his hand in pledge of his sincerity to the inspector. He then returned to the car, and informed the Convention of what had taken place. This check proved fatal to the whole enterprise. A violent altercation took place on the car—some insisting that they should return in procession, and force their way through; others, that they should yield obedience to the law, and present the petition by a few persons only. Ultimately good sense and a lingering feeling of duty prevailed, and it was agreed to send the petition quietly to the House of Commons, which was consigned to the humble conveyance of three cabs. The meeting then broke up in great disorder, but, to their honour be it spoken, without any violence or breach of the peace being attempted. Some small bodies endeavoured to force their way *en masse* over the bridges, but were

quickly repulsed by the dense masses of police, headed by stalwart steady men, who guarded their entrance. After a short struggle this was no longer contended for, and the police then allowed small bodies of not more than ten each to pass. Soon after three o'clock the great mass of the crowd had dispersed, and by seven everything was quiet in the vast metropolis.

32. In the provinces, on this eventful day, the Chartist leaders were anxiously waiting for intelligence from the capital before they commenced operations. In Glasgow, though little of importance occurred in event, much was inchoated of moment, as indicating, even more clearly than in the metropolis, what the real design of the Chartists had been. When daylight broke, the walls of the houses in that city were found to be covered by a treasonable placard, which had been extensively posted during the night, calling on the people, *on receipt of the news from London*, "to rise in their thousands and tens of thousands, and put an end to the vile government of the oligarchy, which had so long oppressed the country." At the same time, another placard was distributed to every soldier who was in the streets, and thrown in great numbers over the gate into the barrack-yard, offering a pension for life of £10, and four acres of ground, to every man who should leave his colours and join the forces of the insurgents. Not a man did so. So confident were the authors of these compositions, however, of the approaching success of the movement, that the printers' names were at both placards. They were immediately arrested by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, and committed for trial, on a charge of high treason and sedition. Great anxiety prevailed during the day in the city; scarcely any work was done; the streets were crowded by anxious groups, and the military, special constables, and police were at their posts, ready to act at a moment's warning, when at nine at night the telegraph brought the intelligence of the failure in London. This

instantly struck terror into the one party, as much as it diffused satisfaction amongst the other. The Sheriff announced the joyful intelligence, amidst loud cheers, at the Royal Exchange and the Athenæum, and all anxiety was immediately at an end. The persons committed were soon after liberated by direction of the Lord Advocate, on their own recognisances to keep the peace, Government having judged, and probably wisely, that the attempt at insurrection having been put down, it would be unwise to sully the victory by unnecessary severity, and that the best possible termination of rebellion is defeat without scaffolds.

33. The finishing-stroke was put to this grand Chartist demonstration, by the scrutiny which the petition underwent by order of the House of Commons. From that it appeared, that so far from having 5,706,000 names appended to it, as was asserted by Mr Feargus O'Connor, it had only 1,975,490; and a considerable proportion of them were evidently fabrications or impositions. Thus, Prince Albert's name, her Majesty's, Lord John Russell's, Sir R. Peel's, were found to be written down *several times*, and Colonel Sibthorpe's *twelve*, and the Duke of Wellington's *thirty times*. Great part of the apparent signatures turned out to be obscene words, cant phrases, or low ribaldry; and so far from weighing 5 tons as asserted, it weighed just 5 cwt. This discovery turned the whole thing into ridicule—the best possible termination for a serious political movement.\*

34. The bloodless and complete suppression of the Chartist insurrection excited an immense sensation on the

\* A curious confirmation of the extraordinary falsification of names which had taken place in the preparation of the Chartist petition, was about the same time obtained at Glasgow. The Sheriff there received information from two of the persons who had been engaged in its concoction, in addition to the real signatures obtained, that the way they proceeded about it in that city was this:—Six persons sat down, three on each side of a high mercantile desk. They were furnished with pens of various ages and degrees of softness, and several inkstands of different colours. Thus equipped, they proceeded to write down the names they found in several *old Directories*

Continent, the more especially as it occurred at a time when the thrones of Austria, Prussia, and many other states, were reeling under the shock produced by the French Revolution. It went far to restore the credit of representative institutions, which their repeated failures in France, Spain, Piedmont, Naples, and so many other countries, had seriously impaired. Queen Victoria had put down a formidable and organised attempt at revolution, without firing a shot, or shedding one drop of blood, either in the field or on the scaffold, relying almost entirely on the "unbought loyalty" of her subjects, at a time when the country was labouring under severe and unparalleled suffering. At that very moment, the great military monarchies on the Continent, afflicted with no such misfortunes, had sought protection in vain from their numerous and highly-disciplined armed bands. There was enough here to arrest the attention of the most inconsiderate, and rivet the thoughts of the most contemplative. It will for ever stand forth as one of the most honourable events in British—not the least memorable in the world's history. Whether it arose from the innate strength of representative institutions, when fully and long established, to withstand the severest internal shocks, or from the peculiar adaptation of such institutions to the Anglo-Saxon race and character, is a question upon which the world is as yet too young to authorise a decided opinion. But this much may at least be asserted, that even those most strongly impressed with the *ultimate* danger of recent changes to the fortunes of the country, must rejoice

which they had on the table, and when one wrote a name, he immediately handed over the paper to his fellow-labourer opposite, who wrote the next name with a different ink and different kind of pen, and thus, as six persons were engaged, no identity of handwriting was perceptible. The greatest difficulty, the informants said, was to get various names, as the signatures from Glasgow soon outstripped the Directories; and when this difficulty was experienced, they went out into the streets, *observed the signs, and wrote them down*, giving a different street to each name from the one where it really appeared.

that they had been brought about *before* this great trial of the strength of the constitution occurred, and admit their importance in bringing it through the crisis. Probably the most ardent admirer of representative government, and the most devout believer in the loyalty and stability of the British character, will hesitate to say that the result would have been the same if the Reform transports of 1832, and the organised agitation of 1845, had been run into the universal suffering of 1848, and been contemporaneous with the world-felt shock of the French Revolution.

35. Although every person of sense in the British empire and Europe saw that the Chartist insurrection had received its death-blow on the 10th of April, yet such was the obduracy and infatuation of the leaders, that they continued for some time longer a harassing though unavailing agitation in the metropolis. In the end of May, gatherings, to the number of 8000 and 10,000, assembled in Clerkenwell Green or Finsbury Square, almost every night, and began marching in military array through the streets as far as the Strand, Leicester and Trafalgar Squares, where they had rude encounters with large bodies of the police, by whom, though not without some difficulty, they were dispersed. At this period, the meetings in London in the close of the evening were so frequent that a constant discharge of firearms was heard, not from the military, but the marching crowds, to prolong the excitement; a state of things which kept the capital in constant alarm, from an apprehension that it arose, although it was not the case, from the military. The Chartists, as often occurs, mistook the leniency of Government for timidity; they thought their agitation might be continued for ever without legal obstruction or punishment. At length the patience of Ministers was worn out, and deeming the public mind sufficiently prepared to render convictions probable, several arrests took place, particularly of Ernest John Jones, Fusseli, J. Williams, A. Sharpe, and

T. Vernon. They were found guilty of sedition, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. At the same time, the meetings, whenever attempted, were dispersed by the police. The final blow, however, was struck in London when Cuffey and twenty-five of the most desperate Chartist leaders were, on the 13th August, captured by 300 armed police in the Angel Tavern, Blackfriars, in whose possession large quantities of daggers, spears, swords, pistols, and ball-cartridges were found. Their trials came on soon after, and then the magnitude and extent of the conspiracy were fully revealed. It appeared that they had established a "war committee," and intended to barricade the streets, plunder the shops, set fire to St Paul's, and rouse the whole population of the metropolis, whom they expected to join them in overturning the Government. They were all convicted, and the leaders transported for life; the inferior culprits were sentenced to various penalties, varying from fourteen years' transportation to six months' imprisonment; while many were allowed to escape on entering into their own recognisances to keep the peace.

36. It is a curious circumstance, and fortunate for Great Britain, that although the Irish, for above half a century, have been always disposed to, and sometimes actually engaged in, revolt, they have never thought of combining their movements with those of the discontented on this side of the Channel. It would seem that the antipathy of the Celt to the Saxon is so strong that they will not combine with him even for objects of common interest. So it proved on the present occasion. Hardly were the Chartist disturbances put down in Great Britain than it was rumoured that a rebellion, however desperate its hopes, was in preparation in Ireland. The *Nation* and *Irish Felon*, the chief organs of the revolutionists in that country, early in July, upon the conviction of John Mitchell, a noted leader in Dublin, threw off the mask, and openly counselled immediate insurrection. In these circumstances,



the measures of Government were prompt and decided, and such as, when supported by a people generally loyal, seldom fail of success. The Duke of Wellington, with his usual foresight, had been long making preparations for a serious conflict. With this view he had withdrawn the troops from a number of the weak or distant police and military stations, and thereby strengthened the garrisons of those more important points which it had been deemed advisable to defend. They had been loopholed in every direction, and strongly barricaded in the entrances, so as to be capable of resisting any attack by rebels without artillery. Large bodies of soldiers were marched into the counties in the south and west, where the rising was expected, and several war-steamers, under Sir Charles Napier, cruised round the south coast, ready to carry succour to any point which might be menaced. Limerick was overawed by the Rhadamanthus with her guns enfilading the principal streets, and Cork by a flotilla of armed steamers. On the 26th July the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, to be hereafter noticed, arrived in Dublin, and warrants were immediately despatched for the arrest of Mr Smith O'Brien, Mr Meagher, and a dozen other club leaders. At the same time a proclamation was issued, declaring the clubs illegal, and requiring them forthwith to dissolve; the most rigid scrutiny took place of the persons licensed to bear arms; and the counties of Kerry, Galway, Wexford, Carlow, Queen's, Kildare, Lowth, Westmeath, Cavan, and great numbers of baronies in other counties, were proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant, under the Crime and Outrage Act, with a view to a general disarmament of the inhabitants. Shortly after a proclamation was issued, offering £500 for the apprehension of Smith O'Brien, and £300 for that of either Meagher, Dillon, or Dohony.

37. Those decisive measures brought matters to a crisis. The editor of the *Nation* fled from Dublin, numerous arrests took place, and the insurgents in the south openly assembled in arms,

and were reviewed near Ballingarry by Mr S. O'Brien. It was the intention of Government to have allowed the rebels to assemble in considerable numbers without molestation, and meanwhile collect the military on all sides, who, by a converging movement, might surround them, and terminate the contest in a day, it was hoped, with little bloodshed. The troops, fifteen hundred in number, were already in motion, under the experienced guidance of General Macdonald, to effect this object, when an accidental circumstance caused the whole designs of the conspirators to fail, and turned them into ridicule. Having collected some thousand insurgents, O'Brien, after vain attempts to get some of the police, who bravely refused to surrender their arms, to join his party, advanced on the 28th July towards Ballingarry. On their way they met a party of the constabulary fifty strong, under Inspector Trant, who had marched out to meet them. Finding himself surrounded by a large body of insurgents, Trant retreated to a slated house occupied by one Widow Cormack, where he resolved, with his brave followers, to defend himself to the last extremity. The house was soon surrounded by the rebels—above two thousand strong—and O'Brien in vain tried to induce the commander to surrender and join his force to those of the insurgents. Finding him proof alike against promises and threats, he had recourse to force of arms; but then the superiority of the police—as fine and steady a body of men as any in the world—was at once apparent. Before the firing had lasted many minutes, two of the insurgents were shot dead, and three wounded in the cabbage-garden round the house, while none of the garrison were injured. Disconcerted by this untoward result, and still more by the proved fidelity of the armed police, upon whose defection he mainly relied, O'Brien drew off his forces, and fell back in deep dejection. He himself soon after fled, and Inspector Cox having come up next day to the support of Trant with a larger police force,

the insurgents dispersed. The misguided leader was arrested some days after at Thurles in disguise when at the railway station, setting out for Limerick, and fully committed.

38. His trial, along with M'Mannus, Orchard, Tighe, and O'Donnell, took place in the end of September, and was conducted with the greatest temper and ability, both at the bar and on the bench. Chief-Justice Doherty presided; the Attorney-General led the prosecution; and Mr Whiteside lent the aid of his great talents and eloquence to his old political antagonist. Never was a judicial proceeding conducted with more impartiality and decorum, and never was guilt more clearly brought home to the accused. A letter from his associate Duffy to O'Brien, found on the latter's person, clearly revealed the extent and dangerous nature of the conspiracy, and the influence which the revolution in France and the example of Lafayette had had in producing it, to which the flattery of the writer compared his present position.\* The attack on Widow Cormack's house,

\* "MY DEAR SIR,—I am glad to learn that you are about to commence a series of meetings in Munster. There is no half-way house for you. You will be the head of the movement, loyally obeyed, and the revolution will be conducted with order and clemency; or the mere anarchists will prevail with the people, and *our revolution will be a bloody chaos. You have at present Lafayette's place, so graphically painted by Lamartine, and, I believe, have fallen into Lafayette's error*—that of not using it to all its extent, and in all its resources. I am perfectly well aware that you don't desire to lead or influence others; but I believe with Lamartine, that that feeling, which is a high personal and civic virtue, is a vice in revolutions. One might as well, I think, not want to influence a man who was going to walk on thawing ice, or to cross a fordless river, as not to desire to keep men right in a political struggle, and to do it with might and main. If I were Smith O'Brien, I would strike out in my own mind, or with such counsel as I valued, *a definite course for the revolution*, and labour incessantly to develop it in that way. For example, your project of obtaining signatures to the roll of the *National Guard*, and when a sufficient number were produced, and not sooner, *calling the Council of Three Hundred*, was one I entirely relied upon; but it has been permitted to fall into disuse, and would scarcely be revived now. The clubs, however, might take the place of the *National Guard*, and

under the immediate direction of O'Brien, was proved beyond dispute, as well as the unsuccessful attempts made to seduce the police from their allegiance. After a long trial, in which everything that legal ability and eloquence could suggest was exhausted in his defence, he was found guilty, along with the whole of his fellow-prisoners, though they were all recommended to mercy; and they all, along with Meagher, who was tried at Dublin by Chief-Justice Blackburne, were capitally convicted. Their conduct on receiving sentence was at once courageous and dignified, and only awakened the most poignant regret that men capable, at such a moment, of uttering such sentiments, should have been so far misled by patriotic and generous feelings as to have engaged in an enterprise which, if successful, could have led only to an aggravation of the misery of their country, and which was the less to be forgiven, that at the very moment when they were uttered, five hundred thousand Irishmen, with their families, were daily fed by British bounty.†

the proposal in your letter on ——— of a definite number of clubs being formed, would just suit as well if it were vigorously and systematically carried out, each day adding an item to it, and all the men we could influence employed upon it.

(Signed) "C. G. DUFFY."

—Ann. Reg. 1848, 396, 397—*State Trials*.

† O'Brien, on being asked whether he had any reason to state why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, said with a loud and firm voice: "My lords, it was not my intention to have entered into any vindication of my conduct, however much I might have desired to have availed myself of this opportunity of doing so. I am perfectly satisfied with the consciousness that I have performed my duty to my country—that I have only done that which, in my opinion, it was the duty of every Irishman to have done. And I am now prepared to abide the consequence of having performed my duty to my native land. Proceed with your sentence."

Meagher said: "This sentence, my lords, which you are about to pronounce, will be remembered by my countrymen as the severe and solemn attestation of my rectitude and truth. With my country I leave my memory, my sentiments, my acts, proudly feeling that they require no vindication from me this day. On this spot, where the shadows of death surround me, and from which I see my early grave in an unconsecrated soil is

The sentence of death was wisely and humanely afterwards commuted into transportation for life; and after a residence abroad of eight years, they were all, excepting those who had broken their parole, restored to their country by the general amnesty proclaimed on the glorious termination of the Russian war. Thus was this formidable convulsion, which, spreading

ready to receive me—even here the hope which beckoned me on to embark upon the perilous sea upon which I have been wrecked, still consoles, animates, enraptures me. I do not despair of my old country; I do not despair of her peace, her liberty, her glory. To lift up this isle, to make her a benefactor to humanity instead of being what she is—the meanest beggar in the world—to restore her ancient constitution and her native powers,—this has been my ambition, and this has been my crime. Judged thus, the treason of which I have been convicted loses all guilt, has been sanctified as a duty, and will be ennobled as a sacrifice. To my country I offer the only sacrifice I can now give—the life of a young heart, and with it the hopes, the honours, the endearments, of a happy and an honourable home. Pronounce then, my lords, the sentence the law directs, and I shall be prepared to hear it, and, I trust, to meet its execution, and to appear with a light heart before a higher tribunal.”

M<sup>r</sup>Manus said: “Standing in this dock, and about to ascend the scaffold, it may be to-morrow, I wish to put this on record, that in no part of my proceedings have I been actuated by animosity against Englishmen, among whom I have spent some of the happiest days of my life, and of the most prosperous. In nothing I have done have I been influenced by enmity to Englishmen individually, whatever I may have felt of the injustice of English rule in this island. It is not for having loved England less, but for having loved Ireland more, that I now stand before you.”—*Irish State Trials*, 1848; *Ann. Reg.* 1848, 449, 470, 472—*State Trials*.

These are noble thoughts, couched in noble language, which will speak to the hearts of the right-hearted and the generous in every future age. They only make us the more regret, that men actuated by such elevated sentiments should be so far misled by national or political passion as to pursue the course which experience has proved was best calculated to render impossible the consummation they so ardently desired and eloquently expressed. But that only renders it the more the object of devout thankfulness that the prevalence of humane and just ideas has now so far modified the barbarity of former times as to have almost abolished practically the punishment of death in political offences—a step, it is to be hoped, to the really just rule of treating prisoners, in civil conflicts, on the same footing as those taken in the military conflict of nations

from France, overturned the monarchies of Austria and Prussia, and shook to its foundations every government in Europe, suppressed in Great Britain without shedding one drop of blood on the scaffold.

39. Such was the terrible monetary crisis of 1847 in Great Britain—the most disastrous and widespread of which there is any record in the annals of mankind. Its effects, not merely in the British empire, but in both hemispheres, have been in the highest degree important, and in no instance has the agency of supreme wisdom in educing lasting good out of transitory evil been more conspicuous. Beyond all question, it was mainly instrumental in bringing to a crisis the general discontent in France, and overturning the corrupt government of Louis Philippe. The suspension of credit, want of employment, and stagnation of industry among the workmen of Paris, which proved fatal to the Orleans dynasty, was in a great degree owing to the Bank Charter Act of London. It perpetuated through a course of years the misery first induced by the famine in Ireland; and gave rise to the prodigious and long-continued exodus of the Irish people, which has ended in transferring two millions of Celts from the shores of the Emerald Isle to the Transatlantic wilds. It has given comparative security and unanimity to the British empire, by extracting the thorn which had so long festered in its side, implanted by Irish suffering and envenomed by sacerdotal ambition. It has led to the overthrow of the monarchies of Austria and Prussia, and, by bringing down the reserve of legitimacy in the shape of the Russian battalions to the Hungarian plains, it subverted for a time the balance of power in Europe, impelled Nicholas into the career of Oriental ambition, and ultimately, as a matter of necessity, arranged the forces of the West against those of the East on the shores of the Crimea. Finally, it produced in the far West and South-east effects still more lasting and important; for

by the money pressure it produced in America, it forced the United States into foreign aggression as the means of paying their domestic debts, transferred California from the lazy hands of the Spaniards, by whom its treasures had lain undiscovered for three hundred years, into the active grasp of the Anglo-Saxons, who at once discovered them; revealed to British enterprise, sent into exile by domestic suffering, the hidden treasures of Australia; and gave a permanent and beneficial impulse to the industry of the whole world, by providing a currency adequate to its increasing numbers and transactions in the treasures it brought to light in both hemispheres.

40. If the ultimate effects of this great convulsion have been thus widespread and momentous, not less important is the lesson it has taught the British people as to the results of the new system on which they had adventured, and which in the very outset had produced such astonishing consequences. The years 1847 and 1848 are peculiarly worthy of attention to the student of British history, for they brought to light the dreadful perils of the combination of *Free Trade with a Fettered Currency* in aggravating distress, as the years 1845 and 1846 had demonstrated the dangers of the monetary system in *inflaming speculation*. It is doubtful which is in the end the most perilous, or impels a nation most certainly to the brink of ruin. The mode in which these double consecutive results have taken place is now perfectly apparent, and they both flow from one cause—viz., the establishment of a currency based entirely upon the retention of gold, expanding with the influx of the precious metals and shrinking with their exodus, coupled with a commercial system which rendered that retention impossible. This was the root of the evil; the Irish famine was an accidental circumstance, which brought the danger earlier to light, and in a more fearful form, than would otherwise have occurred, but was by no means instrumental in producing it.

41. That a failure to the extent of

nearly a half in the staple food of a people numbering eight millions must of itself produce a frightful amount of suffering among the classes affected by it, is sufficiently apparent; and Sir R. Peel's monetary system is nowise chargeable with that distress. But it is chargeable, and exclusively so, with the *communication of the distress from the Irish peasantry to the commercial classes of Great Britain*, and the general collapse of credit which terminated in the suspension of the Bank Charter Act in October 1847. There is a very obvious connection between the failure of a staple kind of food and the distress, or even famine, of the people who live on it; but there is no natural connection between such failure and a monetary crisis in a neighbouring country, accompanied with general ruin to the trading classes, and commercial embarrassment and bankruptcy for a course of years. The agricultural produce destroyed by the potato-rot in Ireland was said to be worth £16,000,000—call it £20,000,000 in the whole empire, which is probably above the mark. That is only a *fifteenth* part of the entire agricultural produce of the empire, estimated at that period at £300,000,000—a much less deficiency, *upon the whole*, than an ordinary bad harvest produces, attended with no extraordinary results. Whatever severity of local distress, therefore, such a deficiency might produce, it cannot be considered as having been, if it had stood alone, the cause of the dreadful *commercial* suffering in Great Britain. On the contrary, by raising the prices of subsistence and stimulating commerce, it should rather have tended to augment mercantile profits, and enhance mercantile enterprise in the neighbouring island. But the moment a monetary system is established, on a basis which renders the currency and advances by bankers exclusively dependent on the gold in the Bank's coffers, any adventitious circumstance which occasions an unusual drain upon those coffers, which a great importation of food invariably does, produces a contraction of advances, a rise of in-

terest, a destruction of credit, from which it requires a long course of years for any nation, even the most prosperous, to recover.

42. But this is not all. The combination of Free Trade with a gold-dependent currency, not only necessarily renders any adventitious cause which occasions a great export of the precious metals, the forerunner of commercial embarrassment and ruin, but it perpetually keeps the nation on the verge of such a catastrophe. It augments fearfully the chance of its occurrence, more especially in an old, opulent, and luxurious state. As such a community can bring into the market the fruits of the accumulated industry of several centuries, while the poor states from which it purchases subsistence can only bring the fruits of two or three years, the *means of consumption of the one infinitely*

*exceed those of the other.* Thence the trade between them necessarily runs into a huge excess of imports over exports, the balance of which, of course, must be paid in cash. This, accordingly, has taken place in the most remarkable manner in the trade of Great Britain with all the nations from whence she imports largely rude produce, and which has terminated in a settled balance, on paper, of imports over exports of from £30,000,000 to £40,000,000 a year—great part of which requires to be discharged in specie.\* This has been the case in an especial manner with China and India, to the last of which countries alone the export of the precious metals from England in 1857 was £13,573,434.†

43. Great as this balance is, it would be of comparatively little importance if the nation possessed a currency, and could maintain its credit,

\* In proof of this, it is sufficient to refer to the comparative imports and exports of Great Britain since 1854, during which period, as the *real* value of the imports as well as the exports, and not, as formerly, their official value, has been taken, the comparison can be made and the balance struck with accuracy, subject to the limitation explained at volume v. page 401, chap. xli. sect. 6, note.

Years.	Imports— Real Value.	Exports—Real Value.		Total British, Colonial, and Foreign.	Balance against Great Britain.	Gold and Silver Exported.
		British and Irish.	Colonial and Foreign.			
1854	£ 152,389,053	£ 97,184,726	£ 18,636,366	£ 115,821,092	£ 36,567,961	£ 22,586,568
1856	172,544,154	115,826,948	23,393,405	139,220,353	33,323,801	24,851,797
1860	210,530,873	135,891,227	28,630,124	164,521,351	46,009,522	25,534,768
1863	248,980,942	146,489,768	49,485,005	195,974,773	53,006,169	26,544,040

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. XI., pp. 10, 62; and *ante*, vol. v. p. 401.

When the magnitude of the balance of from twenty to thirty millions a-year requiring to be paid in cash is considered, it will cease to be a matter of surprise that during the year 1856 the bullion in the Bank never exceeded £11,000,000, seldom £10,000,000, and that bank discounts were almost constantly at 6 or 7 per cent. Great as the supplies were, exceeding £30,000,000 annually, then obtained from the gold regions, they were frequently unable to supply the drain required to pay this adverse balance of trade, or avert the commercial distress which, under our present monetary system, it necessarily induced. The entire mercantile body were, during the year 1856, paying an extra property-tax of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on THEIR ENDANGERED CAPITAL, as their contribution toward the maintenance of the existing Bank Charter Act.

† "Although India abounds in other valuable exportable produce, yet, having no mines of her own, she has always been dependent upon the West for her supply of the precious metals, a portion reaching her through China, with which she has what is called a favourable balance of trade. In 1855-56 her exports amounted to £23,039,268, and her imports in goods to £13,447,027, while she received in the same year from Great Britain and the Mediterranean ports alone, £9,340,664 in specie, of which all except £37,148 was in silver. In 1857, besides what she received from China, the shipments to India from Great Britain and the Mediterranean ports amounted to £226,750 in gold, and to the enormous sum of £13,246,684 in silver. This exceeded by nearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling the estimated produce of the American silver mines in the same year; and but for the substitution of gold for silver in the currency of France, which was then in active progress, it could not have been forthcoming."—INDOPHILUS, in *Times* of Feb. 27, 1858.

independent of the holding of its gold. But under a system where credit is rendered entirely dependent on such retention, and the greatest possible amount of disposable capital cannot otherwise maintain it, a course of trade which causes twenty or thirty millions of specie, or bills payable in specie, annually to leave the country to make up the balance of trade with foreign states, must keep it constantly on the verge of disaster. No amount of prudence or foresight on the part of those engaged in commerce can prevent the recurrence of the most serious calamities, because they may any moment be induced by causes which they can neither foresee nor prevent. Three weeks' rain in Great Britain in August, a cry for gold to ruin the banks in the United States, great railway undertakings abroad, a revolution in France, a war on the Continent, any considerable increase in the export of metallic treasures to the East—anything, in short, which causes an unusual drain of the precious metals in London—must at once induce a monetary crisis in the British Islands, suspend advances, and ruin all traders and persons engaged in business who do not enjoy the highest credit, or possess the advantage of large realised capital.\* The nation, under such a system, is like a person walking in the dark on the edge of a precipice; any false step or external blast may at once precipitate him into the abyss.

44. A great increase in the supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe, such as has occurred since

1852, from the discovery of the rich gold-fields of California and Australia, which raised the annual produce of the mines from eight or ten to from thirty to thirty-six millions a-year, may for a time avert, but it cannot permanently remove, this danger. When gold is every week pouring in immense quantities into the vaults of the Bank of England, and the drain arising from the balance of trade is met by a never-ceasing influx from the gold regions, credit may for a considerable period be maintained, and commerce be prosperous, because a sufficient stock of gold may be retained notwithstanding that drain. But it is obvious that this auspicious state of things cannot be of long endurance, and that ere long the old risk must reappear, possibly under still more threatening circumstances. The reason is obvious. The rise of prices consequent on such an increased influx of the precious metals is, or must soon become, *universal over the world*; consequently the issue of the precious metals to pay the balance of trade must be augmented *in as great a proportion as the influx is increased*. What will it avail the nation that the supply of gold and silver to the Bank of England is increased in a year from ten to thirty millions, if as fast as it flows in it is drawn out to meet the increased balance of trade arising from the enhanced price of every species of imported commodity? Accordingly, in November 1856, the stock of gold in both departments of the Bank of England was reduced to £9,540,000, interest rose to 7 per cent, credit was al-

\* Exports of the United Kingdom to India (including Ceylon and Singapore) and China, and Imports from India and China to the United Kingdom, for the under-mentioned years:—

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Excess of Imports.	Silver Exported, via Egypt, to India & China
	To India.	To China.	Total.	From India.	From China.	Total.		
1854	10,574,632	1,027,116	11,601,748	12,973,613	9,125,040	22,098,653	10,496,910	3,254,568
1855	11,370,671	1,303,096	12,674,667	14,758,721	8,746,590	23,505,311	10,830,644	5,630,949
1856	12,327,195	2,286,734	14,613,929	19,373,524	9,421,648	28,795,172	14,181,243	10,929,094
1857	13,662,742	2,505,174	16,167,916	21,094,301	11,448,639	33,542,940	17,373,029	17,295,432
1858	18,944,675	2,965,569	21,910,244	17,107,185	7,043,089	24,450,274	2,540,030	5,088,850
1862	17,046,805	3,237,336	20,284,141	38,997,628	12,137,095	51,134,721	30,850,580	10,710,209

—M'CULLOCH'S *Commercial Dictionary*, edition 1860, p. 1051; *Statistical Abstract*, No. XI, pp. 12, 13, 61.

most suspended, and a suspension of the Bank Charter Act in the next year rendered indispensable. And all that in the face of an annual influx of the precious metals to the extent of between thirty to thirty-seven millions a-year;\* and an affluence of capital in the British Islands unequalled in the history of the world.†

45. It is often said that this great export of the precious metals, which is the invariable result of Free Trade, is of no consequence, because the gold or silver, being valuable commodities, could not have come to this country but in exchange for something of equal value, and therefore a great import of gold implies a proportionally great export of manufactures to purchase it. But the answer to this is threefold and decisive. First, it is by its derangement of a currency, resting on the retention of the precious metals, that this exportation to any great extent becomes so serious a matter. If the

nation possessed a currency adequate to its necessities, and yet duly limited, *independent of gold*, that metal might all go away without inducing a greater evil than the efflux of lead or iron. The peril of a great export of gold to pay an adverse balance of trade, therefore, is nowise lessened, even though the whole of it had come in to pay the price of manufactures exported. In the next place, great part of the gold which finds its way to the Bank of England is not brought to the British shores in payment of any manufactures or British produce whatever, but is simply a remittance of wealth made in the gold regions, or of commercial fortunes realised there, from the impulse given to every species of industry by the gold discoveries. These are remitted home or brought by the fortunate holders without any corresponding export of British manufactures paid, as money forming part of rents or surplus wealth is remitted from

\* BULLION AND SPECIE IMPORTED AND EXPORTED FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	Imported.	Exported.	Excess of Imports.	Excess of Exports.
1859	£37,070,156	£35,688,803	£1,381,353	....
1860	22,978,196	25,534,768	....	£2,556,572
1861	18,747,045	20,811,648	....	2,064,603
1862	31,656,476	29,326,191	2,330,285	....
1863	30,030,794	26,544,040	3,486,754	....

—Statistical Abstract, No. XI., pp. 59, 62.

† This state of things has extorted the following just observations from the ablest organ of the united bullion and Free-trade systems: "A uniform price of 7 per cent for the use of money is a state of things which, though happily unintelligible to many of our readers, is equivalent in its effects to a great national disaster. Famine, pest, earthquake, floods, conflagrations, and shipwreck, inflict local or personal injury. A very high rate of interest in a country where it is unusual, will produce a *greater amount of inconvenience than any one of them*. It affects the whole atmosphere of trade, and particularly of that which is not strictly trade, but of a more speculative character, such as transactions in funds and shares.

"The particular hardship just now—not, however, for the first time alleged—is, that there is *no speculation of an unusual character*; scarcely a railway, or a loan, or any enterprise, except now and then the proposition of a branch railway, very reasonable in its object and modest in its demands. There are very few failures, and these are such as either do not much affect the mercantile world, or are only attended with temporary inconvenience. Nevertheless, good mercantile houses find they have to pay for usual accommodation such rates as *devour all their profits*. It used to be thought a divine retribution that in one way or another the gold of America passed through Spain with marvellous rapidity, in spite of the laws to arrest its progress. We find the same in our case. *Ecce signum*. It is assumed as a matter of course that the £700,000 expected by the James Baines is only to touch us on its way to France. Again, we are *importing corn largely, and at a high price*. This must be paid for, and doubtless a good deal is paid for *in gold*. These are considerations for those who profess themselves surprised at the present excessive demand for money, and insufficient supply, in the face of our *immense colonial importation*, and a sort of pause from the speculations of the last dozen years. Happily we have seen the worst of them all. The war is over, the diggings are well under way, and we have done our part in the affair, and year by year our corn importation is settling into a regular trade."—*Times*, Nov. 15, 1856.

Scotland or Ireland to London to be spent. In the third place, what is most material of all, the import and export of gold, or any other article of import, differs in this vital respect from the export of native produce or manufactures, that a *double* import takes place, but only a *single* export of the produce of *British industry*. If £5,000,000 worth of English manufactures are sent to America or Australia, to buy an equal amount of gold, there is an equal balance of imports and exports. But if the £5,000,000 worth of gold is immediately exported to buy foreign grain, the imports are £10,000,000, while the exports of *British produce* are only £5,000,000. This would be immaterial if the gold was a mere article of commerce, like sugar or molasses; but it becomes very different when, in addition to that, it is, under the present system, the sole foundation of currency and credit, on the abstraction of which both fall to the ground.

46. There is another consideration of the very highest importance connected with this matter of a great influx of gold from the gold regions into the British Islands, especially when a great import of foreign goods is at the same time going on. It is this: when gold in great quantities flows into the rich state, either from its own colonies or foreign countries, it necessarily becomes *cheap, because it is plentiful*, and of course all other commodities become comparatively dear. But this state of things cannot long continue; it is speedily corrected by the efflux of gold to, and imports of commodities from, poorer states, in which the former is more valuable, because it is more scarce—the latter cheaper, because labour is less highly paid. Thus the constant tendency of commerce, in such an old and commercial state, is to run into an *efflux of gold, and influx of commodities*. The country which the gold first reaches becomes a mere siphon, by which it is conducted to foreign states. No state of traffic can be conceived more perilous, especially when currency and credit are rendered dependent on the reten-

tion of the precious metals; for the first keeps credit constantly on the verge of paralysis, the last industry, under the weight of irresistible foreign competition. Adam Smith, long ago, stated the low price of gold in Spain, and its constant tendency to leave the country in consequence, arising from the possession of the gold regions, which all the severity of the laws could not prevent, as the main cause of the decline of old Spain. And whoever studies with attention the history of this country, since the gold discoveries came into operation in 1852, will have too much reason to fear that the same lasting and insurmountable difficulty, as long as the currency is based on gold, is beginning to affect its fortunes.

47. Sensible of the truth of these facts, but anxious to avoid the inferences deducible from them, the supporters of the bullion system affirm that the scarcity of money and rise of interest which is now periodically, and at short intervals, felt as so severe a scourge by the commercial and industrial interest of Great Britain, is not owing to the want of gold, but the *want of capital*; that the nation is at times engaged in a desperate struggle for money with foreign nations, which require it for undertakings of their own; and that it is this which so often runs interest up to 7 or 10 per cent. A very little consideration, however, must convince every dispassionate observer that this view is entirely erroneous, and that it is not capital, but currency, which is wanting when interest is thus enhanced. The panic was stopped in 1825, and interest soon brought down, by the discovery of £2,000,000 of old notes in a chest, and the issue of £8,000,000 additional notes by the Bank of England; in 1848, by a letter from Lord John Russell suspending the Bank Charter Act, which in three months brought it down to 4 per cent; in 1856, by the arrival of the James Baines and the Lightning, with £1,300,000 in specie, about half of which only remained in the vaults of the Bank. In all these cases, *no*



addition was made to the capital of the country by the change which stopped the panic and lowered the interest, but an inconsiderable addition was only made to the *circulating medium*, which at once had that effect. On the contrary, the national capital was in all these cases *seriously diminished* before the rate of interest fell, by the fall of prices which the abstraction of the currency occasioned, and the vast destruction of capital which in consequence took place, but, nevertheless, interest was at once reduced by the addition of a few millions to the circulating medium. Under the present system, capital to the amount of £200,000,000 may be, and often is, waiting in London ready to be advanced at 3 or 3½ per cent, when, nevertheless, it is all locked up like a fertilising stream by frost, solely by the abstraction of two or three millions of gold from the banks, in whose notes the payments to the borrowers are to be made.

48. The Free Trade and monetary systems of Sir R. Peel, therefore, are directly chargeable with the extreme severity of the commercial and monetary crises of 1847 and 1848, because the first established a state of commerce in which the imports necessarily so largely preponderated over the exports that any considerable addition to the former, in the shape of commodities, requiring to be paid for in specie, occasioned a great drain of the precious metals, while the latter rendered unavoidable the destruction of credit and ruin of industry, *from the effects of that very drain* on those metallic treasures. Free Trade alone would never have produced these calamitous results, if unconnected with a monetary system resting on the retention of gold; it would merely have produced a growing balance of imports over exports, which in the end might have proved detrimental to native industry, and put a stop to national progress. But when, simultaneously with the removal of all restrictions on the importation of foreign agricultural produce, there was established a system which ren-

dered the currency and credit of the nation entirely dependent on the stock of gold and silver in the Bank of England, which a bad harvest at home, or extraordinary demand for specie abroad, might at any time entirely exhaust, the *united system* rendered certain the frequent and periodical recurrence of the most appalling calamities. Such, accordingly, immediately ensued on the first failure of crop after 1846; and the experience of the years 1856 and 1857 has abundantly proved, that not all the gold of Australia and California can prevent it recurring on the first considerable drain of the precious metals.\*

49. Sir R. Peel's monetary measure proceeded on the principle that the distress which had so frequently overwhelmed the country in the last twenty years was mainly owing to the *over-trading* encouraged by ex-

\* Interest is now (17th Nov. 1856) at 7 per cent; the stock of gold in the Bank of England is only £9,530,000, notwithstanding the immense supplies, not less than £30,000,000, annually received from California and Australia. The entire absorption of this vast importation of the precious metals is in part owing to the steady drain of £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 annually to India and China. But it is, in a great degree, to be ascribed also to the vast export of gold to *pay for grain* imported under the new system, which in the year 1855, though a year of war and a fine harvest, cost the nation £17,500,000, the greater part of which was *paid in specie*, for the nations from whom we imported it would take nothing else.

NOTE.—November 13, 1857. The paragraph in the text, and preceding note, were written on 6th November 1856. While this sheet was going through the press, the *Times* of November 12, 1857, contained these announcements:—

1. Bank Charter suspended.
2. Interest in London, 10 per cent.
3. „ in Hamburg, 10 per cent.
4. „ in Paris, 8½ per cent.
5. „ in New York 25 per cent.
6. Suspension of cash payments general by all banks in the United States.
7. Two banks stopped in Glasgow, and one in Liverpool, and a great bill panic in London.
8. Commercial credit and transactions almost suspended in the country.
9. Bullion in the Bank, £7,170,000.
10. Reserve notes in the Bank, £975,000.
11. Bank liabilities, £40,875,000.

How soon has the prediction in the text been verified!

cessive issues of paper, and that the only way to check it, and at the same time to maintain the currency of the country upon a proper basis, was to compel the Bank to buy all the gold which might be brought to it, at a fixed price, and at the same time put it under such restrictions as should compel it to contract its issues as soon as the exchange became adverse, and a drain upon its metallic treasures appeared likely to set in. Having done this, he thought both over-speculation at one time, and a serious drain of gold at another, would be effectually prevented. He said to the Bank virtually: "I have laid you in irons: do your worst." The object was praiseworthy, and such as cannot too seriously arrest the attention of every statesman who has the good of his country at heart. Unfortunately, the means he adopted to accomplish this object, so far from effecting it, had the directly opposite consequence, and have contributed more than anything else to the aggravation of the very evils against which they were intended to guard.

50. This is now decisively demonstrated by experience. So far from the Act of 1844 having been followed by an equable and self-regulated currency, and speculation leading to disaster having been checked, neither were ever so frequent as they have been since his Act came into operation. From 1784 to 1844, interest had never varied more than from 4 to 5 per cent, with the exception of a short time in 1838, when it was at 6 per cent. But during the twelve years which elapsed from 1844 to 1856, its variations have been so excessive as to defeat all mercantile foresight, and, on repeated occasions, involve whole innocent classes in hopeless ruin. During that short period, there have been no less than *fifty* changes of the rate of discount, which has varied from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 per cent. It is hard to say whether its excessively low rate at one time, or its ruinous height at another, have proved most prejudicial. In 1845 and 1846, the rate was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 per cent, and it has frequently been even lower

since that time, especially in 1852 and 1853, in the first of which years it was at  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , and the paper of the Bank of England in circulation rose in December to £24,000,000—of the whole empire to £39,000,000. The consequence was, the excessive and inordinate speculation and undertakings of those years. In November 1847, the rate of discount was at 8 per cent, and at 7 per cent for a month, as it was in April and November 1856, and in November 1857 it rose to the unprecedented figure of 10 per cent. Thence the grievous contraction of credit and ruin of undertakings in those disastrous years, especially the first and the last. The low rate of interest at one time plunged the nation into a host of undertakings, which the sudden raising of it, and contraction of credit at another, wholly disabled it from completing. And all this ensued from no fault on the part of the speculators, but simply from the operation of the monetary laws, which rendered currency and credit dependent on the retention of gold, which, under the Free-trade system, at the same time introduced, by the changes of foreign commerce could not by possibility be hindered from regorging at one time, and being suddenly drawn off at another.

51. The way in which the Act of 1844 inflamed speculation when times were prosperous, and the precious metals flowed in in abundance, was this: Being obliged by law to take all the gold presented to it at any time, and pay for it in silver, or its own notes, at the rate of £3, 17s.  $10\frac{1}{2}$ d., *whatever its market value was at the time*, it necessarily followed that the Bank was gorged with gold at one time, when the market price was below that sum, and stripped of it at another, when it was above it. This accordingly ensued in a few years after the passing of the Act. In August 1846, the gold in the Bank had reached the then unprecedented sum of £16,360,000; in October 1847, it was down at £8,312,000; and in December 1852 it was as high as £21,367,000. In the first period, the

Bank directors being in advance for gold to the extent of sixteen millions sterling, had no alternative but to *push their business to the uttermost*, in order to indemnify themselves for the interest of the enormous outlay required by the mass of gold forced upon them. Thence the lowering of interest on discounts to 2 and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, the issue of £23,000,000 in notes, and the enormous speculation in railways and other undertakings consequent on such a state of things. Thence also the sudden contraction of credit, rise of interest to 8 per cent, and reducing of the Bank notes in circulation, the capital and wants of the country remaining the same, to £18,600,000 in 1847; and the more recent rise of discount to 10 per cent in 1857! The Bank Charter Act should be entitled "*An Act for the better securing the inflammation of speculation in periods of prosperity, and the entire destruction of credit in periods of adversity.*" \*

52. These evils are so pressing, and so certain of recurrence at stated periods, and after brief intervals, in any considerable mercantile community, that there can be little doubt that they will in the end force on their own cure, in spite of all the efforts of the great capitalists to perpetuate a state of things so favourable to their peculiar interests. This can only be done by having an adequate portion of the currency properly regulated to prevent undue extension, and secured on the credit of Government, ready for issue

when the gold is withdrawn, under conditions which insure its being drawn in when the gold returns, and not liable to payment on demand in specie.† But supposing this done, there are other effects, consequent on Free Trade, not so palpable in the outset, but still more powerful, because irremediable in the end, which deserve the most serious attention, both with reference to national independence, progress, and prosperity. These consequences are quite independent of anything erroneous in the currency, and arise from certain fixed laws of nature, over which, like the recurrence of winter and summer, man has no control, but which are not less irresistible in their operation upon the fortunes of nations than the mutations of the seasons are upon the growth or decay of vegetable life.

53. The first of these is the law that the advantages of capital, machinery, and the division of labour, though not unknown in the cultivation of the earth, are far less considerable than they are in the production of manufactures. It is not by any means meant to be asserted, in laying down this proposition, that capital and skill are of no value in the operations of agriculture. Unquestionably they are of great service, as any one may see by comparing the agriculture of Ireland or France with that of the best parts of Flanders, Lombardy, England, and Scotland. But giving full effect to the greatest improvements in the cultiva-

\* In August 1844, the circulation of bank-notes for England was—

The Bank of England, . . . . .	£21,448,000
Private banks, . . . . .	4,624,179
Joint-stock banks, . . . . .	3,340,326
	<hr/>
	£29,412,505

On November 22, 1856, it was—

The Bank of England, . . . . .	£20,062,041
Private banks, . . . . .	3,855,971
Joint-stock banks, . . . . .	3,113,886
	<hr/>
	27,031,898

Being a diminution of . . . . . £2,380,607

since the Act of 1844 was passed, and this to accommodate a rapidly increasing commerce, our foreign trade alone having nearly trebled since that time.

† One obvious way of doing this with perfect security against an undue extension of the currency, would be to authorise the Bank of England, when its bullion falls below £15,000,000, to issue inconvertible notes progressively as the gold is drawn out, and to the same amount; and when the gold returns, which of course it will do when the price is higher in this than foreign countries, to take them in in payment of taxes, and not reissue them till a similar reason for doing so occurs.

tion of the soil—conceding as much as the most sanguine high-farmer would contend for, to tile-draining, improved manuring, large farms, reaping and thrashing machines, and skilled labour—still it is evident that all they can effect in increasing the amount or lessening the cost of agricultural produce, is very little in comparison of what may be effected by the application of capital, science, and the division of labour to the production of manufactures.\* The average produce of an imperial acre in cereal crops, in Great Britain, may be now taken at 3 quarters, or 24 bushels an acre. Let it be conceded that, by the application of science and skill, it can be raised to 9 quarters, or 72 bushels. Probably the most sanguine high-farmer will not allege that more is possible. That change supposes the produce of a given space to be tripled; but though such an increase is considerable, it is as nothing compared to the increase of productive power by the application of capital and skill to the production of manufactures, which can with ease be made *not three but a hundredfold*. Two men can there be made, by the aid of machinery, to do the work of two hundred; and this vast increase is not only unattended by any increase in the cost of production, but is followed by a great and almost fabulous reduction of price. There is an obvious limit, therefore, to the power of capital and science in increasing the return of agricultural labour, but none can be assigned to their influence in increasing

\* “It is,” says Mill, “the law of production from the land, that in any given state of agricultural skill and knowledge, by increasing the labour, the produce is not increased in an equal degree; doubling the labour does not double the produce; or, to express the same thing in other words, *every increase of produce is obtained by a more than proportional increase in the application of labour to the land*. This general law of agricultural industry is the most important proposition in political economy. . . . In manufactures, the causes tending to increase the productiveness of industry preponderate greatly over the one cause which tends to diminish it; and the *increase of production*, called forth by the progress of society, *takes place*, not at an increasing, but at a *continually diminishing proportional cost*.”—MILL’S *Political Economy*, 3d edition, vol. i. pp. 217, 225.

the amount of manufacturing production. The famous arithmetical and geometrical progression, erroneously applied by Malthus to the relative powers of population and labour in the raising of subsistence, is truly applicable to labour applied to agriculture as compared to that devoted to manufactures. Hence the rich and old state must always undersell the young and poor state in manufactures, and be always undersold by it in agricultural produce.

54. Again, although the application of science to agriculture has produced important and encouraging results, yet they have all been attended by this important peculiarity, that they *greatly augment the cost of production*, inasmuch that the increased supply affords no adequate compensation for the enhanced price of rearing. If you ask any high-farmer, even the most successful, how his improvements have paid, he will answer that beyond certain obvious ones, as draining, deep-ploughing, and the like, they have answered, but at such a cost that he would not advise any one else to attempt it. Great have been the efforts made by capital and enterprise, since the Corn Laws were repealed, to make British to compete with foreign agriculture, but hitherto without any success; and every successive year has witnessed a progressive increase in the foreign supply of grain, till it has grown up, since 1843, from 1,433,000 to above 15,000,000 quarters, on an average, annually. Thus, while the Free Trade journals were boasting of the proved ability of British to stand the competition of foreign agriculture; while retired Manchester millionaires were amusing themselves with steam-ploughs which cost £800 a-pair, and patriotic magnates were getting prizes for stallions and fat oxen, the great mass of British cultivators quietly passed by on the other side, and threw their arable lands into grass or green crops to such an extent as has rendered the nation dependent on foreign supplies for half its daily subsistence.

55. The second law is, that everything that is plentiful, and money

among the rest, becomes cheap. This may seem so obvious that it does not require to be stated, but nevertheless its effects, as of all laws in universal operation, are in the highest degree important. It often determines the life of nations as certainly as the attraction which makes a stone fall to the ground retains the planets in their orbits. As money, from being plentiful, becomes cheap, the result of course is, that everything, as measured in money, becomes dear. Hence the wages of labour in the rich state become high in comparison of those in the poor one—the latter, as Dr Johnson said of eggs in the Highlands being cheap, “not because eggs are many, but because pence are few.” In manufacturing industry, the application of capital, machinery, and the division of labour, much more than compensates the advance in the money wages of labour; but in agriculture no such compensation is possible. The poor state always undersells the rich one in the produce of the fields. England can undersell India in cotton manufactures made of an article which grows on the banks of the Ganges; but it is undersold by the fellahs of Egypt, the serfs of Russia, and the peasants of Poland in the production of wheat or barley, though grown at the gates of London. Hence there is a constant pressure in the rich state on *rural labour*, arising from foreign competition; and where it is excluded by prohibitory duties, an incessant clamour for their removal. When this clamour becomes irresistible, and Free Trade is introduced, domestic agriculture must of necessity decline, unless supported for a time by accidental causes, and the growth of the *rural* inhabitants be checked. But no similar check is to be looked for in manufacturing industry, unless impeded by hostile foreign tariffs; and therefore, for a very long period at least, no retarding of *urban* population is to be apprehended.

56. The third law is, that great cities are the grave of the human race, while the country fields are its cradle. This truth, long and stoutly denied by the commercial and Free-trade parties,

is now completely set at rest by the Registrar-General's returns in Great Britain, and similar statistics in other countries. It is now ascertained by this unexceptionable evidence, that no great towns can maintain their own numbers unless fed by immigration from the country. In Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Glasgow, 49 per cent of deaths are those of children under five years of age; in the latter city in 1858 it was 60 and 61; and even in London, probably the most healthy metropolis in the world, three-fifths of the persons above twenty years of age were born in the country. Where the annual mortality in rural districts in England is 18 in 1000 of the whole population, in manufacturing districts it is 1 in 24.\* In Scotland, in 138 town districts, the annual deaths were 1 in 37; in 14 agricultural, only 1 in 68.† The effect of

\* “Upon dividing the population into two portions—(1.) the 8,247,117 people living in rather close proximity to each other, and (2.) the 9,680,502 living much further apart, the result is, that the mortality in the dense districts was at the rate of 24.73 (nearly 25) in 1000, while in the other districts, over which small towns and villages are distributed, the mortality was at the rate of 19.68 (nearly 20) in 1000 of the population. Thus it appears that five persons more die every year in every 1000 of the 8,000,000 people living in large towns than of the 9,500,000 people living in the country. In other words, the excess of deaths in the large towns is 40,000 a-year.”—*Registrar-General's Report*, June 30, 1858.

† “In the 126 town districts into which Scotland is divided, the number of deaths registered amounted during the first quarter of 1860 to 17,042, or 411 deaths to every 10,000 inhabitants. In the 884 rural districts, on the other hand, the number of deaths amounted to 5534, or about 151 deaths to every 10,000 persons; and this, it must be admitted, is a very striking difference indeed.”—*Registrar-General's Report*, 1860.

“In Scotland 41,925 deaths were registered during the fourth quarter, being an increase to the extent of 744 above those of the corresponding quarter of the previous year, and an increase of 2076 above those of the previous quarter of 1856. Allowing for increase of population, this would give the annual proportion of 196 deaths in every 10,000, or nearly 1 death in every 50 persons. The proportion of deaths was lowest in the north-western and northern counties, and highest in the south-western and south-eastern counties. Of the individual counties, the proportion of deaths was lowest in Orkney and Peebles, where it was at the rate of 101 and 107 deaths respectively in every 10,000 per-

this superior mortality of urban districts is enhanced by a fact, now fully established by statistics, that though marriages, in proportion to the population, are more frequent in the urban than the rural districts, their fecundity is less—the mortality is greater, the fruitfulness less.\* Sanitary improve-

sons, and the highest in Lanark, where, allowing for increase of population, it was at the rate of 268 deaths in every 10,000 persons."—*Quarterly Return*, 1856.

"The deaths in the town districts greatly exceeded those in the country districts. Thus in the 125 town districts there were registered 12,746 deaths, while in the country districts the deaths numbered only 7443, thus showing an excess of 5303 deaths in the towns. It thus appears that during the quarter the deaths in the towns were at the annual rate of 311 in every 10,000 persons, while in the country districts they were only in the proportion of 196 deaths in every 10,000 persons. Had the same death-rate prevailed in town and country, 6300 lives would have been saved to the community."—*Quarterly Return*, April 1860.

\* All the following calculations are based on the returns of the Registrar-General for England, for the ten years 1841-50, and the population of the districts is assumed to be the mean between the populations at the censuses of 1841 and 1851:—

In the agricultural counties of Wilts, Dorset, Hereford, and the North Riding of York, the annual percentage of marriages to the population was .696, and the surplus of births over deaths during the ten years was 70,747, in a total population of 702,607.

In those English districts having a population of over 10,000 to the square mile, the percentage of marriages was 1.303, the average number of births to a marriage 2.62, the annual deaths per cent 3.05, the surplus of births over deaths in the ten years 69,681, in a total population of 1,311,111.

For convenience of calculation call the percentage of marriages in the counties .7 instead of .696, then if the marriages in these densely-peopled districts were .7 per cent instead of 1.303, an annual increase of population per cent, by births alone, would be  $.7 \times 2.61$ , or 1.827; the deaths being 3.050, there would be an annual decrease of 1.123 per cent; or, in other words, the population would become extinct in about eighty years.

In London both the deaths and the marriages are fewer in proportion to the population than in any other large town. This may be easily accounted for. In London the marriages were .988, the births to a marriage 3.21, the deaths per cent annually 2.62, and the annual increase per cent, if the marriages were reduced to .7, would be  $.7 \times 3.21 = 2.247$ . The population would therefore become extinct in about 250 years. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the population, when reduced to the standard of the counties, would cease to be subject to the hurtful in-

ments, improved medical treatment, and an elevation of general comfort, may do much to check this frightful mortality, but it can never remove it entirely, or stamp any other character on great cities but that of being the great charnel-houses of mortality.\* But the effect of this law upon the strength and lifetime of empires is obvious, especially when taken in conjunction with the tendency, in rich and old societies of industry, to flock to the towns and shun the country. This state of things may for a time exhibit a great increase in urban, and proportional decline in rural population; but it must in the end seriously affect the growth of the entire body, and augment the preponderance of towns over the country, which is the invariable precursor of national decline.

57. This universal law of nature has come into operation with such severity in France, since the vast migration of its rural inhabitants into the great towns which has taken place of late years, that while the increase of its inhabitants from 1841 to 1846 was 1,170,000 persons, from 1851 to 1856 it was only 256,000, so that in some years it must actually have declined. Since that time it has advanced very slowly. Even in the very prosperous years, 1856 to 1858, the annual increase was only 97,000.† The census of 1856

fluences of town life, and would again increase.

It would appear that the unhealthy employments and habits of a large proportion of both men and women in urban districts, as compared with the rural, affects the fecundity of marriages. This law of nature effectually restrains the increase of mankind in old-established and wealthy states. For these valuable statistics I am indebted to a very interesting paper read before the Scientific Association in the year 1861 by my esteemed friend Dr Bakewell.

\* The average mortality in Scotland in the four years 1855-58 was 14.6 per 1000 in the insular districts, 17.4 in the mainland rural districts, but no less than 26.5 in the towns. The towns are more unhealthy to children than to adults. In the towns 1 in 5 of all the boys under one year of age, and 1 in 6 of all the girls, are cut off annually.

† A remarkable Government report has been published on the population of France, by which it appears that while, during the first half of the present century, the popula-

shows that the metropolis and the manufacturing districts during the preceding five years largely increased in numbers, while most of the rural decreased. The department of the Seine increased 356,000 souls, but many of the others declined, so that the total increase in all France was only 256,000. This is easily explained by the fact, that agriculture has so much declined that, from being an exporting country, France had come, in 1856, a year of scarcity, to import 4,000,000 quarters of wheat, while Paris had increased, in the same five years, by 350,000 souls. The change here so strikingly evinced is one which takes place in every old country at a certain stage of its progress in regard to population, and arises from two causes. In the first place, the loud and menacing cry for cheap bread in the towns, by forcing on foreign importation, drives numbers into the cities as the only place where they can find the means of earning a livelihood; that is, it drives them from the cradles into the graves of the human race. The towns, it is true, afford the best market for the productions of the country; and as long as they derive their supplies of food from their own territory, the demand for labour which they create in the country encourages their population, and counteracts the weakening effect of the superior mortality of towns. But when free trade is introduced, and the *town supplies are drawn from distant lands*, this auspicious state of things comes to an end—the encouraging cause is removed, and the weakening one remains. In the next place, the cultivation of the country, when this state of things arrives, is mainly turned to

pasturage, as experience then shows that no foreign state can compete with the domestic growers in the production of sheep and cattle. But sheep or cattle farms do not employ a tenth part of the labourers which those devoted to the raising of grain crops do, and thus the prolific power of the country is arrested at once by the migration of a large part of its inhabitants into cities, and the turning the industry of those who remain into pastoral instead of agricultural pursuits. At the same time the emigration of vast multitudes in quest of that employment in the colonies of distant lands which they can no longer hope to find in their own, tends strongly to the restraints on increase.

58. Whoever considers these laws of nature with attention cannot fail to see that they render certain and unavoidable, in a certain stage of society, the commencement of decline, and that the loud and increasing cry for Free Trade is the *first symptom of the arresting cause having come into operation*. As the concession of this policy is equivalent to a direct exposure of domestic industry to the competition of foreigners, which, in cereal productions at least, it is unable to withstand, so it never can become successful till the interest of the commercial classes and the consumers has become more powerful than that of the agricultural and producing. But when the victory has been gained, and foreign competition fully admitted, national decline ere long is inevitable. It is so because foreign industry, generally speaking, has the advantage in the fields over domestic in such circumstances; because population is driven into unhealthy towns, where it can find branches of industry that can compete with foreigners, instead of healthy fields, where it cannot; because emigration, from the discouragement of rural industry, becomes so great as first to check the growth, and then cause the decline of inhabitants. After society has reached this stage, any fresh impulse to population is like pouring water into a full glass; it all overflows. Political effects, not less

tion increased at the rate of 150,000 per annum, it *fell off* from 1851 to 1855, and increased only at the rate of 97,400 a-year from 1856 to 1858. The average duration of life, which was 32 from 1817 to 1854, rose to 40 in 1855, but fell to 37½ in 1858. The decrease is in some measure attributed to a very disgraceful cause—the prevalence of bastardy—illegitimate children not being cared for so well as those born in wedlock. Between 1817 and 1853 the average of illegitimate births in France was 1 in 13; in 1857, 1 in 12½; and in 1858, 1 in 12.—*Stat. de la France*.

serious, conspire in this stage to the same result. The preservation of national independence in the long-run becomes impossible when a considerable portion of the national subsistence is derived from foreign states. Great Britain, before Free Trade had been established twenty years, had come to import from 15,000,000 to 18,000,000 quarters annually, being nearly a half of the national consumption, by human beings, of cereal products;\* while above two millions of its labourers, chiefly agricultural, had emigrated to foreign lands.† In 1862 the importation was 18,400,000 quarters. More than half of this immense supply comes from America and Russia, and by their uniting together, and passing a non-intercourse Act, which was an event imminent in 1856, before the Treaty of Paris, subsistence might any day be run up to famine prices in the British Islands. The consciousness of this is what renders their Government timid, and has so often led to the acquiescence in insults which

would have been mortally resented in former days.

59. Although it is by superior cheapness of production in poor states that the decline of agriculture is produced in rich ones, under the Free-trade system, it is not to be supposed that this advantage is to be *permanently* enjoyed by the nation which has adopted this policy. On the contrary, famine prices never are so frequent or disastrous as in the country which has most implicitly embraced it. *At first*, indeed, the free introduction of foreign grain occasions a prodigious fall of prices, and consequently great ease and prosperity to the consuming classes. But this auspicious state of things cannot be of long duration. Low prices must ere long discourage production; corn-lands come to be thrown into pasture and green crops, or abandoned to nature; and in time the home supply is so much reduced that the whole import from abroad makes no material addition to the stock of annual subsistence.‡ This, accordingly, is what

\* "In 1858, though by no means a bad harvest, the import was 11,293,000 quarters, being about a half of the national subsistence, and in 1861 and 1862 it had reached the enormous amount of 16,000,000 and 18,000,000 quarters."—*Statistical Abstract*, 1863, p. 39.

† "According," say the Commissioners, "to the very interesting returns received from the Emigration Commissioners, it would appear that from the 30th of June 1841 to the 31st of March 1851, 1,240,375 persons, and from the 1st April 1851 to the 31st December 1855, 847,119 persons, amounting in all to 2,087,856, who were born in Ireland, are estimated to have emigrated from the ports of the United Kingdom in the time specified, or 14½ years. Of these emigrants 76.7 per cent were bound for the United States, 19.7 for British North America, and 3.6 for the Australian colonies. Between the 1st of April 1851 and the 31st of December 1855, the emigration of the Irish to the Australian colonies was 6.5 per cent of the total number of emigrants, the emigration to the United States was 81.4 per cent, and that to British North America had fallen to 12 per cent." Emigration from Irish ports for some time gradually diminished. From 190,322 in 1852, it dwindled to 91,914 in 1855. But it rose again, and in 1863 reached 126,000.—*Emigration Commissioners' Report*, 1856.

‡ In Ireland the decrease in the production of wheaten crops since 1846 has been ascertained by authentic evidence. From the Government surveys, it appears that since that time, while the potato and turnip crops have increased, the wheaten crops have declined thus:—

Years.	Wheat.	Potatoes.	Turnips.	Mangold Wurzel.
	Barrels, 20 st.	Barrels, 20 st.	Tons.	Tons.
1849	3,641,198	32,112,679	5,805,848	346,595
1850	2,604,164	31,567,917	5,439,005	364,036
1851	2,508,963	35,528,175	6,081,326	466,235
1852	1,938,941	34,044,831	5,675,847	557,139
1853	1,904,302	45,932,301	6,562,471	588,988

Proving clearly that the fall in the production of wheat was owing to its low price; for there was a *simultaneous rise* in the production of potatoes for human subsistence, and green crops for cattle. In 1848, the decrease of cereal crops, as compared with 1847, was 673,488 tons; increase of potatoes, as compared with 1847, 725,521 tons.—*Agricultural Returns, Ireland*, 1848, p. v., Introduction; *Ibid.*, 1855, p. xv.

In the debate on Ireland on February 21, 1862, it was stated by Mr Maguire, and not contradicted by the Irish Secretary, Sir R. Peel, that in 1847 the number of acres under cereal crops was 3,313,563; in 1860 there were only 2,639,384. The produce in 1847 amounted



took place during the first years after Free Trade was introduced into England; prices of wheat fell to 39s. and 41s.; and the supply of wheat raised in the British Islands declined about 4,000,000 quarters, being the whole amount, in average years, of the foreign importation of that article.\* But as a foreign supply of food is much more precarious than that derived from home agriculture, it is to be expected that when a nation comes to depend for a considerable part of its subsistence upon the former source, the vari-

ations of price will proportionally become excessive, and the alternation of ruinously low and famine prices most severely distress the whole community. It was not in the days of the Republic, when "every rood had its man," and Italy was an exporting country, that the Roman poet deplored the famine which brought the state to the verge of ruin, but in the days of the Empire, when free trade in grain had been established for two centuries—when Italy was a sheep-walk, and the imperial people were fed by the harvests of

to 16,248,934 quarters; in 1860 to 10,905,662. The decrease in 1860 consequently amounted to 674,179 acres, or 5,343,272 quarters, representing a money value of £10,000,000. In 1861 a further decrease had taken place, amounting upon all kinds of crops, as compared with the previous year, to 81,373 acres. With regard to live stock, in 1860, as compared with 1859, there was a decrease to the extent of 8137 horses, 226,363 cattle, and 54,958 sheep, making a total loss in money value, as compared with the previous year, of £1,473,212. The results of the returns for the year 1861 were very startling. In that year, as compared with 1860, there was a falling-off in horses of 5993; of cattle, 138,316; and pigs, 173,096; making a total pecuniary loss of £1,161,345. The total decrease of live stock upon the two years represented a money loss of £2,634,557. The estimated decrease in green crops for the two years, 1859 and 1860, was equivalent to 4,214,610 tons.

In the debate on Irish distress on June 8, 1863, it was admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the decline of inhabitants in Ireland since the census of 1841 was 2,411,000; and that the value of agricultural produce raised in the country had sunk from £39,000,000 in 1843, to £27,000,000 in 1863. Colonel Dunne, in opening the debate, stated, without contradiction, that the value of agricultural produce exported from Ireland prior to 1843 had been £14,000,000 or £15,000,000 annually, but that the country now imported food to the value of £4,000,000 annually. These symptoms underwent no change in the next years. The acres under cereal crops in 1861 were 122,437 less than in 1843. On the other hand, there was an increase on cattle of 113,778, and on sheep 54,864. The value of live stock, however, was only £29,997,000, being £5,000,000 less than in 1843.—*Registrar-General's Abstract*, 1864. How identical is this progress with that of Italy during the decline of the Roman Empire! "The subsistence of Rome depended on the harvests of Africa, and it was evident that a declaration of war would be the signal of famine. The people had long been accustomed to prefer the solid assurance of bread to the unsubstantial views of liberty and greatness."—GIBBON, c. xxix.

\* WHEAT SOLD IN 169 INSPECTED MARKETS IN ENGLAND.

Years.	Quarters.	Price.	Years.	Quarters.	Price.
1845	6,666,246	50s. 10d.	1850	4,688,247	40s. 3d.
1846	5,958,962	54s. 8d.	1851	4,487,041	38s. 6d.
1847	4,637,616	69s. 9d.	1852	4,854,513	40s. 9d.
1848	5,399,833	50s. 6d.	1853	4,560,912	53s. 3d.
1849	4,453,983	44s. 3d.	1854	3,913,257	72s. 5d.

—*Statistical Abstract*, 1842-56, pp. 30, 31.

It appears, from Captain Larcom's reports, that between 1846 and 1852, the production of wheat in Ireland had fallen off 1,500,000 quarters, and the export of that grain to England had declined in a similar proportion. Supposing the decrease in Scotland to have been 500,000 quarters, which is probable, as it increased by 700,000 quarters with the rise of prices, owing to the gold discoveries, between 1852 and 1856, we have the production of wheat in the United Kingdom lessened by 4,000,000 quarters in eight years, being very nearly the amount of the annual importation. See *Edinburgh Review*, April 1853, p. 293, and HALL MAXWELL'S *Report of Scotland*, 1854. The acres under wheat in Scotland in 1855 were 191,000, and in 1856, 261,000, showing an increase of 70,000 acres, on which probably 280,000 quarters were raised in a single year under high prices. Beyond all doubt, the decline under the previous low prices was at least as great. In 1849, Mr M'Culloch estimated the production of wheat in Scotland at 1,225,000 quarters; in 1855 it was found by the returns to be only 650,000, showing a falling-off of 675,000 quarters. —TOOKE and NEWMARSH, v. 107.

Egypt and Libya.\* This effect has already taken place in this country since it came to be mainly dependent on foreign supplies for its subsistence. So far from the price of grain having been lowered in Great Britain since 1852, it has been *higher* than it was on the average of ten years before the change was introduced; and if the gold discoveries have had a powerful influence in producing this result, at least Free Trade has not succeeded in counteracting it.†

60. The decline of agriculture in Great Britain since the repeal of the Corn Laws, long and stoutly denied by the Free Trade party, has now been ascertained beyond a doubt by the incontrovertible evidence of the Registrar-General. There has yet, indeed, been no survey taken of the actual fields or their produce, as has been done with

so much success in France and Ireland, but the detailed account of the *occupations of the people*, drawn from the census returns of 1851 and 1861, affords the clearest proof of the great revolution to the prejudice of British labour in the fields which has been progressively going forward since the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. From these returns, which have now been admirably digested in the *Results of the Census*, published by authority of Government, it is found that though *rents* have not fallen, owing to the returns from land under pasture and green crops being higher than those from it under cereal crops, yet that the amount of land *under tillage* is steadily decreasing, and with it the number of persons of both sexes employed in the fields. This decline arises in part from the emigration

\* The classical scholar will recollect the noble lines of Claudian :—

“Advenio supplex, non ut proculeet Araxem  
Consul ovans, nostræve premant pharetrata secures  
Susa, nec ut rubris aquilas figamus arenis.  
Hæc nobis, hæc ante dabas : *nunc pabula tantum*  
*Roma precor* : miserere tuæ, pater optime, gentis.  
*Extremam defende famem.* Satiavimus iram,  
Si qua fuit : lugenda Getis, et flenda Suevis  
Hæsimus : ipsa meos exhorret Parthia casus.  
Quid referam morbove luem, cumulosve repletos  
Stragibus, et crebras corrupto sidere mortes ?

Ille diu miles populus, qui præfuit orbi,  
Qui trabeas et sceptræ dabat, quem semper in armis  
Horribilem gentes, placidum sensere subactæ.  
*Nunc inhonorus, egens, perfert miserabile pacis*  
*Supplicium, nulloque palam circumdatus hoste*  
*Obsessi discrimen habet.*”—CLAUDIAN, *De Bello Gildonico*.

† TABLE SHOWING THE PRICE OF WHEAT PER QUARTER FROM 1830 TO 1845, AND FROM 1845 TO 1863.

Years.	Price.	Years.	Price.	Years.	Price.
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
1830	64 3	1842	57 3	1853	33 3
1831	66 4	1843	50 1	1854	72 5
1832	58 8	1844	51 3	1855	74 8
1833	52 11	1845	50 10	1856	69 2
1834	46 2	1846	54 8	1857	56 4
1835	39 4	1847	69 9	1858	44 2
1836	48 6	1848	50 6	1859	43 9
1837	55 10	1849	44 3	1860	53 3
1838	64 7	1850	40 3	1861	55 4
1839	70 8	1851	38 6	1862	55 5
1840	66 4	1852	40 9	1863	44 9
1841	64 4				

—PORTER, p. 148; *Statistical Abstract*, No. XI., p. 73.

The extreme depression of prices from 1849 to 1852, when the struggle between home and foreign agriculture was going on, and the subsequent rise to more than the average before the repeal of the Corn Laws, is here very remarkable.

of the rural labourers, but more so from the ceaseless flocking of persons in quest of employment to the great towns, which is the main cause of their rapid increase. From the *Results of the Census*, it appears that between October 1851 and 1861 the number of persons employed in agriculture in England has decreased nearly 400,000 souls, while the number of *shepherds* has sensibly increased.\* It could not possibly be otherwise, when it is recollected that the returns of wheat sold in the inspected markets of England had sunk above 2,000,000 quarters since 1846, and that the annual importation in a bad season (1862) had reached 18,500,000 quarters, and even in a fine season (1863) exceeded 15,000,000 quarters. The quantities of wheat and other grain sold at the inspected markets in England have, as might be anticipated, proportionally declined; they have sunk from 6,666,000 quarters of wheat sold in 1845, the year before the Corn Laws were repealed, to 4,289,000 in 1861, after the change had been fifteen years in operation.†

61. As Ireland is a purely agricultural country, or nearly so, it might have been anticipated that its industry and population would be more extensively affected by the increase of the foreign importation of grain than any other part of the empire: yet making every allowance for this circumstance, and giving full effect to the bad harvests

of 1845 and 1846 in that country, as well as those of 1860, 1861, and 1862, it is difficult to account for the prodigious decline in the agricultural production and exodus of the population in that time. The actual decrease of inhabitants from 1841 to 1861 has been 2,410,581, and as the population unquestionably went on increasing till 1845, the three preceding years being those of the railway mania and extraordinary prosperity, it may fairly be calculated that since 1845 the decrease has been at least 2,600,000. Of these about 2,000,000 have emigrated: the exact number from 1st May 1851 to 1st August 1863 was 1,378,383, and between the census of 1841 and that of 1851, certainly at least 600,000 persons had left the country. The outward tendency is noway diminished, for although it was materially lessened from 1854 to 1860, under the influence of the gold discoveries, it has again greatly increased, and the number in 1863 from Ireland alone was 146,000. It will not appear surprising that so great and rapid a decrease of rural inhabitants should have taken place. From the statistics of Irish agriculture published for 1863, it appears not only that the acres under cereal crops in that country are undergoing a rapid and steady diminution, but, what is still more extraordinary, that the number of cattle and sheep is declining also. With truth did Mr Whiteside say, when this subject

	1851.	1861.
* Farmers and Graziers, . . . . .	306,707	249,775
Farmers' Wives, . . . . .	201,736	163,765
Their Children, . . . . .	275,170	176,161
Indoor Labourers, . . . . .	235,943	158,401
Outdoor Labourers, . . . . .	1,077,827	958,270
Landowners, . . . . .	34,627	30,766
Total Agricultural, . . . . .	2,132,010	1,737,148
	1,737,148	
Decrease in ten years, . . . . .	394,862	
Shepherds, . . . . .	19,075	25,550

—Results of the Census, 1861, 231.

#### † WHEAT AND BARLEY SOLD IN INSPECTED MARKETS.

Years.	Wheat—qrs.	Barley—qrs.
1859 . . . . .	5,498,202	2,410,326
1860 . . . . .	4,623,257	1,787,036
1861 . . . . .	4,289,665	2,392,872
1862 . . . . .	3,588,085	2,281,930

—Statistical Abstract, 1863.

was brought under the notice of the House of Commons, that you might search the annals of the world in vain for a similar decline in the inhabitants of a country in so short a time.\*

62. Struck with astonishment at the authentic evidence thus afforded of a great and rapid decline in the numbers and industrial produce of the rural parts of the empire, and desirous to attribute it to anything rather than the adoption of their principles by the Legislature, the Free Trade party have done their utmost to ascribe it to other causes. The wetness of the climate, bad seasons, and the indolence of the Celtic character, have all been set down as the real sources of the decline. A very little consideration, however, must be sufficient to show that none of these causes taken singly, nor the whole put together, are able to explain the phenomenon. The reason is obvious: they have all been in operation all along. The climate was as wet, the harvests as bad, the people as indolent, forty years ago,

when Ireland was exporting three millions of quarters of grain annually to Great Britain, and increasing her population, as they are now when she has become an importing country with a declining people. The cause of the prodigious and *recent* change must evidently be something which has *recently* come into operation; and by keeping prices low, even in bad seasons, prevented them from having their usual effect by raising prices in stimulating production. The plain reason why the agriculture, and with it the agricultural population of Ireland, has so much declined during the last twenty years, is that they have been twenty years of unrestricted competition with foreigners who can raise grain cheaper than can be done at home. Hence the rural labourers have flocked to the great cities in search of employment, and augmented the mass of indigence which is thus accumulating, or sought for relief by emigrating in shoals to foreign lands.†

63. Free Trade has produced these

\* IRISH AGRICULTURE, 1855-63.

Years.	Under Cereal Crops.	Produce.		Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.	Total Value of Live Stock.
		Wheat.	Total Cereal Crops.				
	Acres.	Qrs.	Qrs.	No.	No.	No.	£
1855	2,832,564	1,520,819	13,068,615	3,564,400	3,602,342	1,177,605	33,053,478
1857	2,786,828	1,662,957	11,528,938	3,620,954	3,452,252	1,255,186	33,700,916
1859	2,652,780	1,468,475	10,425,329	3,815,598	3,592,804	1,265,751	35,368,259
1860	2,639,384	1,271,588	10,953,613	3,606,374	3,542,080	1,271,072	33,885,259
1861	2,624,957	851,871	9,618,092	3,471,688	3,556,050	1,102,042	32,769,035
1862	2,553,481	683,048	8,702,328	3,254,890	3,456,132	1,154,324	31,224,587
1863	2,408,762	837,908	10,610,092	3,138,275	3,303,931	1,064,802	29,997,546

—*Agricultural Statistics, Ireland, 1861-63.*—In 1864 the acreage of cereal crops was 121,782 less than in 1863.—*Ibid.*

† The Author is happy to find that his opinions on this subject are now shared by the most able and candid of the Free Trade party. In the debate on Irish distress, on the 27th February 1865, Mr Lowe said in the House of Commons: "Ireland, unfortunately, relies upon agriculture, and upon agriculture in the forms in which it is most dangerous in respect of such a calamity as the failure of the crops—agriculture carried on by small cultivators on small patches of ground. Add to the disadvantages of climate and division of the soil, the influence of the British Government. We chose to impose artificial impediments in the way of the importation of foreign corn, and raised up and fostered in Ireland the factitious industry of growing cereals for which the climate is not adapted. An immense population was thus brought up dependent on an industry which the caprice of the climate must render eminently uncertain and fluctuating. Moreover, the people grew up subject to a contingency which would aggravate the failure of crops owing to the badness of a season. This was that the English people should come to their senses at last, accept the doctrines which science and common sense combined to demonstrate—the doctrine of Free Trade—and remove all impediments in the way of importing foreign produce. Unfortunately, both these things fell on Ireland at once. There was a failure of the crops at the same time that the corn laws were repealed, and, however justifiable that measure, it was a heavy blow to be dealt to any country, and it has proved much heavier than any one was

astonishing and unparalleled effects upon the agricultural industry and population of Ireland, in consequence of its *double* operation upon agricultural interests. It has at once augmented the cost of production and diminished the remuneration it is to receive. By the immense emigration in one direction or another which it induces, it raises the wages of labour at home so as to enhance the difficulty of competing with foreign growers; while by the great extent of the importation of grain which it induces, it keeps down prices in bad seasons, and prevents the heightened price compensating the lessened production. How powerfully these causes have combined to depress Irish agriculture of late years, must be obvious when we recollect that, from the effect of the emigration, wages of rural labour have been raised from 4d. a-day to 1s.; while, at the same time, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer tells us, the price received for rural produce in Ireland has declined £12,000,000 in three years, having sunk from £39,000,000 a-year to £27,000,000. The Registrar-General's report for 1864 states that, while the total emigration for that year from the empire was 223,738, no less than 146,000, being considerably more than a half, came from Ireland, and that the impelling cause was the

aware of at the time. We have had similar experience in England. In some parts of this country, people are not fully alive to the propriety of discontinuing the kind of cultivation which the corn laws had fostered, and taking to that for which the climate is better fitted—the raising of stock. But the bad seasons which have occurred since 1859, and the experience that followed, have led Irish proprietors very much to the conviction that it is vain to go on treating Ireland as a purely agricultural country. They feel that if they wish to derive any real profit from their estates, they must convert them more or less, according to circumstances—and, of course, some parts of the country must be treated differently from others—into pasture grounds. That is the change which is taking place in Ireland. It is passing from the condition of a corn-growing into the condition of a pastoral country. The change, no doubt, is a melancholy one, because it involves the displacement of an immense quantity of labour.”—*Times*, 28th February 1865.

want of employment at home, not the attractions of the American war bounties, which did not appear to have influenced more than a tenth part of the number.\* When it is recollected that Ireland is a purely agricultural country, and that the average price of wheat during 1863 was 41s., it may be seen how strongly free trade in grain has impelled the Irish into the western hemisphere. It is not surprising, in these circumstances, that Lord Carlisle in all his viceregal progresses recommended the people to give up the contest with foreign growers of grain, and to stick to pasturage and green crops, for which their climate is adapted, and in which they can beat the world. By so doing, the population may be reduced in twenty years to 3,000,000 and yet be felt as redundant, so much less is the employment of labour in pasturage than in agriculture. The Catholic Archbishop of New York said in his public address to his flock in that city, on occasion of the conscription riot, that the English House of Commons had expelled a noble race from Ireland and supplied their place by fat bullocks; and that is undoubtedly true. But it is equally true, what he has forgot to add, that it was by the votes of the Irish Roman Catholic *county* members in support of the Free Trade measures that the noble race was driven out and the fat bullocks brought in.

64. Although, however, it may be evident that Free Trade must be attended with those weakening, and, in the end, fatal results, yet it is not to be supposed that they are all to be ascribed as a reproach to Sir R. Peel, or that he is to be charged with having occasioned the ruin of his country, because he was the ostensible author of a system to which future times will perhaps impute it. The truth rather is, that he was the creature of circumstances throughout, compelled by the loud national voice, arising from the inevitable change of circumstances, to

\* *Registrar-General's Report*, May 31, 1864.

adopt the policy, and that his sagacity led him to perceive that power, however acquired, was to be retained on no other terms. The nation had reached that point which always arrives with a rich state in a certain stage of its progress, when the influence and power of realised wealth and consumption have become superior to those of industry and production and when, consequently, the desire to aid both by cheapening everything becomes the ruling principle in the state. As the adoption of this principle is the indication of the penultimate state of national progress, and it can only be desired in the last stage of national wealth, so it is unquestionably the first step in national decline. This will appear first in the agricultural districts and the rural population, who, deprived of the chief market for their produce by foreign importation from cheaper states, will flock to cities in quest of subsistence, or emigrate to foreign lands, leaving their own in great part to be traversed by flocks of sheep or herds of cattle, or to return to the domain of the heath-fowl and the plover.\* To the very last hour of national existence, the great cities will continue to prosper, and their inhabitants to applaud the policy which has enriched them. Commerce will exhibit a flat-

tering aspect, but it will be carried on between the manufacturer of the old and rich, and the grain-grower of the new and foreign state; the rural inhabitants of the former will experience little or no benefit from it.

65. Thus population, impelled from the cradles to the graves of mortality, is first retarded, and then arrested, in its progress; the military strength of the nation is lessened by the failure of recruits from the rural districts, from which they must always be principally derived; timidity is impressed upon its rulers from the dread of impending danger; and the *foreign-fed* nation, trembling for its subsistence, comes at last to submit to any insult rather than face hostilities with its distant bread-maker, or the *producer of the chief part of the raw material required for its manufactures*.\* How exactly this state of things was exemplified in the last ages of the Roman empire need be told to no scholar; how early it has commenced with the introduction of the Free-trade system into Great Britain, may be judged of from the facts, that before it had been twenty years in operation, the imports of foreign grain had come from 1,433,000 quarters in ordinary seasons, to be from 15,000,000 to 18,000,000 quarters annually, being from a third to a half of the national subsistence; †

\* The Duke of Argyle, a distinguished member of the Whig Cabinet, has admitted that Free Trade has already produced this effect in Great Britain; for he said at the Cattle Show at Stirling, on August 4, 1864, that it was now evident that the British farmer could not compete with the foreign grower in the production of grain, and that his main reliance must be on cattle and sheep.—*Glasgow Herald*, 5th August 1864. To these testimonies on the effect of Free Trade on British agriculture, must be added that of Mr Gladstone, the eloquent and well-informed Chancellor of the Exchequer. He said at Liverpool, on October 13, 1864: "We all remember that before the repeal of the corn laws we were told that we should get into a state of dependence on foreign supplies. Let us do literal justice, at least, to the prophets from whom these menaces proceeded. We have fallen into a state of dependence upon foreign supply. *Prima facie*, therefore, the prophecy is justified. Nearly one-half of the essential food of the people of England—I mean grain—is cultivated and raised in other lands; and perhaps I might

say, independently of food, nearly one-half—possibly, for aught I know, it may be more than the one-half—of the whole materials of the labour of the country are also produced in other lands. I am not insensible—none of you can be insensible—and still less can any one responsible for public affairs be insensible to the gravity of the questions which must be encountered in the working out the great problem before us—What is to be the condition of a country with respect to the necessary element of the means of defence?"

\* Witness England during the cotton famine of 1862! The words in the text were written in 1858.

† The Free-traders urge that this immense importation of late years of grain, which in 1862 reached the enormous amount of 18,500,000 quarters, was owing to the wet and cold summer of 1862, and they confidently predicted its cessation with this glorious summer and harvest of 1863. So far has this been from occurring, that the importation in the year 1863, an uncommonly fine season, was 15,353,000 quarters.

that the production of cereal crops to a large amount had declined in the British Islands, although rents had not fallen, from the corn-lands having been turned into pasture or green crops; and that while the imports and exports of the produce of towns had signally increased, emigration had become permanent at the rate of above 260,000 souls a-year: \* nearly 3,000,000 persons, chiefly in the prime of life, had left our shores in the ten years from 1846 to 1856, being more than triple those who had emigrated in the preceding ten; † and the paupers in receipt of parochial relief in the

the two islands had never been less than 1,000,000 annually, sometimes above 1,700,000. ‡

66. It is generally expected by the Free-trade party that these distressing consequences will be temporary only, and that they will cease with the adoption of a similar liberal commercial policy by other nations. A little consideration, however, must show that these expectations are not, for a very long period at least, likely to be realised; nay, that the existing evils are likely to be increased. As Free Trade is the cry of old and wealthy states, so, and for a similar reason,

\* ANNUAL EMIGRATION, AND PAUPERS, EXCLUDING VAGRANTS, RELIEVED IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM 1846 TO 1856.

Years.	Emigrants.	PAUPERS RELIEVED.		
		England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1846	129,851	....	....	....
1847	258,270	....	....	....
1848	248,089	....	....	....
1849	299,498	934,489	82,357	620,747
1850	280,849	920,543	79,031	307,970
1851	335,966	860,893	76,906	209,187
1852	368,764	834,424	75,111	171,418
1853	329,937	798,822	75,437	141,822
1854	323,429	818,337	78,929	106,802
1855	176,807	851,369	79,887	86,819
1856	176,554	877,767	79,973	73,083
Totals,	2,928,014	6,896,654	627,631	1,717,848
Average,	266,183½	862,081½	78,453½	214,731

—Statistical Abstract, No IV., 1842, 1856, p. 35.

† EMIGRATION IN THE TEN PRECEDING YEARS (1836-45).

Years.	Emigrants.	Years.	Emigrants.
1836, . . .	75,417	Brought forward,	451,977
1837, . . .	72,034	1842, . . .	128,344
1838, . . .	33,222	1843, . . .	57,212
1839, . . .	62,217	1844, . . .	70,686
1840, . . .	90,743	1845, . . .	93,501
1841, . . .	118,344		801,780
Carry forward,	451,977	Average, . . .	80,178

—PORTER, 128.

‡ On the motion of Mr Caird, a return was made in 1864 of all the grain and corn imported into this country from foreign ports during the last twenty-three years, with its estimated value so long as that has been ascertained. The least quantity of all kinds of corn, flour, meal, &c., imported since 1841 was in 1843, when it was only 1,433,776 quarters. In 1846, the famine year, it bounded up from 4,752,174 quarters in 1845 to 11,915,587 quarters. The most ever imported was in 1862, when we received no less than 18,441,791 quarters, paying for it £37,772,194. Last year the receipts were 15,352,559 quarters of all kinds of grain, flour, &c., and the cost £25,955,939. The abundant harvest of 1863, therefore, made a difference of nearly twelve million pounds sterling. The average yearly imports for the decennial period ending 1850 was 5,810,470 quarters; for the decennial term ending 1860, the average was 9,639,425 quarters. The value of the imports was not computed before 1854, in which year it stood at £21,760,282. The lowest payments for breadstuffs since, was in the following year, when it was £17,508,000. The highest was the sum given above for 1862.

Protection is the cry of young and poor ones.\* Both are actuated by the interests of the dominant classes in their respective and opposite states of society. The consumers being the ruling class in the old state, Free Trade is inscribed on its banners; the producers being the dominant one in the rising one, Protection is its war-cry. To expect that the latter will adopt the policy of the former, is as hopeless as to expect that the former will embrace that of the latter. Accordingly, while old and wealthy Britain has permanently embraced the Free-trade policy, Russia has met it by duties amounting almost to prohibition;† America with a fixed import-duty on every article of 30 per cent, and under the Morell tariff with ones almost prohibitory; France (even under Mr Gladstone's treaty) with heavy dues;‡ and Prussia with duties varying practically from 10 to 30 per cent. Even our own colonies, Canada and Australia, have loaded our imports to them with from 10 to 20 per cent dues.

67. It is no wonder they do so;

if they acted otherwise, their rising manufactures would at once be extinguished by the British steam-engine. They will take our gold to any amount, but, if they can avoid it, little else. Accordingly, our exports to the countries from which we most largely import grain are surprisingly small; a clear proof that Free Trade has had nothing to do with the increase of our foreign trade, which has undoubtedly taken place since its adoption.§ They say to us in substance, "It is all very well for you who have climbed up to the summit of manufacturing greatness, by means of your coal and protection, to give it up when you are too high to have any reason, in manufactures, to dread foreign competition, and you have need of foreign grain to keep down the price of your own. When we enjoy similar advantages, or have attained as great eminence, we shall do the same. In the mean time you must allow us to adopt the policy by which your industry was sheltered for two centuries; and when it has produced similar results to us, we may make a similar change."

\* Democracy, in young states, inevitably leads to a protective policy. The *Times* of the 13th January 1865 has the following remarks on the subject: "Another symptom of the inevitable results of democratic government is the prevalence both in New South Wales and Victoria of Protectionist opinions. Why Assemblies practically representing working men, and working men only, should uniformly show so strong a disposition towards the establishment of heavy indirect taxes which must be paid mainly by their constituents, it is very difficult in the abstract to say; but so obviously is the spirit of Protection a concomitant of universal suffrage in America, in Canada, and in Australia, and so impossible was it found to obtain any efficient assistance from the masses towards the promotion of the Free-trade movement in this country, that the connection may be fairly said to be established by a very efficient process of induction."

† See *Customs Tariffs of all Nations*, by C. N. Newdegate, Esq., M.P., London, 1855; a work of vast labour, research, and accuracy, of the highest political and social importance, and every way worthy of its able and accomplished author.

‡ Under Mr Gladstone's treaty with France, our imports from that country have immensely increased since 1861, for a very obvious reason;—it was a departure from the principles of Free Trade, and an adoption instead of that of real *reciprocity*—the true principle in such cases. Our exports, however, though they at first increased, have latterly declined.

§ BRITISH AND IRISH EXPORTS TO, AND TOTAL IMPORTS FROM, THE UNDER-MENTIONED STATES, FROM 1851 TO 1854.

Years.	Exports to United States, Declared Val.	Imports from United States, Official Value.	Exports to Russia, Decld. Val.	Imports from Russia, Official Val.	Exports to France, Decld. Val.	Imports from France, Official Val.	Exports to Prussia, Decld. Val.	Imports from Prussia, Official Value
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1851	14,362,976	23,616,435	1,287,704	6,233,538	2,028,463	8,083,112	503,531	2,817,855
1852	16,567,737	29,183,079	1,099,917	6,403,068	2,731,286	6,590,844	581,884	1,972,332
1853	23,257,487	27,458,722	1,223,404	9,020,841	2,636,330	8,615,799	579,588	3,663,561
1854	21,410,369	30,060,613	* 54,301	2,134,028*	3,175,290	7,411,358	798,434	4,274,173

\* War.

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 1842-56; and *Trade and Navigation Reports*, 1855, pp. 7, 9.



68. If we would correctly estimate the effect of Sir R. Peel's commercial policy upon our foreign trade, we must examine its effects from its introduction in 1846 to 1852, because then it was the *sole* change in operation. In the latter year the gold fields of California and Australia began to have an effect, which in the next four years threw £100,000,000 of additional gold into the circulation of the world, the greater part of which either directly or indirectly found its way to this country. The effect of this immense addition to the currency of mankind upon the industry of all nations, and in an especial manner of the British Islands, has been immediate and prodigious. It has raised our exports from £74,000,000 in 1851 to £97,000,000 in 1854, £115,000,000 in 1856, and £146,000,000 in 1863; \* and augmented our imports from £152,000,000 in 1854, to £172,000,000 in 1856, and £248,000,000 in 1863. Between 1846 and 1852 the increase of exports, when Free Trade alone was operating, was comparatively small, although the imports, chiefly in grain, had greatly increased. That the great increase which has since taken place is the result of the general impulse given to industry by the rise of prices consequent on the gold discoveries, and is scarcely at all to be ascribed to British

free-trade, is decisively proved by the facts that it *did not take place to any great extent till the gold discoveries came into operation*, and that since that time it has been universal over the world, and not peculiar to the British Islands. And in truth the increase since the change in the value of money, which has been to the extent of nearly 30 per cent, has rendered this increase in the declared value of commodities in part rather apparent than real; for the price put upon exported articles has increased also, if not in a similar, at least in a very great proportion.†

69. However much opinions may vary on many of the conclusions now deduced from the facts of contemporary history, there is one point upon which all must be agreed, and which is of vital importance to the future independence, it may be even existence, of the British Empire. This is the *absolute necessity* under which we are now laid of *maintaining, at all hazards, our superiority at sea*, if we would avoid blockades of our harbours, and total ruin the moment hostilities of a serious kind break out with *any two great naval powers*. Having brought matters to this point, that though 200,000 emigrants on an average annually leave our shores, still always one-third and often a half of

\* EXPORTS TO, AND IMPORTS FROM, THE BRITISH ISLANDS, FROM 1853 TO 1857.

Years.	Imports. Computed Value.	EXPORTS.			Excess of Imports.
		British & Irish. Declared Value.	Foreign & Colonial. Computed Value.	Total.	
1853	.....	£98,933,781	.....	.....	.....
1854	£152,389,053	97,184,728	£18,636,366	£115,821,092	£36,567,961
1855	143,542,850	95,688,085	21,003,215	116,691,300	26,851,550
1856	172,544,154	115,826,948	23,393,405	139,220,353	33,323,801
1857	187,844,441	122,066,107	24,108,194	146,174,301	41,472,034

—Statistical Abstract, No. XI., p. 10.

The Imports and Exports for the remaining years down to 1863 are given in vol. v. at page 401, where the limitation, subject to which the excess of imports must be received, is explained.

† COMPARATIVE INCREASE OF FRENCH AND BRITISH EXPORTS.

Years.	Exports from France. France.	Exports from Great Britain.
1855.	1,660,000,000	£95,669,000
1815.	848,000,000	60,111,000
Increase,	812,000,000	£35,558,000

Here France has increased her exports under Protection upwards of 95 per cent, while Great Britain has only increased hers by 58 per cent under Free Trade. And since 1854 the

the food of our people is derived from foreign states, and more than a third of our inhabitants are, directly or indirectly, dependent on the sale of their manufactures in foreign markets for their daily wages, it is evident that, the moment our harbours are blockaded, we must surrender at discretion—just as a fortress must when its supply of provisions is exhausted. In vain shall we rest on the magnitude of our commercial navy, and the resources which, in a protracted war, we might thence derive for maritime conquest. Unless a powerful *war-navy* is kept up, and we are able to maintain the undisputed command of the sea from the outset, we might be

starved out in three months. Mr Cobden said in Parliament on 21st July 1864, that “to a nation which, like England, derives the chief part of its subsistence from foreign states, maritime superiority is the *condition of existence*.”\* There can be no doubt that this remark is strictly true; but he forgot to add, what is equally true, that it was his own act in removing protection to British agriculture which brought it to this perilous issue, and rendered the existence of the country, as an independent power, dependent, not on the magnitude of its resources or the courage of its defenders, but the thickness of its iron-plating and the weight

same has been the case. In 1854, the exports of France were £78,000,000, and in 1863, under Protection, £141,000,000, showing an increase of 81 per cent; in England the exports in 1854 were £116,000,000, and in 1863, under Free Trade, only £197,000,000, showing an increase of only 70 per cent.—See Mr GLADSTONE'S Speech on the Budget, April 27, 1860.

#### COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF FRANCE, AMERICA, AND GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	FRANCE.		UNITED STATES.		GREAT BRITAIN.	
	Imports. Special Commerce.	Exports. Special Commerce.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports. Official Value.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value
1846	£36,800,000	£34,100,000	£25,352,458	£23,643,316	£75,953,875	£57,786,875
1847	39,000,000	35,600,000	30,530,341	33,051,746	90,921,866	58,842,377
1848	22,300,000	33,200,000	32,291,443	32,090,923	93,547,134	52,849,445
1849	31,200,000	41,300,000	28,200,000	28,100,000	105,874,607	63,596,025
1850	31,200,000	44,900,000	34,700,000	28,400,000	100,460,433	71,367,885
1841	29,400,000	50,600,000	42,100,000	34,900,000	110,484,997	74,448,722
1852*	39,400,000	49,300,000	41,500,000	36,900,000	109,331,158	78,076,854
1853	44,100,000	54,500,000	52,500,000	49,700,000	123,099,313	98,933,781
1854	46,300,000	50,400,000	59,600,000	46,600,000	124,338,478	97,184,726
1855	45,957,000	62,080,000	51,600,000	38,500,000	117,402,366†	95,688,085

\* Gold discoveries.

† Official value for comparison sake. The real value of imports in these two years was £152,519,000 and £143,545,000 respectively.

—PORTER, 257, 400, 405; NEWMARSH, vi. 653; *Parl. Stat., Trade and Navigation*, 1855.

#### QUARTERS OF CORN IMPORTED IN EACH YEAR FROM 1843 TO 1863.

Years.	Quarters.	Price per Qr.	Years.	Quarters.	Value.	Price per Qr.
1843	1,433,891	50s. 1d.	1854	7,909,544	£21,760,283	72s. 5d.
1844	3,030,681	51s. 3d.	1855	6,278,813	17,508,700	74s. 8d.
1845	2,429,916	50s. 10d.	1856	9,339,425	23,039,422	69s. 2d.
1846	4,752,174	54s. 8d.	1857	9,169,180	19,380,567	56s. 4d.
1847	11,912,864	69s. 9d.	1858	11,293,705	20,152,641	44s. 2d.
1848	7,528,472	50s. 6d.	1859	10,270,774	18,042,063	43s. 9d.
1849	10,669,661	44s. 3d.	1860	14,494,976	31,671,918	53s. 3d.
1850	9,019,590	40s. 3d.	1861	16,094,914	34,918,639	55s. 4d.
1851	9,618,026	38s. 6d.	1862	18,441,791	37,772,194	55s. 5d.
1852	7,746,669	40s. 9d.	1863	15,353,352	25,955,939	44s. 9d.
1853	10,173,135	53s. 3d.				

—*Statistical Abstracts*, No. IV., p. 30, and No. XI., pp. 20, 39, 73.

\* *Times*, July 23, 1864.

of its broadside guns. If Russia and France, or France and America, had gone to war with us in 1854, how long could we have carried on the contest, when the grain imported in 1856 alone was 10,000,000, and in 1862 reached the enormous amount of 18,000,000 quarters? Nor let us trust too securely to our commercial navy; for under the action of free trade in shipping, partially introduced in 1823, and fully in 1849, while the British tonnage employed in carrying on our trade has doubled in the last fifteen years, the foreign has considerably more than tripled;\* and for the first time in British annals, the alarming announcement has appeared in our prints, that the tonnage of the shipping built in the harbours of one only of our commercial rivals considerably exceeds our own.†

70. One effect of paramount importance has already taken place in the British Islands since Free Trade has become the ruling principle of the empire, and that is, the *decline in the rate of the growth of our population*. This effect, precisely analogous to what was already shown as taking place in France, has been completely demonstrated by the results of the two last decennial censuses of the British Empire. From them it appears that during the last fifty years so great a change has taken place in the growth of the population in these islands, that in the two last decades, not only the rate of increase as compared with the numbers of the people at each period, but the *absolute numbers* of the increment, have declined in a remarkable manner.‡ This change has been in an especial manner conspicuous since the great alteration

\* BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE WITH CARGOES, AND IN BALLAST, CLEARED AT PORTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, OUT AND IN.

Years.	British. Tons.	Foreign. Tons.	Total. Tons.
1842, . . . .	6,669,995	2,457,479	9,127,474
1843, . . . .	7,181,179	2,648,383	9,824,562
1844, . . . .	7,500,285	2,846,484	10,346,769
Navigation Laws repealed, July 1849.			
1849, . . . .	9,669,638	4,334,750	14,004,388
1850, . . . .	9,442,544	5,602,520	14,505,064
1851, . . . .	9,820,876	6,159,322	15,980,198
War declared, April 1854.			
1854, . . . .	10,744,849	7,924,238	18,669,087
1855, . . . .	10,919,732	7,569,738	18,489,470
1856, . . . .	12,945,771	8,643,278	21,589,049

—Stat. Abstract, No. IV., 1842 56, p. 27.

Increase in Fifteen Years.

British Tonnage,	200 per cent.
Foreign Tonnage,	350 „

† Already the tonnage owned by the United States exceeds three millions, and so actively is ship-building carried on there, that in the year ending 30th June 1856 there were launched 1703 ships, measuring 469,393 tons; whilst in 1855 there were built in the United Kingdom 1098 vessels, of the burden of 320,293 tons. The relative position of the two countries in the competition for the trade of the world, which is now going on, is of a nature to excite grave reflections, though our existing tonnage still slightly exceeds that of the United States.—Morning Post, May 27, 1857.

‡ POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND, AND THE CHANNEL ISLANDS, IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS, AS ASCERTAINED BY THE CENSUS (INCLUDING THE ARMY AND NAVY SERVING ABROAD).

Years.	Numbers.	Absolute Increase.	Rate of Increase.
1811	18,627,476	.....	.....
1821	21,280,887	2,653,411	↓
1831	24,409,311	3,128,424	↓
1841	27,049,575	2,640,264	↓
1851	27,737,363	687,788	↓
1861	29,334,788	1,597,425	↑

—Census, 1861.

in our commercial policy which took place in 1846. And supposing that the great decline in the rate of increase from 1841 to 1851 is to be mainly ascribed to the Irish famine, what is to be said to the decline from 1851 to 1861—a period of extraordinary prosperity, good harvests, and the animating influence of the gold discoveries in raising prices and stimulating production? It is evident that the change has been owing to some causes of permanent operation which prognosticate our approach to a stationary condition: and these appear to be the preference given by Free Trade to foreign over domestic industry; the progressive conversion of labour from healthy fields to unhealthy cities, and the vast increase of emigration, from the loss to the rural classes of the city markets for their produce. So obvious has it now become that Free Trade has a tendency to drive the inhabitants out of the country, especially its rural districts, that the ablest and most zealous of the journals on that side fairly admit the fact,\* and are already preparing the

public for the time when the Registrar-General will exhibit a *decline of the people*.

71. It is evident, from what has now been said, that both parties were in some respects right, in some wrong, on the Free-Trade controversy which raged with such violence in this country when the new system was first introduced in 1846. Nor is it surprising that they were so, or that that controversy was carried on with so much heat, and with such profound conviction of being right on both sides. It arose from the country having reached the turning-point between a rapidly progressing and a stationary and then declining state; but this was not seen at the time. It was thought it might be averted by the one party, and ardently desired to be brought on by the other: thence the heats which prevailed. The Free-traders were perfectly right when they contended that the change was unavoidable—that it must be conceded to the loud demands of the urban multitudes—and that it would open up new and valuable commercial intercourse between this country and the grain-growing states by exchanging our manufactures for their rude produce, which could not be enjoyed unless the price of food, and with it the wages of labour, were brought down by the removal of all restrictions on the importation of subsistence. But they were wrong when they imagined that these results would give a new lease of life to the nation or arrest the progress to decay incident to all earthly things. On the contrary, they were the very changes which brought it on at an accelerated pace by arresting the growth of population, and resting the social weal on the quicksands of commercial prosperity, instead of the steady basis of agricultural production. The Protectionists were right when they maintained that Free Trade would discourage agricultural industry in the empire as much as it would vivify that of towns—that in this way it would arrest the growth of the people, lower the State in the scale of nations, and induce a perilous and humiliating de-

\* "The births in the last quarter were 180,752, and the deaths 112,133; so that, if this were all, we should have added 68,619 to the population of England and Wales in three months. This, in the language of old numberings, is adding 70,000 'fighting men' to the people every year. But in the same period, as far as could be ascertained, as many as 46,467 left these isles for our colonies and the United States—the latter taking 28,853, and the Australian colonies 11,241. More than half our contribution to the United States is ascertained to be Irish, and more than half the remainder Scotch and Continental. It is impossible not to be struck by the immense waste of power exhibited in the *drain of three-fourths of our natural increase to distant regions*, and the greater part to a country in doubtful relations with our own. We take it easily, because, on our free principles, there is really no help for it, and because we are fully aware that in the day of trial we should find we had consulted our interest in replenishing the earth as well as increasing and multiplying. There was a time, and a recent one, when it was thought we increased too much, and emigrated too little; and philosophers apprehended a day when we should be elbowing one another out of this narrow isle. There can be no such fear now. The tortoise has not yet overtaken the hare, but it is not far behind, and it is possible that we may yet read in these returns that the actual population of England is declining year by year."—*Times*, 31st October 1864.

pendence of the population for their food on foreign states. But they were wrong when they argued that these results were either avoidable, or, in the circumstances, to be deprecated, seeing they were the changes intended by nature to arrest the growth of aged communities, and thereby secure the dispersion and growth of mankind in distant regions.

72. The poet has predicted in well-known lines the fate of a nation in which the wealth of cities is increasing, and the race of husbandmen declining; and, by the alteration of a single word, it may be rendered precisely applicable to the British Empire at this time:—

“ Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay,  
*Merchants* and lords may flourish or may  
fade—  
A breath may make them as a breath hath  
made;  
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,  
When once destroyed can never be sup-  
plied.”\*

These lines have been cited times innumerable as an example of the vagaries of the poetical mind, so much at variance with the real march of events. But what a commentary upon them has now been furnished by the present state of the poet's own country, in which the exports in round numbers have reached £145,000,000 annually; the imports, £245,000,000; the average emigration for the last ten years, 204,000; the paupers in the two islands, 1,100,000 a-year; the metropolis and all the great towns rapidly increasing, the rural population everywhere declining, above a half of the whole people being fed from foreign lands, the inhabitants of one part of the empire alone having decreased nearly 3,000,000 in twenty years! It need hardly be said how perilous a state of things this is, and with how many dangers, social, moral, and political, it must be fraught. They are the indications, the well-known indications, of a stationary, and thus declining, stage of existence being at hand, and of the nation in its old age having approached the assigned limit of earthly existence.

\* GOLDSMITH'S *Deserted Village*.

73. Such gloomy views are akin to those which have so often been formed as to the fate of the individual, and the inevitable closing of all his prospects by the scythe of death. But they are as unfounded, if a more general view is taken, in the one case as the other. Neither empires, nor the individuals who compose it, were destined, in this world at least, for immortal endurance. They were intended to perform their allotted part, and then to be swept away. “Carthage,” says Polybius, “being older than Rome, had felt her decay come all the sooner, and the survivor too, he foresaw, carried in her bosom the seeds of mortality.” But the final cause, the purpose of Providence in this destiny alike of nations and individuals is very apparent. Its intentions were not confined to a single individual, or people, or race: they extended to all the human species. The destiny of man was to “multiply and subdue the earth,” not to swell out in a particular spot. Towards the attainment of this end, it was essential not that one individual or nation should live for ever, but that a succession of individuals and nations should arise and carry on the mighty scheme. The necessary dependence of man for subsistence on the chase or pasturage secured the migration of man in early times, and rendered certain the first dispersion of mankind. But after these earliest settlements have been effected, a long period succeeds during which the race is stationary and lives chained to its native seats. With the progress of agriculture, the growth of commerce, the spread of the arts, the bonds which unite man to his native seats are insensibly increased, till at length he becomes, in the general case, the most immovable of all animals, and the attractions of *home* the most powerful that influence his conduct and determine his mode of life. Such being the disposition of man in every prosperous and aged community, how were these attractions to be overcome, and how is he to be torn up from his country, his comforts, and his home, to begin again, as in the days of the shep-

herd kings, the career of remote settlement and colonisation? The problem which nature had to solve was, how to accomplish this change with a being whose dispositions are fixed, the same in the last days of his career as the first.

74. The way in which this is effected by the continued action of the same desires under different circumstances is very apparent: the passions are the same, but the objects to which they are directed become changed in the progress of society, and with them the social results undergo a total revolution. Men continue to look at the sun without being aware that as he moves from east to west the lights and shadows which he casts have been reversed. The gratification of human wants and desires is at all times the ruling passion, but as society advances these objects change to nations as they do to individuals. In the early stages of civilised progress the acquisition of money is the great desire, and to effect that object protection to native industry is everywhere the policy of governments: at that stage of national existence it is the wisest and most salutary policy, because wealth is scarce, and there is at home ample room for a great increase of inhabitants; but when wealth has become more abundant the interests of society require that this tendency to native increase should be checked, and the stream of mankind turned to remote lands where for ages the means of unlimited augmentation are afforded. This is at once insured by the simple effect of increased wealth in raising the prices of all sorts of agricultural employments, and lowering them by the effects of the division of labour and application of machinery, in all manufactures: thence the cry for Free Trade to counteract the enhancing of the price of food, and with its concession, which ere long becomes unavoidable, a great depression of rural industry, and proportionate encouragement of urban. Men are in consequence driven from the country to the town, from healthy fields to unhealthy streets, and multitudes seek

in distant lands that employment in country life which they can no longer find in their own. Thus the increase of mankind is at first arrested and at length checked: the break is put on the machine for a considerable time before it is finally stopped; but this is precisely what the best interests both of this rich country and of the rest of the world require at that period; it averts the evils of the stationary condition of China or Japan, and induces in its stead the energy, progress, and happiness of America and Australia. It is in the midst of this great, and for mankind generally blessed change, that we are now placed. The removal of Protection from the labours of agriculture was the first step in it: let us not then deplore the effects of the alteration upon the fortunes of the old and parent state any more than the silent decay of strength which marks the approach of death in old age. Our country has lived long, and worked out a glorious destiny, but like all earthly things she must expect the termination of existence: she will not expire without descendants: she has left the foundations of a second Britain and another England in the regions of the Sun. All this has been brought about by the voluntary acts of free agents; but of free agents acting under the impulses of the wisdom which has fitted the wing of the bird to the air, and the fin of the fish to the water.

"All nature is but art unknown to thee,  
All chance, direction which thou canst not  
see;  
All discord, harmony not understood,  
All partial evil, universal good."

75. Possibly, however, the change may be more rapid, and a period may be put to national existence in an earlier stage and by ruder methods than by the silent increase of labour and decline of rural inhabitants. Mirabeau long ago said that "a capitalist is the most timid animal in creation," and experience has now abundantly proved that a country ruled by capitalists is the most timid nation. The

reason is the same in both cases; it is that the whole fortune of both, and not the mere fruits of a season, is at stake in any serious struggle. To landholders or cultivators the fruits of the soil during a single season, or buildings of comparatively small value, are alone put in hazard during a campaign; but the half of the commercial capital of a nation may be swept away in a few weeks by a monetary crisis. The knowledge of this necessarily imposes circumspection and timidity: anything will be borne in preference to putting such interests in hazard by going to war. The fatal dependence on foreign states for food, renders a single defeat at sea on a large scale the necessary prelude to national ruin and subjugation. The stake is too great to be lightly hazarded. Society has come to rest on this unstable equilibrium, and a slight concussion may overturn the entire fabric. Thus the government is found to be pacific under circumstances when due respect for the national character requires the sword to be drawn. Meanwhile, envy in the adjoining states increases with the wealth and prosperity which peace has brought to the great commercial state; and at length these jealous feelings issue in a general combination to lower the pride and divide the wealth of the ob-

noxious commercial community. Pacific caution will be imposed on all other commercial states as well as the Venetian oligarchy; a league of Cambray is the danger perpetually impending over it. To this danger Free Trade, by rendering the nation dependent for more than half its food on foreign states, who may at any time combine against it, has made the greatest possible addition. To the motives that may lead foreign nations to induce it, a long period of previous prosperity and glory is an equal incitement. Whoever considers the foreign policy of every Government in Great Britain during the last fifty years, both in Europe and America, with attention, will probably be of opinion that these dangers are far from being chimerical, and even now (April 1864) portend at no distant period serious reverses to the British Empire. When we recollect that Great Britain has been so much influenced by commercial interests, that she did not venture to draw the sword in recent times in Europe, when a neutral and allied state became the victim of an unjustifiable spoliation, and the balance of power was destroyed in America by the crushing of an heroic people, it is difficult to avoid the conviction that they are even now come upon us.

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## CHAPTER LXIV.

EUROPE, FROM THE AFFAIR OF THE SPANISH MARRIAGES IN 1846 TO THE SECRET ALLIANCE AGAINST ENGLAND IN JULY 1847.

1. It soon appeared how serious were to be the consequences of the disunion of France and England, arising from the affair of the Spanish marriages, upon the balance of power, and interests of the lesser states in Europe. When the allied forces occupied Cracow on March 3, 1846, after the Polish in-

surrection, it was merely stipulated that the militia of the republic should not be reorganised, and that the town should be occupied alternately by the troops of the three powers. This was formally agreed to in a memorandum signed, on the 4th April following, by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Rus-

sia, and Prussia. Considering the use which the inhabitants of Cracow had made of their nationality while they enjoyed it, and the manner in which they had converted their town into an advanced post, from which they might scatter the seeds of disaffection and rebellion through all the provinces of old Poland, now incorporated with the partitioning powers, no one, on reasonable grounds, could make any objection to this arrangement, which was obviously of a provisional nature only, and left the separate existence of the republic of Cracow untouched. But no sooner did the Northern powers receive intelligence of the alienation of France and England on the Spanish marriage than they altered their views, and resolved to make this temporary outbreak a pretext for the permanent incorporation of Cracow, with its dependent territory, with Austria, upon certain indemnities being provided to Russia and Prussia. By a treaty concluded, accordingly, on 11th November 1846, the city of Cracow, with twenty-three square miles (German) of territory, and a hundred and fifty-six thousand inhabitants, was incorporated with Austria, and united with its province of Galicia. Russia received as an indemnity certain territories in the north of Galicia adjacent to Lithuania, and Prussia the town of Hatzen Plotz, with its adjacent territory. Thus was completed the last partition of Poland, and the partial restoration of its nationality, effected by Lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, finally demolished! A strange and unlooked-for result to follow the entire triumph of Liberal principles for fifteen years back, both in Paris and London; but easily accounted for, when the clashing of the ambition which these principles have exerted is taken into consideration, and the manner in which the concord of France and England had been destroyed by the jealousies awakened by the measures adopted by both in regard to the Spanish succession.

2. It was not merely by removing all apprehension of an armed intervention of England and France in the affairs of Poland, that the coldness

between these two powers tended to set free the Northern potentates, and hasten the extinction of the last remnants of its nationality. The diplomatic position and objects of the two powers, after the marriages of the Queen and the Infanta had been celebrated, led still more directly to the same result. Sensible, when it was too late, of the enormous errors he had committed in altering the order of succession in Spain, and forcing a queen upon an unwilling people, Lord Palmerston made strenuous efforts, when its effects had become apparent by the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier to the Infanta, to get the Northern powers, and Russia in particular, to adhere to his interpretation of the Treaty of Utrecht in regard to intermarriages of the royal families of France and Spain. This interpretation did not consist, as the French historians assert, in the plea that all marriages between these royal houses were prohibited by that treaty. Lord Palmerston was too well versed in diplomatic lore and recent history not to know that there was not a word in the treaty prohibitory of such marriages, and that, accordingly, they had repeatedly since taken place between the two royal families without objection from any quarter whatever.\* What he maintained was, that the Treaty of

Marriages between French princes and Spanish princesses, accordingly, have been very frequent since the Treaty of Utrecht. One took place on 21st January 1721; another on 25th August 1739; and on 23d January 1745 the Dauphin of France married the princess who, but for the entail on the male line contained in the Treaty of Utrecht, would have been heiress of the crown of Spain. But on none of these occasions was it ever supposed that any infringement of the Treaty of Utrecht had taken place, or that any danger to the balance of power had been incurred. Nay, Louis XV. was publicly, and with the knowledge of all Europe, affianced, early in life, to the Infanta of Spain. She was brought to Paris, and lived long at Versailles, in order to be initiated into the customs of the French court; and the marriage was at length broken off, not from any objection on the part of the English ambassador, or the diplomatic body in Europe, but because, the princess being only thirteen and the king nineteen, the marriage could not take place so soon as the impatience of his subjects required, and the match was in consequence broken off, and he



Utrecht forbade any prince of the house of Orléans to acquire the Spanish crown by marriage or otherwise. But this was an unfounded plea; there was not a word in the Treaty of Utrecht excluding the house of Orléans from the Spanish throne, if they chose to relinquish the French crown, or their right of succession to it. The union of the two crowns on one head was forbidden by the Treaty of Utrecht, but not the acquisition of the two crowns *by brothers of the same family*—the danger which, by the consequences of Lord Palmerston's own act in placing the Queen on the throne, was now impending. Besides, even if the marriage had been contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht, he could not refer to it as founding an objection to its violation; for, having himself set the example of violating the treaty by setting aside the male line, he could not rest upon it as conferring any other right. As little was he entitled to object to the incorporation of Cracow as being contrary to the Treaty of Vienna, for he himself had been the first to break through that treaty by partitioning the kingdom of the Netherlands, which it guaranteed; and the Northern powers might, by a mere variation of names, retort on him his own words: "It will not escape the loyalty of the Court of London, that if the Treaty of Vienna is not good on the Rhine or the Po, neither is it on the Vistula."\*

3. The full extent of the disastrous effects thus introduced into the diplomacy of Europe by the divisions of the Western powers, will not be duly appreciated unless the cordial terms on which they were, previous to the affair of the Spanish marriages, is taken into consideration. It is thus set forth by the chosen historian of the French diplomacy under the reign of Louis Philippe: "Unmistakable symptoms

proved to entire Europe the fortunate changes which had taken place in the relations of France and England. Queen Victoria, disembarked at Treport, suddenly appeared at the Château d'Eu. The most cordial intimacy, arising naturally from the circumstances, and favoured by the hundred facilities of country life, sprang up between the two chiefs of the great constitutional monarchies. Shortly after, during the visit at Windsor, the King of the French received the most convincing proof of the profound impression which these moments, passed in the bosom of the royal family, had left in the breast of the Queen of England. Not content with surrounding her royal guest with the most delicate attentions, and bestowing on him the proofs of the most affectionate respect, desirous to join to the manifestation of her personal regard a further proof of her royal inclination as sovereign, Queen Victoria invested him with the dignities most coveted by foreign monarchs. In their turn, the English people, desirous to associate themselves with the feelings of their young Queen, bestowed on the representative of the French nation an honour which no crowned head had ever received. Louis Philippe, being unable to accept the magnificent hospitality which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London proposed to have offered to him at Guildhall, that great corporation, the representative of the rich and intelligent classes of the metropolis, did not hesitate to pass the gates of the city, and to offer him at Windsor an address of respectful felicitation. Such an unusual step was intended to honour France itself, not less than its King. France did not misunderstand it; and these shining marks of regard were the more acceptable, that they could be accepted with pride from a nation whom they were then in the happy course of emulating only in peace, prosperity, and grandeur."

4. The ill effects of the disaccord of France and England were not confined to Poland. They appeared in an equally striking manner in Greece, Italy, and Switzerland. The consti-

married Maria Leckzinski, daughter of the King of Poland.—See DE TOCQUEVILLE'S *Histoire de Louis XV.*, i. 172.

\* "Il n'échappera pas à la loyauté des Cours du Nord, que si les Traités de Vienne ne sont pas bons sur la Vistule, ils ne sont pas meilleurs sur le Rhin et sur le Po."—D'HAUSSONVILLE, *Politique Extérieure de la France*, ii. 182.

tutional system, established in the first of these countries by the Governments of the three nations which had established the infant state, having been found, as might have been expected, entirely at variance with the habits and temper of at least the whole continental portion of its inhabitants, had gradually gone into desuetude; and in 1835, Lord Palmerston, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, had made it a formal ground of complaint against the French Government, that they had endeavoured to establish in Greece a system altogether at variance with the habits and wishes of the people. No overt act, however, followed this expression of opinion, and King Otho practically ruled the country with despotic authority for eight years afterwards. This mode of administration, however, although suitable to the clanish habits and ideas of the mountaineers in continental Greece, was little calculated to meet the wishes of the mercantile islanders and the constitutional party, who had been mainly instrumental in establishing the independence of the country. These discontents at length acquired such strength that they ended in a revolution, which altered the form of the government. On the 15th September 1843, a general movement took place, headed by a powerful party styled the "Philorthodox," secretly supported by the Russian ministers and the Court of St Petersburg. The insurrection was so generally supported that it had the whole features of a national movement. Without any resistance on the part of the Government, which was taken completely by surprise, a constitutional monarchy was proclaimed; a new ministry, with M. Metaxas at its head, established; and a committee appointed to arrange the details of a constitution.

5. The object of Russia in supporting this change was to supplant the influence of the German sovereign in the government of the country; it was an anti-Bavarian, not a Liberal movement. It was no part of the policy of the Court of St Petersburg to establish constitutional monarchies in

the East, or to surround itself with a zone of free institutions; it desired to render its own authority paramount in all the adjoining states, and nothing more. The revolution of 15th September had passed their intentions; it had become constitutional, when they only desired it to be dynastic. They lost no time, therefore, in recalling their minister, M. Katacasy, and in ordering M. Calerji, the brother of the chief leader in the revolution, to quit their service. As a natural consequence, the chief direction of the country, during the formation of its constitution, devolved on France and England, the natural guardians of a state which aspired to be free while maturing its institutions, and the most perfect accordance of views prevailed for long between the ministers of the two nations on the subject. SIR EDMUND LYONS, the English, and M. Piscatory, the French Minister, went hand in hand in all measures connected with the formation of the constitution, as did Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot, as long as the former remained at the head of foreign affairs in England. These cordial dispositions on both sides were in the highest degree agreeable to Louis Philippe and M. Guizot, and they continued for a considerable time to animate the two cabinets in this particular, as well as their respective ministers.\*

6. The first interruption to these feelings took place in 1844, when it became necessary to appoint a new

\* "Il n'y a qu'une bonne politique, celle que font ensemble la France et l'Angleterre. C'est vrai partout; c'est vrai surtout en Grèce. Vous et moi, MM. Mavrocordato et Colletti voulant les mêmes choix, tendant au même but, par les mêmes moyens, la partie monarchique et constitutionnelle est gagnée en Grèce."—M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, 30th October 1843.

"Quant à l'entente avec mon collègue d'Angleterre, Sir E. Lyons, elle est complète. Le Pape la désire et en prend grande confiance."—M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, 30th September 1843; D'HAUSSONVILLE, *Politique Extérieure de la France*, ii. 87.

"Tous les hommes disent, 'Si M. Colletti et M. Mavrocordato, le ministre d'Angleterre et le ministre de France, continuent à s'entendre, comme ils font aujourd'hui, la cause est gagnée.'"—M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, 10th November 1843; *Ibid.* ii. 88.

ministry in consequence of M. Metaxas and his colleagues, who first held the helm after the revolution, having resigned. M. Mavrocordato, who had resided long in London, was supported by the English Cabinet; M. Colletti, who had done the same at Paris, and had numerous political connections there, by the French. The former was (April 11) selected by King Otho to form a cabinet, but it was still supported by M. Colletti, and Piscatory, on the part of France, lent it for some time a generous and disinterested aid. By degrees, however, the jealousy which was naturally to be looked for in such circumstances, made its appearance, and Mavrocordato's ministry having been displaced (August 18) by a vote of the Chambers, a new ministry was formed, composed of M. Colletti, M. Metaxas, and their respective friends. This ministerial change was the commencement of the misunderstanding of France and England on the affairs of Greece. The coldness continued through the whole of 1845, during which Colletti really rested on the support of France, and Mavrocordato as plainly on that of England. Appearances, however, were still kept up, and there was no ostensible divergence between the embassies of the rival powers as long as Lord Aberdeen remained at the Foreign Office in London. But when Lord Palmerston succeeded, and the affairs of the Spanish marriages had embittered the feelings of the two Cabinets, the division became open and serious. In August 1847, Lord Palmerston endeavoured to displace the Colletti ministry, and insisted peremptorily for the immediate payment of the arrears of interest which had been accumulating for some years on the Greek Loan, advanced by Great Britain to the Hellenic Government on the first establishment of their independence. The Russian and German cabinets, to avoid the consequences of so grave a division, strongly advised the Cabinet of Athens to pay up the arrears, and thus avoid the pretext for an open rupture, expressing, at the same time, their conviction that it was "not the money which

Lord Palmerston wished, but the removal of M. Colletti."\* So serious did matters become, that several additional British vessels of war unexpectedly made their appearance in the Greek waters; and M. Colletti, who was an able and patriotic minister, exhausted by the fatigues of the contest, breathed his last, and "his great soul went," to use the expression of M. Guizot, "to rejoin the battalion of Plutarch."†

7. The death of Colletti was a great misfortune to Greece, and tended still farther to increase the division on Hellenic affairs between France and England. The King of Bavaria, anxious to act the part of a mediator between them, proposed a coalition ministry, in which Metaxas and Tricoupi should bear a part; but to this Lord Palmerston refused to accede, alleging that the state of affairs in Greece was essentially vicious, and that he could agree to no cabinet of which Mavrocordato was not the head, and which was not preceded by a dissolution of the Chambers. To these conditions King Otho refused to accede, and the consequence was that a civil war broke out. Patras was several days in the hands of the insurgents; and for a short time nearly the whole hill districts of continental Greece, where the chief strength of the adherents of Mavrocordato lay, were won by their arms. At length, by the efforts of the foreign ambassadors, peace was restored, and a ministry was established which carried out

\* "Si on nous demande un conseil, nous donnerons celui de payer, parcequ'il est conforme à mes instructions; mais nous sommes convaincus qu'en payant la somme demandée, on ne gagnera rien. Ce n'est pas évidemment au trésor Grec qu'en veut Lord Palmerston — c'est à M. Colletti." — M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, Août 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. iii.

† His last moments were thus described by an eyewitness: "Parlez de moi à mes amis en France. Faites mes adieux à M. Guizot, à M. de Bresson, à M. Eynard. Jusqu'au dernier moment, tant que j'ai pu, j'ai suivi leurs conseils. Ils doivent être contents de moi. Je laisse mon pays bien malade. Mon œuvre n'est pas achevée. Pourquoi le Roi n'a-t-il pas voulu me connaître il y a deux ans? Aujourd'hui je mourrais tranquille. Je ne puis plus parler, recouchez-moi; je voudrais m'endormir." — M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, September 1847; *Ibid.* ii. 113.

the system of Colletti, and was in the interest of France.

8. The evil effects of the division regarding the Spanish marriages appeared in every quarter where the French and English diplomatists were brought into collision. Portugal, ever the chosen and long-established seat of British influence, became the theatre of discord. The Queen Donna Maria having thrown herself into the arms of the Conservative party, naturally inclined to France, the acknowledged head of the liberal portion of that party in Europe; and Lord Palmerston as naturally inclined to support the provincial juntas, which contended for the more democratic regime. At length, in June 1847, England, France, and Spain agreed on the principles of an intervention, with the execution of which the former was charged. A compromise was imposed upon the contending parties, a change of ministry took place, the decrees adverse to the constitutional party were recalled, an amnesty accorded, and a Cortes convoked. This compromise for a time stilled the waves of discord in Portugal, by re-establishing the English influence and the ascendant of the democratic party; but being in part adverse to the secret wishes of France, it tended only to augment the alienation of the two Cabinets. An incident occurred soon after, which at first had a serious aspect, and threatened to produce a direct collision between the two Governments, in consequence of the raising of the blockade of Monte Video by the British naval forces, which had been commenced by them, conjointly with the French, on occasion of a rupture between the government of that town on the one hand, and Rosas and Oribe, revolutionary chiefs, on the other. This delicate matter, however, was adjusted by Lord John Russell, in the absence of Lord Palmerston, who was out of town, disavowing the act; to which the latter, on his return, acceded, so that the complaints of the French Cabinet, which in reality were well-founded, were appeased.

9. A more serious cause of discord

was likely to have arisen at Madrid in consequence of a coldness which had supervened between the King and Queen within less than a year after their ill-assorted union. Like other marriages contracted from considerations of policy or convenience, not inclination, this marriage had proved extremely unfortunate; and the partiality of the Queen for a personal favourite, General Serrano, was scarcely disguised, and excited no little attention and scandal in the court. The British ambassador was no stranger to these intrigues; and such was the condition of the court, and so insecure the foundations of government, that no less than three ministries, all of them in the French or Conservative interest, had been overturned within a year after the Queen's marriage. "Nothing," said the French minister at Madrid, "is so easy as for the English embassy to overturn a Moderate ministry; we have seen three fall, one after another, within a year. Nothing would be easier than for the French legation to overturn a Progresista ministry, if it chose to set about it. But what would all that serve but to advance the cause of our enemies? and what is so likely to render the throne vacant, as to show that all government at Madrid has become impossible?" So serious became the discord between the Queen and her husband, that a divorce was openly talked of, and anxiously discussed at the French and English embassies; and to render the breach more irreparable, and the scandal greater, it was hinted that the principal ground of divorce would be, not any supervening fault on the part of either of the spouses, but an original incapacity on the part of the Duke, which, according to the civil though not the canon law, had rendered the marriage null *ab initio*. This report tended only still farther to widen the breach between the English and French parties; and it was commonly asserted by the former, that it was the knowledge of this circumstance which had occasioned the sudden conversion of Louis Philippe to the Montpensier

marriage. Incredible as such a story is, there are passages in the private correspondence of the French ambassador at London with M. Guizot, which give some countenance to part, at least, of such an idea.\*

10. While the clouds were in this manner lowering on so many sides in the diplomatic horizon, a still more threatening storm was arising in a quarter even nearer to France than the Spanish peninsula. In ITALY the symptoms—the unmistakable symptoms—of a coming convulsion, were beginning to become apparent. The crisis was brought on by the death of Pope Gregory XVI., which took place on 1st June 1846. His long reign, which began on 3d February 1831, had been a continual struggle with difficulty and danger. The day after his election the revolution broke out at Modena; in a few days the whole of Romagna had been in insurrection; Bologna, Ancona, Perugia, had opened their gates to the insurgents, and from the heights of Otricoli their victorious columns had beheld the dome of St Peter's, and bade defiance to the Papal Government in the plenitude of its power. The deceased Pope never got over the impression produced by these

threatening events in the very outset of his career. His reign was a long and often arduous struggle with the revolutionary Liberals, against whom he was sometimes, at the instigation of the victorious Austrians, obliged to adopt measures of rigour little in unison with the native humanity of his disposition. Fearful of letting in the point of the revolutionary wedge, he saw no safety but in sturdy resistance to all measures of reform, which he regarded as the first letting in of the inundation. The pent-up waters only acquired additional strength by being so long compressed; but as the age of the Pontiff promised a change ere long in the Papal Government, the Liberals remained quiet in the mean time, and placed all their hopes in a change of policy on the part of his successor.

11. Great in consequence were the anxieties and hopes of the whole Liberal party in Italy when the death of the reigning Pontiff occurred. The cardinals assembled on the 14th June to elect a successor, and such was the anxiety of the crowds which thronged the entrance, that it was painted on their very visages, and in the waving to and fro which always takes place when a multitude are strongly agitated. At length, on the morning of the 17th, the doors were thrown open, and from the balconies of the Quirinal the name of Cardinal Mastai was proclaimed as the new Pope, under the title of Pius IX. Joy was painted on every visage; mutual felicitations were universal among the assembled multitude. The character of the new Pontiff, which was known to be deeply tinged with Liberalism, inspired the most ardent hopes among that party, numerous especially in the great towns and among the highly educated classes, who were strongly impressed with the innumerable social evils of their country, and looked forward to a course of liberal measures, conducing to the bewitching dream of Italian unity, as the only possible means of terminating them. The first act of the new Pope sufficiently evinced the interest which had put him on the throne. He called

\* "Sur la question du divorce j'ai deux choses à vous dire; la première est que toute idée de divorce est un rêve et une folie. Si la Reine d'Espagne veut divorcer, elle n'a qu'un parti à prendre, c'est de faire comme Henri VIII., de se faire Protestante, et de faire son royaume Protestant. Aucun Pape, aucun Prêtre Catholique non excommunié, n'admettra un seul instant l'idée d'un divorce; et pour que le mariage soit déclaré nul *ab initio*, il faudrait qu'il fût contracté en violation des lois de l'Eglise, ce qui n'est pas. . . . Il importe essentiellement que l'Angleterre se tienne pour satisfaite de l'ordre des choses établies en Espagne: dans le cas contraire, je prévois tout, et ne réponds de rien. Si vous vous aperceviez que nous travaillions à détruire cet ordre de choses à notre profit, à hâter, je le répète, d'un seul jour, d'une seule heure, les droits si éloignés de Madame la Duchesse de Montpensier, vous auriez toute raison d'y regarder de très-près; vous auriez tout droit de vous y opposer. Ce que vous feriez en pareil cas, je ne vous le demande pas; peut-être ne le savez vous pas vous-même; mais je reconnais toute l'étendue de vos droits." — L'AMBASSADEUR DE FRANCE à Londres à M. GUIZOT, 16 Septembre 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, II. 296, 297.

the French ambassador, M. Rossi, to his side, and shaking him affectionately by the hand, addressed to him the most cordial words, expressive of his gratitude and confidence. Who could have foreseen that within two years M. Rossi was to fall a bleeding corpse on the steps of the throne which he had now so large a share in establishing?

12. Italy at this period was profoundly moved, not merely by the efforts of the Carbonari and other secret societies which had so long laboured in its bosom, but by the general opinion of all the intelligent classes. Like France in 1789, it had arrived at one of those phases in national existence, when society, from a combination of causes, is in a manner precipitated into revolution. Like it, too, the direction of public thought by literary men contributed much to this effect. The works of the Comte di Balbo, of the Marquis d'Azeglio, and of the Abbé Giberti, which appeared from 1840 to 1846, had a large share in producing it. None but those who lived in Italy during those years can conceive how great was the sensation which they produced. The reason was, that they fell upon the public mind with the charm of novelty, combined with a large intermixture of truth. Asserting not less strenuously than the extreme revolutionists the necessity of an entire change in Italy, drawing no veil over its innumerable political and social evils, they inculcated an entirely different course of action to remove them. So far from preaching eternal war against those in authority, and combination to overthrow them by every means in their power, they recommended order, peace, and tranquillity, the reformation of abuses by the gentle methods of peace and persuasion, and a cordial concord between sovereigns and their subjects, to effect these objects, from a sense of the advantages they would confer on both. These doctrines, so easy to inculcate, so hard to practise in a world of selfishness, spread the more readily among the educated and respectable classes, that they divested, in appearance, political

change of all its terrors, and made a constant appeal to the generous and benevolent, instead of the angry and selfish passions. The immense influence of these doctrines, as of the similar ones which were so general in the years immediately preceding the French Revolution, must be regarded as one great cause of the general assent which Liberal opinions obtained at this period, and for long after, in all parts of the Italian peninsula.

13. The character of the Pontiff who, at this critical juncture, was called to fill the chair of St Peter, was peculiarly calculated to foster these principles and encourage these hopes. Resembling the unhappy French monarch in many salient points of his character, he was the Louis XVI. of the Italian Revolution. Mild and affectionate in disposition, averse to violence, having a horror of cruelty, he aspired only to make himself loved, and he thought that all the objects of social reform might be attained by this blessed influence. He saw before him, in bright perspective, a pacific extirpation of abuses, unstained by blood, unmoistened by tears. His information, both in regard to his own and the neighbouring countries, was very considerable; and he was animated with a sincere desire to bring up Italy by pacific means to a level with those countries which had recently so much outstripped it in liberty, literature, and social progress. Unfortunately, like his predecessor in France, he wanted one quality which rendered all the rest of no avail, or rather rendered them the instruments of evil. He was destitute of firmness, and, like most ecclesiastics, had no practical acquaintance with mankind in their moments of action. He thought he would succeed in ruling men, and directing the social movement, which he saw was inevitable, by appealing only to the humane and generous feelings, forgetting that the violent and selfish are incessantly acting, and that unless they are firmly restrained, the movement will soon be perverted to the objects of rapine and spoliation. Experience soon taught him this; and in conse-

quence he was forced into the arms of the other party, became the opponent of progress, and acquired, with reason, the character of vacillation and inconsistency. Kind and benevolent, but weak and inexperienced, he was the man of all others best fitted to inaugurate, and least to direct or restrain, a revolution.

14. The first important act of the new Pontiff was one eminently popular, and calculated, with reason, to win for him the affectionate suffrages of all classes of his subjects. In common with other Italian states, there were at his accession a great number of persons either convicted of, or charged with, political offences, who were in confinement or banished from Rome. Their relations and friends were naturally extremely anxious to obtain an amnesty for these unhappy captives, many of whom were highly connected, and the most enlightened and generous persons in the state. It was universally felt, accordingly, that a general amnesty would be the most popular step that could possibly be adopted by the new Pontiff; and at his accession Cardinal Ferretti, one of his most intimate friends, said to the French ambassador, "Be not afraid, M. l'Ambassadeur; we shall soon have the amnesty and railways, and all will go well." Yielding alike to his own inclination and the general wish, Pius IX. proclaimed the desired act of oblivion, and the joyous news was early on the morning of the 16th July placarded all over Rome. No words can paint the transports which ensued. The prison doors were opened; their country was restored to fifteen hundred captives or exiles. From morning to night crowds of all ranks and professions hastened to the Quirinal to express to the holy father the unbounded joy which the act of mercy had diffused. Twice in the space of a few hours the Pope gave his blessing to successive multitudes which filled the place, and on their knees received the sacred benediction; and as a third crowd arrived from the more distant parts of the city, he came out, contrary to etiquette, after night-fall, and by torchlight again bestowed

it amidst tears of joy. A spontaneous illumination lighted up the whole city.

15. The general hopes which were thus awakened were not damped by the first administrative acts of the new Pope. He found it no easy matter, however, to withstand the innumerable applications for offices, pensions, or succour of some sort, with which he was assailed by the partisans of the new Liberal regime with which he was now identified, or those who represented themselves as having been sufferers under the old. The limited and embarrassed finances of the Holy See afforded but scanty means of satisfying the avidity of the Liberals of all Italy, who at once fell as a burden upon them. Great numbers, accordingly, were disappointed; their murmurs ere long became loud and long; and before many months had elapsed, the popularity of the Pontiff decreased, and when he appeared in public, on the 7th November, in the Church of St Charles Borromeo, he was coldly received by the multitude. Deeply affected with this change from the universal transports of his accession, the Pope hastened to adopt some measures calculated to restore his popularity; and on the following day three commissions were issued, composed of prelates and laymen, to report on the reform required in the criminal procedure, on the amelioration of the municipal system, and on the repression of vagrant mendicity. This for a time renewed his popularity, which was still farther increased by various decrees which were shortly after published for the establishment of primary schools, agricultural institutions, hospitals for the poor, the reorganisation of the army, and that of the ancient and far-famed University of Bologna.

16. So far the progress of the new Pontiff had been all on flowers, but the thorns were not long in showing themselves. He soon learned the fatal truth which experience never fails, sooner or later, to teach all who are concerned in the government of men, that you cannot rule them by a mere appeal to the virtuous or generous affections, but that durable authority must be based on the co-operation for their own sakes

of the selfish. The holy father speedily found himself beset with a double set of retainers or applicants, the one striving to retain the offices and emoluments which had descended to them as so many appanages from the old aristocratic regime, the other to appropriate them entirely to themselves, as the heirs or expectants of the new Liberal. The persons in possession of power, for the most part, belonged to the former class. The principles which the Government professed, and which were indispensable to preserve for it its newborn popularity, were those of the latter. Hence a constant jarring between the professions of those in authority and their actions—the machine was worked by unwilling agents. The difficulties inseparable, even in the best and firmest hands, from such a transition state, were much enhanced by the personal character of the Pope, who yielded alternately to the solicitations of these opposite parties, and deprived Government of all real consideration by taking from it the character of consistency.

17. The dangers of such a state of things were much enhanced in the close of 1846, by the great confluence of refugees, who, taking advantage of the amnesty, flocked to Rome, and brought with them not only the liberalism of their own country, but the concentrated spirit of revolution from all other states. The Eternal City became the headquarters of the movement from all parts of Europe. Liberals from France, Spain, Poland, Germany, the Austrian states—all flocked thither, as at once, to an asylum from the persecution of the Governments which they had offended, and a central point from which they could renew their machinations for ulterior and still more extensive revolutionary aggressions. No practical or useful reforms by the Papal Government could keep pace with the heated imaginations or selfish designs of this band of enthusiasts. They openly aspired, not merely to reform the Holy See, but to subvert the Government in all the adjoining states, and realise the dream of an united Italian Republic, one and indivisible, at the head of

which they themselves were to be, and of which their partisans over Europe were to reap the whole advantages and emoluments. The French ambassador, M. Rossi, who well knew how intense was the hatred which this party bore to his royal master, did his utmost to withstand these dangerous tendencies, and limit the reforms to those of a practical and useful kind; but this only augmented the danger, for it at once brought the British diplomatic agents to the other side. Lord Palmerston, whose ruling passion was to augment the diplomatic influence of his country, and whose political position at home led him to deem the advancement of Liberal opinions, and the establishment of Liberal institutions, in all other countries, the most effectual means to attain that object, was naturally led to espouse the opposite set of principles; and hence an immediate divergence between the Ministers of the two states, attended with the utmost danger to the peace and ultimate interests of Europe.

18. Allured, however, by the brilliant results which, in the first instance, had attended the adoption of a Liberal policy in the Ecclesiastical States, several of the temporal princes of Italy embarked with sincere goodwill in the same cause. Leopold, Grand-duke of Tuscany, was the first to adventure on the inviting but perilous path. That beautiful duchy had long been more lightly and equitably governed than any of the other Italian states, and it embraced a greater number of highly educated and enlightened persons. To them a certain intervention in the affairs of Government had long been the subject of desire, and the moderation of their temperament, and extent of their information, pointed them out as peculiarly fitted for this enjoyment. Their aspirations were now in a great measure realised. Leopold, of his own free will, in a great degree emancipated the press from its shackles, and adopted other reforms which were still more acceptable to his subjects. Two decrees were issued on the 3d December, the first of which appointed a commission to inquire into



the best modes of extending the primary education of all classes of the people; while the second established Normal schools for the instruction of teachers in connection with the University of Pisa, which had been reorganised two years before on the most liberal footing by an ordinance of the Government. A decree of 13th November augmented by 33 per cent the duties on vessels entering the Tuscan harbours, subject to a proportional reduction on vessels belonging to the countries with which Tuscany had concluded reciprocity treaties. This evident approach to the principles of Free Trade, which at the same period were embraced in England, diffused universal satisfaction, and encouraged the hope that the Government would be practically as well as theoretically established on the most Liberal principles.

19. Sardinia also shared in the same movement. Charles Albert, who in early youth had fought by their side in 1823, was too clear-sighted not to perceive that it was in that party alone that he could find the support requisite to realise his favourite project of turning the Austrians out of Italy. To conciliate them, accordingly, during the general ferment of men's minds in the peninsula consequent on the amnesty and reform of Pius IX., he commenced some changes, and promised more. A project for the general organisation of schools of law was prepared by the learned labours of the Marquis Alfieri, Count Selopis, and the Abbé Peyron, and a warm war of tariffs on wines and other articles imported from the Milanese into Piedmont, or *vice versa*, betrayed the secret animosity of the cabinets of Vienna and Turin. Regarding the kingdom of Sardinia as the power which could alone in the peninsula face the Austrian bayonets, and which must necessarily take the lead in any efforts to assert the independence of Italy, these angry symptoms excited the utmost interest in the inhabitants of the whole country. The hopes that had been excited by the general enthusiasm, and the direction it was taking, were

clearly evinced by what occurred in the beginning of winter. On a given night in December, bale-fires were simultaneously lighted on the principal heights of the Apennines, which reflected the ruddy glow from the mountains of Bologna to the extreme point of the Calabrian peninsula.

20. Two important state papers were soon after issued by the Court of Rome, and a revolutionary movement took place in that city, which too clearly prognosticated the commotions which were approaching. On the 12th June 1847 a "*Motu Proprio*" appeared, which was soon after followed (June 22) by a more detailed exposition of the views of the Papal Government. In these state papers, his Holiness, while professing, in the strongest terms, his determination to proceed in the path of moderate practical reform on which he had entered, declared his intention to preserve unchanged the system of government and the institutions which were essential to its maintenance. "The holy father," said he, "has in consequence not beheld without grief the doctrines and the attempts of some excited persons, who aim at introducing into the measures of government maxims subversive of the elevated and pacific character of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and to awaken in the people ideas and hopes inconsistent with the pontifical government." These decided words were a mortal stroke to the exalted Liberals; they immediately lost all confidence in the Pope, who, they declared, had fallen entirely under the Austrian influence; and to the enthusiastic transports which had signalised his accession a year before, succeeded a cold indifference.

21. Matters were in this agitated state, and the minds of men inflamed by hope or fear, according to the party to which they belonged, when the 16th July, the anniversary of the publication of the amnesty in the preceding year, came round. This day, fraught with such hopes and recollections, was looked forward to with as much dread by the quiet citizens as it was with hope by the turbulent and ambitious.

On the evening before, when preparations were making for the approaching solemnity, an agitation was observed among the crowd, the usual and well-known precursor of civil commotions; and written placards, posted on the walls, announced that the retrograde faction was about to take advantage of the approaching fête to provoke a bloody strife between the people and the pontifical troops. They even went so far as to denounce Cardinal Lambruschini and the governor of the city as at the head of the bloody conspiracy. The agitation was soon excessive in Rome. Boldly interposing between what they deemed the two contending factions, the chief nobles of that city, the heads of the houses of Rospigliosi, Rignano, Borghese, Aldobrandini, Piombini, opened the vast courts of their palaces to their retainers, and all the well-disposed citizens, and suddenly, without any authority from Government, organised a civic guard, adequate to the preservation of the public peace, and the calming the apprehensions of the people. A petition, signed by several thousands of the most respectable inhabitants, was hastily got up, praying the Pope to postpone the fête, which was accordingly done. The persons designed for public vengeance, as the chiefs of the counter-revolution, sought refuge under the protection of the civic guard, by which alone their lives were saved. The police and military were entirely superseded; all power was vested in the leaders of the civic guard; and for the next ten days Rome was, literally speaking, without a government.

22. Attentive observers of what was passing in Italy, the French and Austrian Governments respectively endeavoured to turn the effervescence to the best account for the interests of their different empires. Their objects, however, were different. The principal aim of M. Guizot and his representative at the Court of Rome, M. Rossi, was to keep the Pope firm, but temperate, in the course of practical amelioration which he had adopted, to prevent him either from relapsing into dogged resistance to reform, or preci-

pitating a disastrous revolution, Metternich and the Cabinet of Vienna gave themselves very little trouble about the regulation of a movement which they were determined entirely to resist, but applied themselves sedulously to watch any proceedings in the adjoining states of the peninsula which threatened their own influence or possessions. In pursuance of this policy, they no sooner perceived, from the tenor of their advices from Rome, that the exalted Liberals there were organising a general movement of all the states, having for its object to extinguish the tramontane influence, than they made a movement professedly to support the government of the Pope, really to terminate the ascendancy of the Liberals in his councils, which threatened to prove so dangerous to the peace of Italy. By the 63d article of the Treaty of Vienna, the Austrians were authorised to keep a garrison in the citadel of Ferrara; but the custody of the gates of the town was still intrusted to the pontifical troops. Now, however, a more decided demonstration was deemed necessary. On the 10th August, a division of Austrian troops crossed the Po and took entire possession of the fortress, threatening to put to the sword whoever offered any resistance.

23. M. Rossi, who was in Rome when this extraordinary movement took place, was extremely alarmed by it; the more so that he at once foresaw that it both endangered the stability of government in the Pontifical States, and furnished, in the event of any counter-demonstration taking place, a plausible pretext to the Austrians to invade and occupy the country, as one threatened with revolutionary convulsions. Without any delay he promised to the Pope the arms which were requested for the Civic Guard; and the Papal Government, assured of this support, lost no time in protesting, in the most energetic terms, against the occupation of the fortress of Ferrara by the Austrian troops. This step, and the nomination of Cardinal Ferretti, a moderate Liberal, contributed powerfully to

calm the public mind ; and the general feeling underwent a change attended with important effects. The holy father was no longer regarded as the head of the revolutionary, but of the national party ; and to the cry of "Long live Reform !" succeeded the still more thrilling one of "Italian Independence !" The latter soon spread beyond the Roman States ; it came to animate all the states of the peninsula ; and embraced numbers of the higher and educated classes, who, albeit, not less opposed than M. Guizot to organic changes in the form of government, were yet passionately desirous of emancipating the country from the degrading state of tutelage in which it had so long been kept to the Northern Powers.

24. This change in the temper of the public mind in the Italian peninsula was attended with important effects in Piedmont. The inhabitants of Turin were comparatively indifferent to the general movement, as long as it related to internal reforms ; for the passion of the nation was essentially military and warlike, not domestic or republican. But no sooner did the "Independence of Italy !" become the cry, than a general enthusiasm seized all classes, and not more the humbler than the noble and educated. This anxiety of the public mind soon became almost unbearable ; the people could hardly be hindered from taking up arms and enrolling themselves in battalions of volunteers ; and it was repeated with enthusiasm that Charles Albert had expressed himself warmly on the subject of the Austrian occupation of Ferrara, and let drop hints that the time was not far distant when he would draw his sword for the "Sacred cause of Italian Independence."

25. At this critical juncture Prince Metternich addressed a letter in the following terms to M. Appony, his minister at Paris, which was officially communicated to the French Government : "I have," said he, "no doubt of the good intentions of the holy father ; but has he the means of carrying them into effect ? The revolutionists, the evil-designing, are at his

side to take advantage of the reforms he has introduced, which are good in themselves, and of which Austria has shown her approval by having recommended them herself in 1831. Is it not evident that they intend to lead him farther than he intends ; and has he the means of preventing himself from being dragged along ? Does his position, as head of the Christian Church, leave him at liberty to adopt the means which any temporal prince would at once have recourse to, in order to maintain his power of self-direction ? It is next to certain that it does not. Let him not surrender himself to the guidance of the Giber-tis and the Laménais, who tender to him the support of the 'Catholic Democracy.' There never was such a fatal mistake. Strength derived from such a quarter is nothing but weakness. Should the Pope throw himself into the arms of that party, he will expose Europe to the most serious dangers."

26. M. Guizot's policy at this period was directed to the double object of preventing an explosion of revolutionary violence in Italy, and of taking away all pretext for Austrian interference. Above all things he was anxious to check the growth of the passion for unity and independence in the peninsula, which he was well aware, however seductive in appearance, would, as matters then stood, inevitably light up the flames of a European war, fatal in the end to all the dreams of Italian patriotism.\* He saw that

\* "On l'Autriche veut intervenir en Italie, et alors il ne faut pas lui en fournir le prétexte, ou elle ne le veut pas, et alors il faut laisser le Pape arranger ces affaires à l'aimable. Le Pape est maître d'arranger cette affaire purement avec l'Autriche, ou de demander la médiation d'une puissance, la France, ou de deux puissances, la France et l'Angleterre, ou des puissances signataires des Traités de Vienne. Tous ces moyens nous conviennent. Il faut se garder en Italie de fonder des espérances sur une conflagration Européenne. Cette illusion a déjà perdu, et peut perdre, la cause Italienne. Que chacun fasse ses affaires à part ; les Romains à Rome, les Toscans en Toscane, les Napolitains à Naples, et le succès est alors possible. *En dehors du respect des traités existants, il n'y a pas de succès possible.* Le triomphe des réformes partielles dans

it was not possible to keep the people long in a state of effervescence without inducing the most serious disorders; his system was to "press the Pope and to restrain the enthusiasts." His ideas were well portrayed in a private letter to M. Rossi on 27th September: "Our policy in regard to Rome and Italy, whatever our enemies may say, is so clear and simple, that it is impossible it can be long misunderstood. What does the Pope desire? To introduce into his states the reforms which he judges necessary; to be on good terms with his subjects; to stop, by legitimate satisfactions, the fermentation which is consuming them, and to regain for the Church and religion, in modern society, the place which belongs to them. We entirely approve of these designs. We believe them to be advantageous alike for Italy and France, for the King at Paris as the Pope at Rome. We are desirous to second the Pope in his efforts to carry them out. What are the dangers which threaten him? The stationary danger and the revolutionary danger. There are some around him, as elsewhere in Europe, who would do nothing but leave matters exactly as they are. There are others around him, as elsewhere in Europe, who would overturn everything, who desire that he should alter everything at the risk of being overthrown himself, as those who urge him to adopt this course in secret desire. We wish to assist the Pope in defending himself from this double danger, and, if necessary, to aid him in his defence. We are neither entirely stationary, nor entirely revolutionists—neither at Rome nor in France. We know by our own experience that there are social wants which must be satisfied, progress which must be admitted, and that the greatest interest of a government is to be on good terms with its people and the times. We know by our own experience that the révolutionnaire état amène plus tard le triomphe de la cause nationale—y viser aujourd'hui c'est viser à une Révolution en Italie, et risquer une conflagration générale."—M. Guizot à M. Rossi, 17th September 1847; D'Haussonville, ii. 232, 233.

tionary spirit is the enemy of all governments, the moderate as well as the absolute, of those who admit some progress as of those who oppose all, and that the first duty of a sane government, which would exist, is to resist it. This is the policy of the *juste milieu*, as it is of good sense and experience, which we practise ourselves and counsel to the Pope, who has as much need of it as we have. We are at peace and on good terms with Austria, and we wish to continue on such; for a war with Austria is a general war and universal revolution. We know that the Austrian Government is one of good sense, capable of conducting itself with moderation, and of yielding to obvious necessity."

27. This able letter, produced before the Chamber of Peers on occasion of the debate on the Address on 13th January 1848, could hardly be gainsaid by either party at Paris, and accordingly it cut short all discussion in that quarter. Unfortunately at this period the English Government, though professing the same principles, was not equally cautious in its measures, and the pernicious effects of the division on the Spanish marriages became ere long painfully conspicuous. Equally impressed as M. Guizot with the gravity and importance of the crisis in Italy, the British Cabinet resolved to send out a confidential diplomatic agent to examine the state of the peninsula, and give such counsel to its various governments as might best tend to bring them in safety through the dangers by which they were surrounded.\*

\* "You will say that her Majesty's Government have learned with no less surprise than regret the official communication which has lately been made by the Austrian minister at Turin to the Sardinian Government, and which seems to imply a threat that the Sardinian territory would be entered by Austrian troops if the King of Sardinia should, in the exercise of his undoubted rights of sovereignty, make certain organic arrangements within his own dominions which would be displeasing to the Government of Austria. Her Majesty's Government cannot believe that the Government of Austria can seriously contemplate a proceeding which would be so flagrant a violation of international law, and for which no excuse of any kind can be alleged. The King of Sardinia will doubtless

His instructions were to report on the state of Italy, and give such counsel to its governments, and especially those of Rome and Naples, as might be best in accordance with the spirit of the age and the wishes of the people. Lord Minto was selected for that purpose, and no man could, from his character and qualifications, have been better qualified for the duties of his mission. Nevertheless the mission itself proved in its results most calamitous, and it is to be regarded as one of the main causes of the revolution which so soon after broke out in the Italian peninsula. He himself was generally discreet and measured in his language; but his followers were not equally cautious; and as it was well known that the French Government, under the direction of M. Guizot, was strongly in-

clined to the conservative or resistance policy, the Liberal party were everywhere careful to represent England as at the head of the movement, and Lord Minto as the *avant-courier* who was sent by the English Cabinet to prepare the Italian states for the completion of their settled designs for the independence of the entire peninsula. The express words of the British legate did not countenance this belief; but the fact of a member of the Cabinet having been sent at such a crisis, on such a mission, gave it universal currency. Lord Minto was everywhere regarded as the champion of Italian independence; tumults and turbulent manifestations of popular feeling preceded or followed him wherever he went; Turin, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Naples, Sicily, had no sooner hailed his arrival than

pursue, in regard to these affairs, that course which is befitting his dignity and rights; and while on the one hand he will not be deterred by such menaces from adopting any measures within his own dominions which he may think useful and right, he will on the other hand not suffer any feelings of natural irritation which such communications may have produced, to impel him into any steps which might wear the appearance of unnecessary military defiance.

"You will be at Rome, not as a minister accredited to the Pope, which the present law of England does not permit, but as an authentic organ of the British Government, enabled to explain its views and declare its sentiments upon events which are now passing in Italy, and which, both from their local importance and their bearing on the general interests of Europe, her Majesty's Government are watching with great interest and anxiety. Her Majesty's Government are deeply impressed with the conviction that it is wise for sovereigns and their governments to pursue, in the administration of their affairs, a system of progressive improvement; to apply remedies to such evils as, upon examination, they may find to exist; and to remodel, from time to time, the ancient institutions of their country, so as to render them suitable to the gradual growth of intelligence and to the increasing diffusion of political knowledge. And her Majesty's Government consider it to be an undeniable truth, that if an independent sovereign, in the exercise of his deliberate judgment, shall think fit to make, within his dominions, such improvements in the laws and institutions of his country as he may think conducive to the welfare of his people, no other government can have any right to attempt to restrain or to interfere with such an employment of one of the inherent rights of independent sovereignty.

"The present Pope has begun to enter

upon a system of administrative improvement in his dominions; and it appears to her Majesty's Government that his proceedings in these matters are, upon general principles, highly praiseworthy, and worthy of encouragement from all who take an interest in the welfare of the people of Italy. But in 1831 and 1832, a particular combination of circumstances induced the governments of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, to advise the then reigning Pope to make great changes and improvements, both administrative and organic, in his dominions; and this was strongly pressed upon the Roman Government by Count Lutzw, the Austrian minister, in name of the five Powers. These representations, however, produced no effect, and were put by, unattended to by the Government of the late Pope. Her Majesty's Government have not learned that as yet the reforms and improvements effected by the present Pope have reached the full extent of what was recommended in the Memorandum of 1832; and her Majesty's Government conceive that all the Powers who were parties to the framing of that Memorandum are bound to encourage and assist the Pope in carrying out to their full extent these recommendations. Such a course the British Government, at all events, is prepared to pursue."—VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO EARL OF MINTO, Sept. 18, 1847, No. 123; *Blue-Book regarding Italy*, July 1849.

"When I had finished reading to M. Guizot the first despatch on the affairs of the Italian peninsula, his Excellency at once stated, that upon the two points there treated—each state independent in its established limits, and the perfect liberty of each sovereign to undertake any reform he pleased—he was perfectly agreed with your lordship, and had already written a despatch in an analogous sense."—LORD NORMANBY TO LORD PALMERSTON, Sept. 17, 1847, No. 124; *Ibid.*

they became violently agitated; and at Milan, where the popular passions, still more vehement, were restrained by Austrian bayonets, the people broke out into open riot amidst cries of "Down with the Austrians!" which were only repressed after collision and bloodshed.

28. Such was the agitation which prevailed upon the arrival of the English envoy at Turin, that the King had no alternative but to yield to it. On the 30th October a programme appeared in the official Gazette of Turin which announced the changes which the Government were about to introduce into the internal administration of the kingdom. These were, the publicity of criminal trials, and the publication of the debates; the establishment of an entirely new system of municipal administration, with mayors and magistrates elected by the people; the convocation, at least once a-year, of extraordinary councillors; the creation of civil registers in parishes by persons chosen by the people, in addition to those heretofore exclusively kept by the clergy; and a material relaxation of the rigour of the censorship of the press. These concessions, which were precisely those which the Liberal party had long demanded, were not only important in themselves, but still more so by the hopes of further reforms which they awakened. They produced, accordingly, universal transports; the popularity of Charles Albert equalled that which Pius IX. had enjoyed a year before; the whole capital was spontaneously illuminated for several nights; he could not leave his palace without being surrounded by an enthusiastic crowd; and when later in the autumn he set out for Genoa, the greater part of the inhabitants of both cities attended him with joyous acclamations, both on his departure and return. Nor did the acts of the Sovereign belie these flattering appearances; for he communicated at this time to the French Government his resolution, in the event of the Pope requiring his assistance against the Austrians, not to refuse his armed support.

29. More vehement still was the demonstration in favour of Liberal opinions and Italian independence in Lucca. The duke of that beautiful little duchy had caused several persons to be prosecuted for political offences in the course of August; and on the 31st August a tumult arose in the town in consequence of a demand made by a determined band of young men for the liberation of the prisoners. The duke was at the time absent at San Martino, in Vignola; and the Government having no force at their disposal to quell the riot, sent a deputation to him to request instructions how to act. Terrified at what had occurred, the duke next day sent them back with a proclamation, in which he promised a national guard, and the establishment of all the reforms which had given so much satisfaction in Tuscany. Repenting, however, almost immediately after he had taken it, of this measure, the duke fled to Massa, in the Modena territory. The announcement of this step excited the utmost disquietude in Lucca, where crowds immediately assembled, and paraded the streets in a menacing manner, demanding a constitution and the return of their sovereign. In the midst of the disturbance, the duke reappeared, accompanied by the hereditary prince, and was received with acclamation. Distrusting, however, his ability to govern a people in such a state of excitement, he soon after entered into an arrangement with the Grand-duke of Tuscany, by which, in consideration of an annuity of £48,000 a-year, he agreed to cede to him the entire duchy, to be paid until the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, settled upon the former by the treaties of Vienna, descended to him on the demise of their present ruler, the Archduchess Maria-Louisa. This arrangement was immediately carried into effect, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants of both the duchies, now happily united.

30. It was in the midst of the effervescence caused by these events that Lord Minto arrived at Rome. Unbounded was the enthusiasm which his arrival excited. It was to his in-

fluence, and that of the Cabinet which he represented, that the auspicious change which had recently taken place in the external and internal policy of the Sardinian Government was to be ascribed. Not a doubt was entertained that he came as the accredited organ of the British Government, to promote the establishment of social reforms and foreign independence. Every one congratulated himself that Italy had at last discovered a protector capable of making its rights respected, and that the support which was wanting in Paris would now be found in London. France was by common consent passed by, as having cast in its lot with the oppressor. Under the impulse of these ideas, it was resolved to celebrate the arrival of Lord Minto by one of those magnificent *demonstrazione in piazza* which the Italians know so well how to conduct in their beautiful evenings. In effect, a few days after his arrival, a vast crowd, which assembled in the Corso, suddenly entered the *Piazza di Spagna*, and soon filled the inner court of the Hotel Melza, where Lord Minto resided. Cries of "Long live Lord Minto!" "Long live Italian Independence!" were heard on all sides. White handkerchiefs were seen to wave in reply from the windows of the hotel. The agitated crowds would not pause to inquire whether it was the British envoy or some of his suite who waved the handkerchiefs. The thing was done, and done at the Hotel of the ambassador of Britain, no matter by whom. It augmented immensely the general enthusiasm; the Radical journals in France immediately published an inflated account of the event, accompanied by a statement that England had openly put itself at the head of the league for promoting Italian independence; and the appearance of some leading Liberals in Lord Minto's box at the opera a few nights after, when they were received with thunders of applause, dispelled all doubt in the minds of the ardent patriots of the truth of the report.

31. Seriously alarmed at the turn which affairs were taking, which threatened not only a revolutionary convul-

sion in Italy, but the lighting up of a general conflagration in Europe, M. Rossi, in several conferences with the Pope, endeavoured to convince his Holiness of the necessity of admitting some *laymen* into his Cabinet, as the ecclesiastics, of whom it was as yet exclusively composed, were quite inadequate to guide the vessel of the state through the stormy scenes which were approaching. So obvious was the necessity, that the Austrians themselves, in 1831, had given the same counsel.\* After considerable difficulty, M. Rossi succeeded in extorting this concession from the monopolising ecclesiastics, and several lay councillors were admitted into the Ministry. At the same time he used his utmost endeavours to point out to the Liberals the danger which they were incurring, not only for their country, but for Europe, by rushing headlong into a war with Austria, with the feeble warlike elements which were alone at their disposal. "What do you propose to yourselves," said he, "by your incessant provocations against Austria? It is not threatening you; it confines itself to the limits which the treaties have assigned. It is a war of independence which you would invoke. Be it so; let us calculate your forces—you have 60,000 regular troops in Piedmont, and not a man more. You speak of the enthusiasm of the Italian populations; I know them. Traverse them from end to end; see if a heart beats, if a man moves, if an arm is ready to commence the fight. The Piedmontese once beaten, the Austrians may go from Reggio to Calabria without meeting a single Italian. I understand you; you will apply to France. A fine result truly of the war of independence, to bring the foreign armies again upon your soil! The Austrians

\* "J'ai insisté vivement pour que dans le prochain *Motu Proprio* qui doit étendre et perfectionner les conseils des Ministres, on fasse une part aux laïques. C'est à mes yeux le nœud de la question. En ralliant ainsi les Modérés autour du Gouvernement, on gagnerait la garde civique; on aurait un moyen d'action agréable et accepté sur la réforme, et l'on isolerait les Radicaux."—M. Rossi à M. Guizot, 18th December 1847; D'Haussonville, ii. 258.

and the French fighting on the Italian soil! Is not that your eternal, your lamentable history? You would be independent; we are so already. France is not a corporal in the service of Italy. She makes war, when and for whom she pleases. She neither puts her standards nor her battalions at the disposal of any one else."

32. The times were past, however, when these emphatic warnings, which the event proved to be entirely well-founded, could produce any effect. The train had been laid, the torch applied, and the explosion was inevitable. Power had changed hands at Rome. It had slipped from the feeble grasp of the Pope and the Cardinals, and been seized by the hands of violent men, destitute alike of information or prudence. Hardly a day passed without something occurring which demonstrated the deplorable prostration of Government, and the entire contempt into which the Pope, recently so popular, had fallen. A fête had been proposed for the first day of the new year: the Pope forbade it; a clamour was immediately raised; he revoked his order and consented to it, and even agreed to show himself to the people. He did so, and immediately a violent crowd, uttering loud cries, surrounded the carriage; blackguard youths mounted on the steps, and one, more audacious than the rest, seated himself on the box behind, and waved an enormous tricolor flag over the vehicle in which the Pontiff was seated! This occurred on the very square of the Quirinal, where, eighteen months before, he had been almost adored by the grateful multitude on their knees! "As yet," said M. Rossi, in recounting the scene to M. Guizot, "it is only a storm in a tea-cup; Turin and Naples are its sides; but *if those sides should break, we may tremble for the whole world.*"

33. Strange to say, it was from the Government of Naples, which passed for the most despotic country in Europe, that the impulse was first given, which blew into a flame the smouldering elements of Italian conflagration. Hitherto the King of the Two Sicilies had kept aloof from the course of innovation

upon which Pius IX. had entered, and viewed with undisguised alarm the changes which had been commenced in the northern states of the peninsula. Nothing whatever had been done to reform the social abuses which, in Sicily especially, were more rife than in any other country in Europe. They were there felt the more keenly that the people had been accustomed, during the long military occupation of the country by the English, in the revolutionary war, to the mildness and privileges of a constitutional government. The intelligence of the reforms of Pius IX. had in consequence excited an extraordinary enthusiasm in that isle, though few ventured to hope that any attempt to follow the example would be made. But the event outstripped the most sanguine anticipations of the reformers. The mission of Lord Minto to the Court of Naples, whither he proceeded from Rome, did not remain long without effect. Early in December, the Duke di Serra-Capriola, ambassador of the Court of Naples at Paris, was recalled by an order from his sovereign, in order to his being sent to Sicily as lieutenant-general, with full powers to inquire into all abuses, and concede all proper reforms. The character of the duke, mild and liberal, rendered the appointment very agreeable to the Sicilians; but circumstances having retarded his arrival beyond the time which was expected, disturbances broke out at Palermo on 12th January, and an expedition sent from Naples to put it down, being feebly conducted, was repulsed with loss. Upon this the Liberals in the island no longer kept up the semblance even of loyalty, but openly revolted against the Government, and the insurrection ere long spread over the whole country.

34. This formidable event, and the counsels of Lord Minto, who was aware how feeble were the means of repression at the disposal of the Government of Naples, and who saw no escape from the danger which threatened them in their Continental dominions but in immediate concession, terminated the indecision of the King. He resolved to



outstrip all the concessions of the other Italian sovereigns, and appease the general effervescence by the publication of a constitution. He was fearful, not without reason, of a repetition of the Revolution of 1821. The ministers known to be hostile to reform were removed from the Cabinet, and on 18th January a decree appeared, which gave large additional powers to the deliberative assemblies of Naples and Sicily. The Comte d'Aquila, the king's brother, was appointed Lieutenant-general in Sicily, with a special cabinet to assist him in his deliberations. On the day following, a decree removed nearly all the restrictions on the liberty of the press, and declared a large amnesty for political offenders. On the 23d the King announced to his astonished subjects the elements of a constitution; on the 27th a new Cabinet was formed, with the Duke di Serra-Capriola at its head, and the Prince di Cassaro and Prince Torrilla, all known to hold Liberal opinions, forming part of it. Finally, on the 29th, the long-wished-for constitution was officially published.

35. It is difficult for a stranger, especially in a free country to the north of the Alps, to form a conception of the sensation which these decrees, following each other in rapid succession, and all breathing so liberal a spirit, produced in Italy. It was the greater from these concessions to the popular cause coming from the Sovereign and the Court known to be most conservative in their policy, and least inclined to political change of any kind. The Liberals were everywhere in transports. It seemed impossible that the antiquated fabric of superstition and despotism could any longer be maintained in the peninsula, when the most absolute monarch within its bounds had become the first to stretch forth his hand to put it down. The cabinets in the centre and northern parts of the country were thunderstruck at the intelligence; but ere long the enthusiasm became so general, the torrent so powerful, that they saw no chance of escape but in yielding to it. Consti-

tutions on the model of that of Naples were speedily published at Turin and Florence. In Rome, even, the extreme difficulty of reconciling the forms and popular powers of a constitutional monarchy with an absolute government based upon an exclusive theocracy, yielded to the same necessity; the Pope made some concessions to the demands of Liberalism, and promised more. In a word, Italy, save where kept down by Austrian bayonets, from the base of the Alps to the point of Calabria, was nearly as completely revolutionised, though happily as yet without the shedding of blood, as France had been by the innovations of the Constituent Assembly.

36. It was more difficult to arrange matters in a pacific way in Sicily, not only because the inhabitants of that beautiful island were smarting under the consequences of a long period of misgovernment and oppression, but because the long delay which had taken place in the Duke di Serra-Capriola's taking the command of it had engendered a general suspicion of insincerity on the part of the Government, which had driven the people into open revolt. When he succeeded to the head of the Government, that nobleman found affairs so threatening, and parties in such a state of mutual exasperation, that he implored the good offices of the French and English ambassadors at the Court of Naples to mediate between them. M. Montesquy, the French *Chargé d'Affaires*, who had succeeded M. Bresson, recently dead, at once accepted the office of mediator; but Lord Napier, the British representative, refused it, unless the democratic constitution of 1812 was restored, with such changes as the Estates of Sicily elected under it might demand. The King evinced great repugnance at such unlimited concessions. But Lord Napier adhered resolutely to his demand: and as M. de Montessuy spoke, if he still held out for it, of going alone, he said to him, "Set out, if you please, alone, only I give you fair warning that the same vessel which conveys you to

Sicily shall carry also letters to our agents and the influential men in the country, in which I will explain why I could not accompany you. I regret being unable to join you on such a mission, but it is impossible. Everywhere else, on all the points of the globe, in China even, I could do what you ask; but in Sicily, France and England have different interests." In consequence of this declinature, Lord Napier, some days after, on the invitation of the Neapolitan Government, who saw no other mode of adjusting matters with their subjects beyond the Straits, set out alone, and M. de Bressière, the new French ambassador, judged it prudent to make arrangements to follow him, in order to prevent British influence from being altogether paramount in so large a portion of the Neapolitan dominions. He was preparing to set out, accordingly, when the Revolution at Paris intervened, and in consequence Lord Napier went alone. What followed his arrival in Sicily will form an important and melancholy subject of narrative in a future volume.

37. During the whole course of these important events, Lord Palmerston took his information from his agents in Italy, who were entirely in the Liberal interest; and desirous above all things to drive the passion for reform into one for independence, and to involve United Italy in a contest with despotic Austria, he went so far as to charge the Cabinet of Rome with having been privy to a reactionary conspiracy at Rome on the 16th July—a charge which the Imperial Cabinet indignantly denied, and of which no evidence was ever adduced. The British Minister, however, insisted on the charge, even after he had been informed (July 26) by the British minister at Florence, Sir George Hamilton, that the alleged conspiracy was an entire fable.\* In a word, he was

entirely the dupe in those matters of the Italian revolutionists, whose great object was to run the movement in Italy into a war of independence with Austria; and for this purpose, in the words of their leader Mazzini, "*to do everything in their power to increase the hatred against the Austrians, and to irritate the Austrians by all possible means.*" This policy was pursued by Lord Palmerston, even after Prince Metternich had sent him a letter of Mazzini's, in which the intention of "Young Italy" to involve the peninsula in a war with Austria by any means, was avowed as plainly as words could do.\* Nothing was ever more disastrous than this policy to Italy

aux agents de l'Autriche, j'ai à faire savoir à votre Excellence que j'apprends de sources certaines que l'opinion est générale à Rome, que les agents Autrichiens ont trempé dans le complot, et que le complot était combiné avec les mouvements militaires de la garnison de Ferrara; et telle est, je crois, l'opinion des personnes qui occupent à Rome les plus hautes positions."—LORD PALMERSTON à LORD PONSONBY, son Ambassadeur à Vienne, 27th September 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 426.

\* "Les affaires des Etats Pontificaux vont mal, comme vous le savez; mais la marche hésitante de celui qui gouverne ne changera pas la loi qui règle les événements. L'impulsion est donnée, et bien ou mal, il faut avancer. Les Italiens sont de vrais enfants avec de bons instincts; ils n'ont pas une ombre d'intelligence ou d'expérience politique. Je parle de la multitude, et non du petit nombre de meneurs, dont le défaut est le manque de résolution. Si cependant ce petit nombre veut agir avec prudence et sans précipitation, l'illusion passera. Pie IX. est, ce qu'il m'a paru d'abord, un homme à bonnes intentions, qui voudrait que ses sujets fussent un peu mieux qu'ils n'étaient avant lui. Voilà tout. Tout le reste n'est qu'un échafaudage que les soi-disant modérés ont bâti autour de lui, comme ils en ont construit un autre autour de Charles Albert. L'illusion s'en ira peu-à-peu; mais sûrement le moment arrivera où les masses découvriront que si elles veulent devenir une nation, il faut qu'elles y travaillent elles-mêmes, et s'engagent dans des mesures qui peuvent obliger les Autrichiens à les attaquer avec ou sans l'assentiment des princes. Alors la collision commencera, si les Italiens ont une étincelle d'honneur et de courage. Les bons doivent se préparer pour ce moment, réunir leurs moyens d'action, acquérir de l'influence sur le peuple, laisser passer les illusions sans les contredire directement, se borner à instruire le peuple, particulièrement les paysans, à instruire les citoyens dans les armes, à accroître de plus en plus la haine pour les Au-

\* "Milord, en réponse à la dépêche de votre Excellence du courant, qui renferme une copie de la note adressée par M. le Prince de Metternich à l'ambassadeur d'Autriche à Rome, au sujet de la conspiration récemment découverte dans cette capitale, et attribuée par le Gouvernement Pontifical

and the world, or more true than the words of Count Montalembert, uttered in the French Chamber on 16th January 1848: "If ever liberty perishes in Italy—if ever Austria regains the ascendant in Italy, which she now seems destined to lose, it will be from the efforts of the Italian revolutionists, and from them alone. They are the real accomplices, the only and dangerous accomplices, of the Austrian power and preponderance in Italy."

38. SWITZERLAND, ever since its organisation into twenty-two cantons in 1815, had remained in a state of external peace, so far as the national forces were concerned; but it was by no means equally tranquil, so far as regarded its interior. On the contrary, no part of Europe had, during the intervening period, been more violently agitated by the revolutionary passions, nor was there any one in which greater and more persevering efforts had been made by the Radical faction to gain the entire and exclusive direction of affairs. The reason of this was partly the different constitutions of the different cantons, some of which, as Berne, were essentially aristocratic, while others, as Schwytz and Unterwalden, were pure democracies; and partly the divisions of the country into twenty-two cantons, so differently situated, and so detached from each other, that the central government, as in the United States of America, possessed no real power. This state of things was a continual eyecore to the extreme Liberal party, who were strong in the manufacturing towns of the Confederacy, and who conceived, not without reason, that if a more powerful central government were established, it would speedily fall into their hands, as the rulers of the seats of wealth and industry, and the distant mountain cantons be subjected to the government of an energetic urban democracy. For this reason, the centralisation of

government was the constant object of their efforts and their ambition, as the concentration of all the powers of the state in the metropolis had been of the Jacobins of Paris. But for that very reason it was the object of jealousy and apprehension to the adjoining military monarchies. Switzerland had received from the Allies the precious gift of neutrality, on condition of its remaining divided into twenty-two cantons, because while so it could be formidable to none of them. But the case would be entirely different if it became one united and centralised state, for then its mountains might become a salient redoubt of the last importance to the power which had obtained the command of its ruling influences, and equally threatening to its dispossessed rival.\*

39. In common with all the states of Europe, Switzerland, "that rock," in Guizot's words, "of ice and brave men," had felt the rebound of the French Revolution of 1830; and appearances were at one time so threatening after that event, that civil war was on the point of breaking out in the Confederacy. But the old influences were still strong enough to prevent that last and worst effect of popular madness; the domestic institutions of several of the cantons were changed, and some alterations made on the conditions of the Federal Union, in 1831 and 1832, without any open revolution. Switzerland, however, though it escaped at the time that pressing danger, received into its bosom, in consequence of that convulsion, the seeds of trouble in future times. The revolutionists, at first triumphant, were ere long crushed at Paris by the Government of their own creation; and the refugees from France, Italy, and Germany sought refuge, as their last asylum in continental Eu-

\* " 'La constitution de la Suisse,' dit M. Guizot, 'a été reconnue, sanctionnée et garantie par les Gouvernements étrangers à certains conditions. Les Puissances ont conféré à la Suisse le privilège de la neutralité, et cette précieuse garantie lui a été accordée telle qu'elle est, composée de vingt-deux Etats agissant avec une égale souveraineté.' "—*Annuaire Historique*, xxx. 450.

*trichiens, et à irriter l'Autriche par tous les moyens possibles.*"—M. MAZZINI *à* ———, 4th October 1847; D'HACUSONVILLE, ii. 427, 428.

rope, in its republican cantons. The Swiss rulers, justly jealous of their independence, though frequently urged by the Governments which were threatened by the machinations of these desperadoes to remove them, contrived to elude the demands; and France and Austria, mutually fearful of throwing so important a Confederacy into the arms of its rival, forbore to insist on the demand, or push matters to extremities. The consequence was, that Switzerland remained the secure position — from which they threatened all the adjoining states — of the revolutionists in the very centre of Europe. All the conspiracies for the next ten years which had for their object to overturn the existing government in the adjoining states were organised in Switzerland, and carried on under the very eyes of its Government. The expedition of Romorino in 1834, destined to overthrow the Sardinian Government; that of Conseil in 1836, intended to revolutionise Austria; that of Louis Napoleon in 1838, designed to replace the imperial dynasty on the French throne, were all set on foot among the ardent democrats of the Helvetian cities.

40. These foreign conspiracies proved abortive; but the continual residence of the foreign Radicals in the Swiss cities ere long produced the effect which might have been anticipated upon their ambitious inhabitants. Clubs began to be formed, composed of the most violent of the Swiss Liberals, in Zurich, Berne, Bâle, and the other principal cities of the Confederacy, in which the French, Italian, and German refugees were always the chief declaimers; and Radical newspapers were established, which conveyed their incubrations over the whole community. The Conservatives, meanwhile, resting on hereditary influences and old traditions, and living apart from each other in the recesses of the mountains or the solitudes of the plains, were ignorant of the danger which threatened them, and took no steps whatever to avert it. The policy of the revolutionists was well considered, and such as, in other coun-

tries besides Switzerland, has often proved successful in overthrowing the longest-established hereditary influences. It consisted in concentrating, at successive elections, their whole efforts on particular cantons or cities where the struggle for the moment was to be made, to the neglect of all others, and bringing every engine within the disputed district, which could possibly be thought of, to bear on the electors. When an election was anticipated, clubs were immediately formed, secret societies established, Radical newspapers set up, meetings held, speeches made, and published with the loudest encomiums by the Liberal press over the whole country. The refugees were everywhere foremost in this conflict; and it was surprising how soon they acquired the command of the principal cities in the Confederacy. Switzerland, so far as the great towns were concerned, seemed no longer itself, but rather a huge Babel, in which the exiles from all lands met to exercise, in various tongues, their talents in exciting or misleading the people. City after city, canton after canton, in the plains, successively fell into their hands; and in the year 1845 a disputed election in the canton of Zurich, which the Radicals carried, gave them a majority in the general Diet of the Confederacy.

41. No sooner did they gain this advantage than the revolutionists proceeded to use their power in the most illegal and despotic way. To understand how, we must go back a few years. By a fundamental article of their constitution it was provided that convents and chapters should be maintained, and their property secured, being subject to taxation like other lay possessions.\* The public tranquillity, in a country where many of the cantons were nearly equally divided between Catholics and Protestants, rendered indispensable the faithful observance of this fundamental article of

\* "L'existence des chapitres et couvens, la conservation de leurs propriétés, en tant que cela dépend du Gouvernement du canton, sont garanties. Ces biens sont sujets aux impôts et aux contributions."—*Art. 12 du Pacte Fédéral.*

the constitution. No sooner, however, did the Radicals get, in 1841, the majority in the local legislature of the canton of Argovia, than they passed a decree, on the 17th July, suppressing the whole convents in it, and confiscating their property to the purposes of the canton, on the ground of their having fomented the public disturbances, and being incompatible with the peace of the country. On being appealed to, the general Diet, by a slender majority, refused to interfere with the decision of the canton of Argovia. This led to an energetic protest on the part of the seven cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg, and the Valais, which still adhered to the Catholic faith, and among whose simple and sequestered mountaineers the new opinions had made no progress. Regarding the suppression of the convents in Argovia as in reality a stroke levelled at the Catholic religion itself, the provincial Diet of Lucerne invited Jesuits from all quarters to repair to their city, as the militia of the Church, sworn to defend it in moments of peril.

42. This invitation to the Jesuits, and the decree which invested them with the entire direction of the public education in the canton, was an unfortunate and injudicious step on the part of the Lucerne Catholics, not only on account of the known aspiring and aggressive character of that body of priests, but because Lucerne being at regular intervals the place of meeting of the general Diet, it was the more incumbent on its local legislature not to adopt any measures which might awaken the jealousy of the Protestant cantons, which composed the great majority of the Confederacy.\* If, however, this was a perilous, it may be an illegal, step on the part of the Lucerne Catholics, it was ere long forgotten in the still more violent and unjustifiable proceedings of their opponents. In the beginning of Decem-

ber 1844 a piratical band of "Free Companions," as they were called, assembled, took up arms without any authority from their respective governments, and invaded the territory of Lucerne, expecting to be joined by the malcontents in that city, who were very numerous, especially among the lower orders. The magistrates, however, had received intelligence of the intended attack; the gates and walls were well guarded, and the invaders, who were a mere tumultuous mob, were repulsed without difficulty, and with scarcely any bloodshed. This led to strict measures against their own malcontents on the part of the magistrates of Lucerne, which, however, were for the most part restricted to banishment from the city and territory of the canton. Eleven hundred of these exiles, during the winter of 1844-5, were spread through the adjoining cantons, and by their complaints excited still further the general feeling against the Jesuits, and the canton of Lucerne, which abetted them in their dangerous designs. Encouraged by this state of things, the "Free Companions" resolved on a second effort against that city, and this time it was attempted with much larger forces and a more complete organisation. The Lucerne exiles, strengthened by volunteers from the neighbouring cantons of Berne, Soleure, Bâle, and Argovia, formed a body of eight hundred men, armed with twelve pieces of cannon, under Colonel Ochsenbein. The attack on Lucerne, with these formidable forces, was made on the 30th March 1845. But the Government of that canton called the landsturm of Uri, Zug, and Unterwalden to their support: the brave mountaineers hastened from their valleys at the call of religion and duty, and the unruly invaders were repulsed with severe loss in killed and wounded, and several hundred prisoners.

43. This violent and piratical incursion, done without any state authority, by an armed mob, proved that the governments of the Radical cantons were either unable or unwilling to pre-

\* Switzerland at this period contained 2,400,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,500,000 were Protestants, and 900,000 Catholics.—*Ann. Reg.* 1847, p. 352.

serve the public peace, or protect the weaker part of the community from the aggressions of the stronger. As such, it dissolved society into its pristine elements, and both rendered necessary, and justified, a league of the weaker against the stronger. Thence the origin of the SUNDERBUND, a defensive league of the seven Catholic cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Fribourg, Zug, and the Valais. The object of this league, which was concluded immediately after the last attack of the "Free Bands" on Lucerne, was to protect themselves from aggressions similar to those under which they had recently suffered, and to arm and organise their forces for this purpose, which was immediately done. As the Supreme Government had virtually abdicated its functions, or taken part with the oppressors in the recent incursions of the Free Bands into Lucerne, there can be no doubt that this league had become necessary, and was justified by the right of self-preservation, the first law of nature. But not less than the suppression of the convents in Argovia, which began the troubles, it was a violation of the written constitution, the 6th article of which declared, "No alliances shall be formed by the cantons among each other, prejudicial either to the general Confederacy or to the rights of other cantons."

44. The elections of 1845 at Zurich having given the Radicals a majority, though as yet only a small one, in the general Diet, a proposal was brought forward immediately after for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland; and the division upon this question showed the state of parties, and how nearly balanced they were. The votes in the Diet were taken by cantons: ten cantons and two half-cantons voted for it; nine cantons, including Geneva, against it. St Gall did not vote at all, its great council being equally divided on the question. The legality of the Sunderbund was afterwards brought before the Diet on 4th September 1846, and then the majority was more decided. Ten cantons and two half-cantons voted it illegal; the seven

cantons of the Sunderbund with Appenzell maintained its legality; Neuchâtel, St Gall, Geneva, and Bâle Ville did not vote at all, but referred to farther instructions from their constituents. But in the course of 1846, and the first half of 1847, Radical revolutions took place both in Berne and Geneva; and in the former of these cities, which had become of great weight, as it had become by rotation the "vorort," or seat of government, Colonel Ochsenbein, the leader of the Free Bands, was (Oct. 7) elevated to the presidency.\* These changes, which were effected by the mere force of popular clamour and intimidation, excited by the clubs and secret societies, without bloodshed, together with the vote of St Gall, which was won by a narrow majority to the revolutionary party, gave them a decided majority in the general great Council of the Confederacy. On the 20th July 1847 the Diet, by a majority of twelve cantons and two half-cantons to seven cantons, voted the alliance of the seven Catholic cantons illegal, and reserved to itself the right, if necessary, to adopt ulterior measures to enforce obedience to its decree. This was followed up, on 3d September, by a resolution, that the introduction of Jesuits into any of the states of the Confederacy was illegal, and interdicting their entrance in future, and inviting the cantons of Lucerne, Schwytz, Fribourg, and the Valais, where they were already established, to expel them from their territories.

45. Civil war was now inevitable, and both sides made active preparations for it. The Diet, anxious to enforce its authority without an actual appeal to arms, published a proclamation, in which they disclaimed all intention of invading the constitutional rights of the seven cantons, and conjuring them to come to an accommodation; but in vain. The proclamation was interdicted in the seven cantons. As a last resource, they appointed com-

\* He was chosen president of the Council of Berne, but as the "vorort" met there, this made him also president of it.—*Regnault*, iii. p. 304.

missioners to confer with those of the cantons on the terms of a compromise, and it was very near being effected; but the conference was broken off in consequence of the declinature of the Diet to give a pledge for the observance of the cantonal independence, in the event of the Jesuits being recalled by order of the Pope. The propositions of the seven cantons were finally rejected on 29th October, by a majority of twelve to seven cantons, and on the 4th November the same majority resolved that the decree of 20th July should be carried into execution by force of arms. At the same time General Dufour was appointed commander-in-chief, and orders were given to concentrate the troops and march upon Fribourg and Lucerne. The general-in-chief, before commencing operations, issued a humane proclamation to his soldiers, enjoining strict discipline, and protection to the old men, women, and children, as well as the prisoners, "with many of whom you have often found yourselves in the same field."

46. Attentive observers of what was passing in the Helvetian mountains, the Cabinets of London, Paris, and Vienna were early estranged upon the Swiss question. Steady in his conservative policy, and apprehensive of the influence of a revolutionary government in Switzerland on the internal tranquillity of France, M. Guizot openly adhered to the Austrian view of the question, which was, that the independence of the seven cantons should be respected, and the formation of a democratic central despotism prevented. The committee which, at the Congress of Vienna, had reported on the affairs of Switzerland, had expressly made the independence of the cantons a condition of the neutrality of the Confederacy; and both Metternich and Guizot, mutually afraid of each other, and jealous of Switzerland becoming a united and therefore powerful military state, were strongly disposed to concur in the same views. The whole influence of both powers, which had thus come to act in concert, was accordingly thrown in to support the seven cantons; and when matters became threat-

ening, and it was evident war could not be avoided, a large convoy of arms and ammunition, purchased in France with the privy of Government, set out from Besançon, for the use of the small cantons. The Swiss Government, however, having been apprised of what was going forward, sent orders to the canton of Neuchâtel, through which it required to pass, to stop the convoy; and before the orders could arrive, it had already been seized and sent back to Yverdon by a large body of citizens, who took upon themselves to act in the name of the Government. At the same time the government of the canton of Vaud seized a steam-vessel on the lake of Neuchâtel, on which they placed a gun and a body of carabineers, to prevent the introduction of provisions and military munitions into the reculant cantons by water.

47. Had Great Britain been united with France and Austria on this question, the revolutionary party in Switzerland would in all probability have been restrained, and the open oppression of the smaller cantons by the urban majorities in the larger prevented. It might have been expected that this would be the case, both because England had been a party to all the arrangements by which the cantonal independence of the states of the Confederacy had been secured, and because Lord Palmerston had expressed himself in the strongest terms as to the necessity of upholding it when the country was convulsed in 1832 from the effects of the Revolution of the Barricades.\* No occasion had ever

\* "Vous direz que si les changements, que l'on a l'intention de proposer dans le pacte fédéral, portent seulement sur des dispositions réglementaires, il pourrait être plus prudent de les remettre à une époque future, lorsque l'esprit public sera devenu moins agité qu'il n'est maintenant, de peur qu'en soulevant ces questions cela ne mène à d'autres discussions plus embarrassantes. Mais si l'on a la pensée de faire des changements, tels qu'ils porteraient sur la souveraineté indépendante et l'existence politique et séparée des cantons vous représenterez fortement toutes les difficultés et les dangers que l'exécution d'un pareil projet peut produire et combien il paraît incompatible. Vous ferez observer qu'il est tout à fait improbable que tous les cantons s'accordent sur un plan, qui ferait un tort

occurred in which it was of more importance to carry into effect the views which he then so well expressed regarding the necessity of upholding the independence of the smaller cantons against the oppression of the greater, than this. For the larger cantons, after having connived at a practical invasion of the lesser by an unauthorised armed force, had now put the leader of that force at the head of the central government, and were preparing, by means of a Radical majority in the Diet, to compel the lesser cantons, by their violence, to abrogate their separate independence, and adopt measures regarding their dearest internal interests, directly at variance with the wishes of their whole inhabitants. But now the results of the fatal division on the Spanish marriages, and the false position in which Great Britain had become placed from having allied itself everywhere with the democratic party, at once appeared. So far from uniting with France and Austria in their efforts to shield the lesser cantons of Switzerland from the oppression of the greater, Lord Palmerston did just the reverse, and it was mainly owing to his policy that the act consummating this oppression was carried into effect.

48. In conformity with the instructions of M. Guizot, the French ambassador at Berne had explained distinctly to M. Ochsenbein the interpretation which, in common with Austria, the Cabinet of Paris put on the clauses in the treaties of Vienna regarding the rights of the lesser cantons, and the impossibility of their allowing the Confederacy to become a united military power.\* Lord Palmerston, in the first

manifeste à beaucoup d'entre eux, et que par conséquent toute tentative de mettre en action une telle réforme amènerait une guerre civile."—LORD PALMERSTON à M. PERCY, June 9, 1832; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 319, 320.

\* "L'acte de Vienne reconnaît non pas une Suisse unitaire mais une Suisse fédérative composée de vingt-deux cantons—si un ou plusieurs de ces cantons viennent donc un jour nous dire qu'on menace leur existence indépendante, qu'on veut la contraindre ou la détruire, qu'on marche à substituer une Suisse unitaire à la Suisse cantonale qui reconnaît ces traités, que nos traités sont atteints;—nous examinerons si en effet nos traités sont atteints. Je suis complètement en mesure

instance, declared himself entirely satisfied with the policy of the French Government; and M. Morier, the British envoy in Switzerland, had expressed himself to M. Bois le Comte to the same effect. But when it came to the point of evincing that unity of feeling in overt acts, the British Foreign Minister drew back, and without openly expressing an opposite opinion, he declined to commit the British Government to any decided expression of it to the Swiss Diet.\* In acting in this manner he appears to have been following the opinion of a majority of the Cabinet, rather than his own. It soon appeared, however, that this majority was inclined to impel him into acts indicating clearly an intention to support the Radical Government of Switzerland in their measures of aggression on the lesser cantons. In conformity with his instructions, Mr Peel, the new British minister at Berne, expressed to the Free-Band chief, M. Ochsenbein, the favourable opinion the Queen's Govern-

d'ajouter que nous le ferons dans un parfait accord d'esprit et d'intentions avec les puissances signataires du même traité et particulièrement avec l'Autriche placée envers la Suisse dans une position analogue à la nôtre par la contiguïté de ses frontières."—M. BOIS LE COMTE à M. OCHSENBEIN, Jan. 4, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 341, 342.

\* See memorandum on the affairs of Switzerland, transmitted by M. Morier to Lord Palmerston, July 1847.—*Parliamentary Papers on Switzerland*, 1847-8, p. 138. "Lord Palmerston m'a écouté attentivement et a exprimé son approbation de la politique du gouvernement du Roi. J'ai trouvé moins d'empressement chez lui, quand je lui ai demandé, conformément aux instructions de votre excellence, s'il était disposé à s'associer au langage que nous voulons tenir à la Diète Helvétique."—M. l'Ambassadeur à Londres à M. Guizot, July 5, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 347, 349.—"J'ai d'abord donné à Lord Palmerston des instructions adressées par votre excellence à M. Bois le Comte. Lord Palmerston a paru m'écouter avec un vif intérêt, me priant à plusieurs reprises de relire les passages les plus importants, et il m'a témoigné ensuite de lui-même son entière approbation de vous et des sentiments exprimés par le gouvernement du Roi, je lui ai demandé des-lors s'il consentirait à s'associer à notre langage. Lord Palmerston m'a répondu qu'il avait déjà entretenu de cette affaire deux ses collègues, dont l'opinion s'accordait avec la sienne, mais qu'il ne pouvait me répondre définitivement avant d'avoir consulté le reste du conseil."—M. DE BROGLIE à M. Guizot, July 9, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 350, 352.



ment entertained of him, "by reason of his high position, his *known character*, and his determination, already manifested, to preserve the internal peace of Switzerland." In expressing their wish for the internal peace of Switzerland, the British Cabinet were doubtless sincere; but it soon appeared that the mode in which they proposed to realise this wish, was by permitting the greater cantons to oppress the lesser with impunity, not by constraining the former to respect the rights of the latter.\*

49. The effect of this movement of the English Cabinet was in the highest degree pernicious. Instantly the news, with various additions, spread through the clubs: it was affirmed that England had now declared in favour of the Radical party, that she would not permit any intervention of France in the affairs of the Confederacy, and that there was nothing any longer to fear. Immense was the sensation produced by these reports, which were too much in harmony with the wishes of the Radical majority not to be universally believed by them. It was under the influence of this excitement that the resolution of the Diet of 3d September, to expel the Jesuits from Switzerland, was adopted. But for this declaration of the British Government in favour of the Swiss Radicals, M. Ochsenbein and the revolutionary party would never have ventured, in the face of France and Austria, on the extreme measure of hoisting the signal of civil war in the Confederacy. The revolutionists in France, who were commencing that agitation which so soon after overturned the throne, now openly coalesced with their brethren in the Swiss Diet; and it is not a little remarkable that the first use of the expression "*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*," was made by a

Swiss deputy excusing himself from attending the banquet at Chalons. "You have caught the idea," said M. Druey, the deputy of the canton of Vaud in the Diet, "that your cause and ours are the same. We sympathise with you, and you sympathise with us. The time has now arrived when it is necessary, on both sides of the Jura, to transfer from the region of ideas to that of action the great principles of *LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY*, which constitute the happiness of men as well as the glory of societies."

50. Lord Palmerston, however, was not an unconcerned spectator of the approaching conflict in Switzerland. He had been warned, two months before, that it was more than doubtful whether M. Ochsenbein, impelled as he was by the clubs, would be able to preserve peace. In consequence he had made repeated efforts, first through the medium of France and Austria, and more recently by Lord Minto, who took Berne in his way to Italy, to mediate between the contending parties; but the attempt proved abortive. The reason was, that the terms he proposed were, that "the *Sunderbund* should lay down their arms without a compromise for the present, or any security for the future"—terms which were equivalent to a surrender at discretion, and which the Helvetic chiefs, who knew the character of their opponents, justly deemed inadmissible. As matters grew more urgent, and hostilities were on the point of commencing, M. Guizot, as a last resource, transmitted on 4th November a note, in which he urged, in the strongest terms, the Cabinets of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to interpose their good offices to prevent the effusion of blood in Switzerland; and on the 6th this note was presented by M. de Broglie to Lord Palmerston in London. An *immediate* answer was of the last importance, and might even at the eleventh hour have prevented hostilities, for the order to the army of the Diet to march against Fribourg and Lucerne had already been given. Instead, however, of giving an instant answer, which in the circumstances

\* "*Conformément aux instructions de votre seigneurie, j'ai saisi l'occasion d'exprimer à M. Ochsenbein l'opinion favorable que le gouvernement de sa Majesté a conçue de sa personne, en raison de sa haute position, de son caractère bien connu et de sa détermination de faire tout ce qui sera en son pouvoir pour maintenir la tranquillité intérieure de la Suisse.*"—M. PEEL à LORD PALMERSTON, 14 Août 1847; *Parl. Papers relative to Switzerland*, August 1847, p. 164.

was so loudly called for, *Lord Palmerston kept the French note from the 6th to the 16th without an answer*, and at the expiration of that time returned not an adhesion, but a proposal for an agreement, in the first instance, between the mediating powers as to the terms on which the mediation was to be founded. This was directly espousing the cause of the Swiss Radicals, for it gained for them all that they wanted, which was delay. Without adopting, in the absence of proof, the assertion of M. Guizot's annalist, that Lord Palmerston, while gaining for the Swiss Radicals these diplomatic delays, was underhand pressing the march of the forces of the Confederacy against Lucerne,\* it is sufficient to refer to public acts to show that his delay effectually aided the dominant party in Helvetia, and crushed its gallant mountaineers. It was not till the 26th November that Lord Palmerston gave the adhesion of Great Britain to the collective note of the Continental powers, and two days before—viz., on the 24th—Lucerne had been taken by the troops of the Confederacy, and the contest was at an end.

51. In truth, the forces of the Confederacy, as compared with those of the Sunderbund, were so immense that the contest was evidently hopeless on the part of the latter, and nothing was wanting but time to secure victory to the former. The population of the twelve cantons hostile to the Sunderbund was 1,867,000 souls; that of the seven cantons which composed that

\* "Comme si ce n'était pas assez de tous ces délais, pour laisser aux forces considérables des Radicaux le temps d'écraser la faible résistance des cantons du Sunderbund, le secrétaire d'état de sa Majesté Britannique faisait hâter sous main la marche des troupes expédiées de Berne contre les malheureux défenseurs de Fribourg et de Lucerne."—D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 365. "Avouez au moins, dis-je à M. Peel, que Lord Palmerston a fait une belle fin, et que vous nous avez joué un tour en pressant les événements. Il se tut. J'ajoutai: pourquoi faire le mystérieux? Après une partie, on peut bien dire le jeu qu'on a joué. Et bien, dit-il alors: '*J'ai fait dire au Général Dufour d'en finir vite.*' Je regardai M. De Zayas pour constater ces paroles. Son regard me cherchait aussi."—M. BOIS LE COMTE à M. GUIZOT, 31st December 1847; No. 240 des *Dépêches*.

league was only 394,629 souls. Bâle, Neuchâtel, and Appenzell, which remained neuter, had 105,000 souls. The contingent of the first was 50,104, and their landwehr 46,829—in all, 96,993 men, with 278 pieces of artillery; that of the Sunderbund was only 11,387 men, and their landwehr 20,436—in all, 31,823, with 87 guns. Twenty guns additional had been bought by the Sunderbund abroad, and some slender supplies of arms and ammunition had reached them from France and Austria. Thus the Radical forces were three times those of the Conservative; and though the latter were known to enjoy the good wishes of the great military monarchies of France and Austria, yet not a man was moved forward to their defence. The weight of England, and the dread of a general war thrown in on the other side, paralysed all their measures, and left the Swiss mountaineers to contend alone with the overwhelming superiority of their antagonists. Yet they disdained submission, and advanced to the conflict with the same undaunted spirit that their ancestors did to the fields of Naefels and Morgarten.

52. But the times were changed, and heroic valour was no longer capable of withstanding a great superiority of military force. The construction of roads through their territory had deprived the Swiss of their natural means of defence; the introduction of artillery had levelled the superiority of their moral resolution. The first efforts of the Radical army were directed against Fribourg. On the 13th of November, General Dufour had concentrated 25,000 men, with 70 guns, in front of that town. The magistrates, in no condition to resist forces so considerable, were under the necessity of capitulating, which they did on the guarantee that life and property should be respected. This was at once agreed to; but no sooner were the troops of the Diet in possession of the town than they abandoned themselves to every species of military excess, generally undergone only by a town which has been carried by assault. This shameful breach of the capitulation

occurred under the very eyes of General Dufour, who, however indignant, was unable to prevent it, and furnished a theme for fresh and eloquent declamation, on the part of Count Montalembert, in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris. The next operation of the federal army, though more seriously resisted, was not less successful. On the 22d November, General Dufour's army crossed the frontier of Lucerne in three massy columns, and advanced against the city, which was the capital of the Sunderbund. His forces consisted of 60,000 men, and they had no less than 200 pieces of cannon. The troops of the Sunderbund did not exceed 18,000 men, with 40 guns. Notwithstanding this great disproportion of force, which rendered success hopeless, the mountaineers made a gallant defence, and it was only after a serious and bloody encounter that they were overpowered, and driven back to the gates of Lucerne. Then, as the contest was evidently at an end, the army of the Sunderbund dispersed, and the city of Lucerne, now left without defence, surrendered at discretion. The direction of the affairs of the canton was, three days after, put into the hands of the Radical leaders, and the remaining cantons of the Sunderbund sent in their submission, which was only accepted on condition that the refractory cantons should defray the whole expenses of the war.

53. Meanwhile, Lord Palmerston was considering the terms on which the mediation of the five great powers should be offered; and on the 26th, two days after Lucerne had surrendered, he at length agreed to the conditions proposed by them, which were, that the Catholic cantons should be allowed to refer the religious part of the dispute to the Pope; that the Diet should undertake to defend the sovereignty of such of the lesser states as might be threatened; that the Sunderbund should be dissolved, and a mutual disarmament take place. Nothing could be more equitable than these conditions; and, had they been agreed to by England on the 6th November, they would have prevented

the conflict. Delayed till the 26th, when Lucerne was taken and the Sunderbund dissolved, it was too late; the victorious Radicals declared, with justice, that there were no longer two parties to interpose between, and refused the proffered mediation.

54. These decisive steps on the part of the Government of Great Britain in favour of the revolutionary party in so many states of western Europe, had come now to awaken the serious apprehensions of *all* the great Continental powers. Since the changes in the ruling party in England, effected by the Reform Bill, its rulers had, in conjunction with France, permitted the partition of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and forcibly prevented the victorious arms of their sovereign from regaining his lost inheritance. In conjunction with the same power, they had changed the order of succession in Spain, placed a queen, supported by the movement party, on the throne, both of Spain and Portugal, and beat down, after a heroic struggle, the efforts of the Basque mountaineers to maintain their constitutional rights. In opposition to France, they had more recently encouraged the demands for organic reform in the Italian states; changes so great as to amount to revolution had followed in the footsteps of their legate; and Sicily had at length been landed in open revolt, in consequence of the hopes of succour which they permitted to be formed. By a policy more guarded, but not less effectual, they had accomplished the overthrow of the Conservative party in Switzerland, and placed the revolutionary leader of the Free Bands and his associates at the head of the whole forces of the Helvetic Confederacy.

55. So alarming had this policy become, that the Cabinets of the Continent deemed it indispensable to unite in joint measures for their common defence, and the task was committed to General Radowitz on the part of Prussia and Russia, and Count Colloredo on that of Austria. These two eminent diplomatists, after having met, and concerted measures in Germany, repaired to Paris, where they

entered into communication with M. Guizot, by whom they were cordially received. The English agents at Vienna, Berlin, and Berne, warned the British Government repeatedly, in the course of the winter of 1847-8, that something underhand was in agitation;\* but they were far from being aware of the extent and imminence of the danger which threatened. It is now known, from the revelations of the Ministers of Louis Philippe, that the overtures of the Northern Powers had been accepted by the French Government, and the 15th March fixed for the conclusion of definitive arrangements for the isolation of Great Britain, and the entire exclusion of her influence from the affairs of the Continent! The Revolution of 1848, by setting the Continental powers against each other, probably saved Great Britain from a contest, single-handed, with a confederacy as powerful as that which overthrew France on the field of Leipsic.†

56. When dangers so formidable and so imminent threatened England in consequence of the policy which her rulers had adopted, it is worth

\* See, in particular, the last pages of the papers communicated to Parliament in 1848-9, on the affairs of Italy and Switzerland.

† "Désespérant de pouvoir jamais s'entendre avec un gouvernement qui s'était fait à Madrid le patron des cabales Espagnoles, qui à Rome, à Naples et en Sicile favorisait la destruction des institutions, et la levée des boucliers en Grèce, qui était devenu un agent incessant de trouble et de désordre, qui avait livré les conservateurs de Fribourg et de Lucerne à la colère des Radicaux Suisses, les grandes puissances de l'Europe venaient témoigner à la France le désir de se concerter avec elle, à l'exclusion de l'Angleterre. Notre Cabinet avait accepté leurs ouvertures; un jour était pris (le 15 Mars) pour donner aux arrangements déjà débattus une forme arrêtée et précise. Ainsi était franchi un pas immense. Ces mêmes puissances du nord si hostiles en 1830, qui avaient eu si grande hâte de prendre parti contre nous, et pour l'Angleterre en 1840 au sujet des affaires du Levant, qui étaient restées passives et neutres en 1846 après les mariages Espagnoles, en 1848 après les affaires de la Suisse, se mettaient avec nous contre l'Angleterre. Nous n'avions pas passé de leur côté, elles avaient passé du nôtre. C'était le tour d'Angleterre d'être mise dans l'isolement."—D'HUSSONVILLE, vol. ii. pp. 381, 382 (the publisher of Guizot's papers with his authority).

while, as a matter of historical curiosity, to examine what preparations the Government of Great Britain had made to meet the crisis. This matter is now finally set at rest by official authority. It appears from a return presented to Parliament on 1st June 1857, that the total military forces in the pay of Great Britain in 1847-8 were 138,769 men, of whom 30,497 were in India, and 41,393 stationed in the other colonies, leaving 67,005 for service in Great Britain and Ireland; of whom certainly not more than 30,000 could be reckoned on as capable of combating in the former island. As at least half of this force would be required to garrison the maritime fortresses, upon the preservation of which the very existence of the empire depended, not more than 15,000 men could have been collected to keep the field against a coalition which would with ease have invaded the country with 150,000 men! Nor were the naval forces more considerable; for it appears from the same return, that in the year 1847-8, the number of sailors and boys voted was only 29,500, and marines 11,000—in all, 40,500; a force little more than a fifth of what the nation, with not half the resources, had on foot during the war, and which could not by possibility have produced ten sail of the line in the Channel to meet a sudden emergency, or protect the shores of the empire from invasion from powers who had forty sail in the Baltic and Channel ready for sea.

57. This extraordinary disproportion between the magnitude of the danger evoked, and the diminutive amount of the forces provided to meet it, is one of the most curious and instructive circumstances which the annals of that memorable period present. That the vast majority of mankind of every rank and amount of instruction are incapable of foresight, and willing to run the risk of any danger in future, however great, rather than incur the burden of any preparation at present, however small, is unhappily too well known, both in private life and the affairs of nations. But the extraordinary and apparently inexplicable

thing is, that this absence of foresight in previous preparation should be accompanied by so ambitious and aggressive a policy in every quarter, and that the strides made, calculated to excite the most formidable foreign hostility, should be in the inverse ratio of any preparations to meet its dangers. The only explanation which can be given of it is, that the great majority of men are at once ambitious and unforeseeing; willing to support any aggressive policy which promises success, provided only no demand is made on their purses to defray its expenses, and that a government returned by a mere numerical majority necessarily partakes of the same character. This observation applies only to the preparation for future and contingent danger. When peril is present and apparent, not merely to the prophetic eye of wisdom, but to the present gaze of the multitude, no society ever makes such great and magnanimous efforts to avert it as that which is of a democratic character.

58. It appears at first sight a not less singular and inexplicable circumstance, that the foreign policy of France and England should at this period have been directly the reverse of what, *a priori*, might have been expected from either. The Citizen King, elected during a revolutionary convulsion, had become essentially Conservative, and his Ministers had adopted the policy of the despotic Continental powers. They had entered into the closest relations with them, while monarchical England had espoused the cause of Liberalism, and its Government was everywhere looked up to as the avowed head of the movement party in Europe. But a very little consideration must be sufficient to show how this had come to pass, and what it was which had now arrayed Great Britain on the side of revolu-

tion. It was the domestic position of the two cabinets which had occasioned the anomaly, and brought their foreign policy into direct contradiction with their previous settled maxims. Continually assailed by an anarchical faction, which was exasperated by being deprived of the fruits of revolution, Louis Philippe and Guizot were driven to take refuge with the Conservatives, as their only security for existence. Watched by a powerful Conservative Opposition, against which they with difficulty maintained their ground in either House of Parliament, the Liberal Cabinet of England sought for support in the establishment of constitutional governments in all the adjoining states of Europe.

59. It was the completeness of the revolution in France which rendered Guizot conservative; it was the incompleteness of the revolution in Great Britain which rendered Lord Palmerston, in foreign affairs at least, revolutionary, though in domestic he was conservative. Guizot was nowise afraid of being supplanted by M. Berryer or Count Montalembert, but very much so of being overthrown by M. Thiers and Odillon Barrot. Lord Palmerston was not haunted by the dread of a cabinet headed by Cobden and Bright, but very much so of one led by Lord Derby and Mr Disraeli. There never were Ministers in either State who had the advancement and glory of their respective countries more sincerely at heart than Guizot and Lord Palmerston; but both were, probably unconsciously to themselves, mainly guided in their foreign policy by their domestic position. Both brought the countries they respectively directed into the most serious ultimate dangers, from a desire to strengthen their present position in reference to the party from whom at home they apprehended a removal from power.

## CHAPTER LXV.

FRANCE, FROM THE MIDDLE OF 1847 TO THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN FEBRUARY 1848.

1. THREATENING as the aspect of external affairs was in Europe in the last months of 1847, the appearance of domestic concerns in France was still more alarming. On all sides were to be seen the symptoms of corruption in society, discontent in opinion, and imbecility in government, the usual and well-known precursors of public calamities or social convulsion. The Revolution of 1830 had disappointed the expectations and damped the hopes of all parties concerned in it. The ardent democrats who originated the change had seen with unutterable vexation its fruits slip from their grasp, and a government established, in consequence of this insurrection, differing from that which had preceded it only in being more expensive, more despotic, and more hostile to the realisation of their dreams. The army, whose defection had determined the contest, had since proved itself on every occasion faithful to its duty, but it was far from being satisfied with the results of the change; and by no means regarded the sterile laurels won in the fields of Algeria as a compensation for the want of the conquests of the Empire, which it had fondly hoped to see renewed under the restored tricolor flag. The bourgeois class was generally prosperous, in consequence of the long peace which the King had so firmly maintained; but it was seriously shaken in opinion by the long and acrimonious hostility which the daily press had maintained against the Government in consequence of the disappointment which its leaders felt in not having become the rulers of the State. The clergy, alienated beyond redemption by the events of 1830, were not openly arrayed against the

Government, but stood aloof in sullen neutrality, and withheld from it all that support which was so material, especially in securing the allegiance of the vast rural population of France. The Chamber of Deputies, the representative, under the existing electoral system, of only one interest in society—that of the middle class—had lost entirely the confidence of the nation, from its prolonged resistance to the wishes of the majority, and its inflexible adherence to its own material interests, as distinct from the general welfare of the community. The King, old and infirm, had preserved of his former well-marked character only its obstinacy, and, long accustomed to govern by his own will, was blind to the signs of the times, which filled every one else with apprehension. Finally, the working classes, especially in the great towns, were labouring under extreme distress, the result partly of the long-continued fall of prices, which originated in the inadequacy of the currency of the world to meet its rapidly-increasing transactions, partly of the extraordinary monetary crisis which had befallen Great Britain.

2. A very competent observer, and no prejudiced opponent of the dynasty on the throne, has left the following graphic account of the internal condition of France at this period. On November 7, 1847, the Prince de Joinville wrote as follows to the Duke de Nemours: "I write one word to you, for I am disquieted at the events which I see on all sides thickening around us. Indeed, I begin to be seriously alarmed. The death of Bresson\* has filled me with apprehension. He

\* The ambassador at Naples, who had committed suicide.

was not insane; he executed his design with deliberation and coolness. My letters from Naples leave no room for doubt as to what was the real cause of that catastrophe; his feelings were lacerated towards our father. The King is inflexible; he will listen to no advice; his own will must prevail over everything. It seems to me impossible that in the Chamber of Deputies, in the next session, the anomalous state of the Government should not attract attention, which has effaced all traces of constitutional government, and has put forward the King as the primary, and indeed sole mover on all questions. There are no longer any Ministers; their responsibility is null; everything rests with the King. He has arrived at an age when observations are no longer listened to; he is accustomed to govern, and he loves to show that he does so. His immense experience, his courage, and great qualities, lead him to face danger, but it is not on that account the less real or imminent.

3. "Our situation is far from encouraging. In the interior, the state of our finances, after seventeen years of peace, is far from good. Abroad, where we might have sought some compensation and gratification to our national vanity, we have not acquired distinction. The return of Palmerston to power, by awakening the distrust and jealousy of the King, has caused us to engage in the affair of the Spanish marriages, and attached to us the deplorable reproach of breach of faith. Separated by this cause from England, at the very time when the affairs of Italy became complicated, we have been debarred from taking an active part in them, or adopting the side which was in unison with our principles. We did not venture to throw down the gauntlet to Austria, for fear of seeing England reorganise against us the Holy Alliance. We are coming before the Chamber with a disastrous interior, an exterior not much better: all the consequences of the King's government—of the old age of a king who insists on governing, but who lacks the strength to adopt a manly

resolution. The worst is, that I see no remedy to this state of things. I once hoped that Italy might have furnished the means of extricating ourselves from it; but the best thing we can now do is, to set sail and leave it, because if we remained we should be obliged to make common cause with the retrograde party, which would be attended in France with disastrous consequences. Those unhappy Spanish marriages! We have not yet drained the cup of bitterness which they have compelled us to drink."\*

4. The dangers here ably summed up were so evident that every one who had the least of a reflecting mind perceived them distinctly, and the King was not insensible to their existence; but he did not see how they were to be avoided. Concession to the republican party, and a general change in external policy, so earnestly pressed upon him by the Liberals, would lead at once to a general war, which was not to be thought of now that Great Britain was alienated by the Spanish marriages; and it would ere long provoke opposition from the majority in the Chambers elected by the middle class, which was the only real support of his throne. Influenced by this consideration, he saw no alternative but to persist in the system of resistance, and for that purpose to secure the support of the army by indulgences, and of the Chamber by corruption. To effect these objects his whole efforts, during the last months of his reign, were unceasingly directed. Of course the very success with which they were for the time attended only widened the breach between the Government and the people, and increased the general discontent. The King, though he persisted in his policy as a matter of necessity, was far from being insensible to the dan-

\* The Author gives this letter as he finds it quoted in the French historians, without guaranteeing its authenticity, which, judging from internal evidence, he is inclined to doubt, for it looks very like an *ex post facto* composition. Whether it is so or not, it is at least an able *résumé* of the views of the Liberal party at this period, and the principal grounds of their complaints against the Government of the King.

gers with which it was attended, and often said to his ministers, with a mournful voice, "I see no supporters of order forming behind you; you are the last of the Romans."

5. Accustomed to see public feeling influenced chiefly by impulses derived from foreign affairs, and anything which touched the national honour, the French Government at this period was by no means sufficiently alive to the effects of the monetary crisis arising from the serious deficiency of the crops, especially that of potatoes, which at the same period was attended with such disastrous effects in Great Britain and Ireland. The consequence was, a very considerable rise of prices of all sorts of subsistence, which at length, November 17, though after a long delay, forced the Government, in the close of 1845, to take off all duties on the importation of grain. This measure, however, could only relieve the scarcity after time had elapsed for cargoes to arrive from the corn-growing countries; and this was much extended by the effects of a severe frost in the Euxine and Sea of Azof, which stopped the navigation of those waters by the accumulation of floating ice with which they were charged. The result was, that it was not till February 1846 that the long-wished-for cargoes began to arrive, and meanwhile the people were reduced to very great straits by the high price of provisions. To diminish the pressure, Government issued orders transferring the purchase of wheat for the army, which amounted annually to 500,000 quintals, and for the navy, which exceeded 100,000, from the interior to foreign ports, for the whole of 1846 and 1847. But this, though in the circumstances a wise, was only a prospective measure; and meanwhile prices rose so seriously that the municipality of Paris, to preserve the public tranquillity, were reduced to the desperate expedient, often adopted by them, of forcibly reducing the price of grain, and paying the difference between the selling and the real price out of the corporation funds. Bread of the best quality was by this

means maintained at 80 centimes, or 16 sous the two kilogrammes; but to effect this the city had to borrow the enormous sum of 25,000,000 francs, or £1,000,000 sterling.

6. These evils were sufficiently serious in themselves; but they became much more pressing, and led to other still more alarming consequences, in the following year. The potato crop in France, as in Ireland, failed much more extensively in 1846 than it had done in 1845; and the consequences, as in Great Britain, were much aggravated by the railway mania, which at the same period, as on this side of the Channel, had seized upon the country. The importation of grain went on largely during the whole of that year, to supply the deficiency of domestic produce; and the consequence was a drain upon the metallic treasures of the Bank to pay for the importation of food. To such a length did this go that, from the official statement published in the *Moniteur*, it appeared that the specie in the Bank amounted, on 26th December, only to 71,000,000 francs (£2,900,000), while its liabilities for notes and deposits were 368,000,000 francs (£14,900,000).\* The danger was immediate and imminent; and in order to guard against it, the Bank in the first week of 1847 raised their discounts from 4 to 5 per cent. This sudden advance, which was not expected, excited great alarm in Paris, which was not allayed till the Emperor of Russia, in March, made an offer to purchase 50,000,000 francs' worth of French Government stock, with gold stored up in St Petersburg, the produce of the Oural Mountains. This offer was accepted, and the stock was bought at the rate of 115 francs 75 centimes per cent. This ample supply of gold from the Russian treasures compensated the drain arising from the importation of food, and went far to suspend the crisis, while the Government also derived benefit

\* On the 26th December 1845 the specie in the Bank had been 187,000,000 francs, or £7,420,000. The diminution in the year 1846, therefore, had been 116,000,000 francs, or £4,640,000.—*Ann. Hist.*, xxx. 222.



from it by the confidence which it evinced in the stability and resources of France.

7. The relief afforded by this seasonable supply of gold from Russia, however, could in the nature of things only be temporary: as long as the causes which occasioned a great drain of specie continued to operate, a continuance of the danger was to be apprehended. This, accordingly, was what occurred. The financial state of the country in 1847 was anything but reassuring, and clearly evinced how severely the crisis which had been passed had affected the springs of public prosperity. The expenses of the year reached the enormous amount of 1,405,336,062 francs, and the estimate for 1848 was 1,446,210,170. The deplorable system, which had been so long pursued, of borrowing to the extent of four or five millions sterling every year, and augmenting the floating debt by that amount, without any prospect of paying it off, now fell with accumulated force upon the Government. The weight was felt the more sensibly that the high prices of provisions, which were double their usual level, lessened the resources of the people, and the vast importation of grain and export of gold curtailed credit in every department. The statement of the Finance Minister in January 1847 admitted a floating uncovered debt of 500,000,000 francs (£20,000,000), and he estimated the deficit of 1847 at 117,000,000 francs (£4,780,000). In this embarrassed state of the public treasury it was impossible to continue the allocation of 246,000,000 francs (£9,800,000), which, under the law of 1842, should this year have been devoted to railways and other public works, and the sum devoted to that department was diminished by 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000). Yet, even at this reduced rate, the floating debt in the course of the year 1847 mounted up to 700,000,000 francs (£28,000,000), while the great diminution in the sum allotted to public works proved a serious aggravation of the sufferings of the labouring classes of the people.

No resource remained but a great loan; and by a law passed on 8th August in this year, no less than 350,000,000 francs (£14,000,000) were authorised to be borrowed. The great reduction, however, in the expenditure on public works enabled the Government to restrict the loan to 250,000,000 francs (£10,000,000), which was contracted for on the 8th November, by the house of Rothschild, at the rate of 75 francs 25 centimes for each 100 francs of 3 per-cent stock.

8. These great loans relieved the difficulties of the treasury, but they by no means lessened the severity of the monetary crisis upon the country. On the contrary, by draining away so large a part of the capital of the country to public purposes, they diminished in a proportional degree that portion of it which could be devoted to the alleviation of private embarrassments. The contraction of credit, consequent upon the diminution of the currency, was felt as a sore and constantly-increasing evil during the last half of the year. It is now evident to what this calamitous state of things was owing. It arose from the vast increase in the importation of grain, in consequence chiefly of the failure of the potato crop, which was *triple* what it had been in the preceding year,\* and which, by occasioning a constant drain upon the specie of the Bank for its payment, of necessity occasioned a corresponding diminution in the circulation. The effects were soon felt in every branch of industry. Already one half of the railways in progress were stopped, or going on with only half their number of labourers. So stringent did the crisis become, that it would to all appearance have led, as it had done in Great Britain, to an entire suspension of credit and destruction of industry, when it was arrested by a measure, as bold as it was judicious, which at once

\* GRAIN IMPORTED INTO FRANCE IN  
1846 AND 1847.

		Quintals.
1846,	. . . .	2,332,000
1847,	. . . .	6,920,000

—*Ann. Hist.*, xxx. 226.

applied the appropriate remedy to the evil. Towards the close of the year, the Chamber was prevailed on to sanction the issue of notes for 200 francs (£8), in addition to those for 500 francs (£20), which had hitherto formed the paper circulation, and the Bank, though at first with fear and trembling, ventured to send out the notes. The effect was as instantaneous as the suspension of the Bank Charter Act in England, in this very year, in arresting the panic. But the consequences of the monetary crisis, which had been so appalling, were equally disastrous on both sides of the Channel. The remedy came too late to arrest the evils which had been induced; and the general distress, especially among the working classes in Paris and other great towns, continued unabated during the whole winter which followed, and must be regarded as one of the principal causes

of the revolution which ensued in the following February.\*

9. In this disastrous state of the material comforts and resources of the people, it was no difficult matter to render them discontented; and the Liberal press, seeing their advantage, exerted themselves to the utmost to make the most of it, and turn the ill-humour arising from the distress which prevailed into a torrent of indignation against the Ministers. In truth the Government had nothing to do with it further than by having given in so long to the prevailing illusion of the day, which was, that the paper currency must be kept entirely dependent on the retention of gold; and by sanctioning the emission of notes for 200 francs, they had made an important step in the right direction, and sensibly, though only at the eleventh hour, contributed to arrest the causes of the public suffering.

\* The particulars of the financial and monetary crisis in France in 1847 are extremely valuable and instructive, from the light they throw on the subject; and they have by no means received the attention on either side of the Channel which they deserve. In the fifth volume of Mr Tooke's *History of Prices* continued by Mr Newmarsh, the subject is for the first time treated with the latter gentleman's wonted accuracy and distinctness. It appears that, between January 1846 and December 1847, the specie, discounts, circulation, and deposits of the Bank of France stood as follows, in English money, at 25 francs to the £1:—

Months.	Specie.	Circulation. Notes.	Discounts.	Deposits.
1846.	£	£	£	£
Jan.—April, .	7,560,000	10,350,000	7,230,000	7,810,000
May—July, .	7,910,000	10,400,000	5,450,000	6,960,000
Aug.—Oct., .	7,590,000	10,340,000	5,420,000	7,010,000
Nov.—Dec., .	4,400,000	10,400,000	6,180,000	4,450,000
1847.				
Jan.—April, .	2,660,000	10,220,000	7,720,000	3,930,000
May—July, .	3,100,000	9,630,000	4,700,000	3,990,000
Aug.—Oct., .	3,560,000	9,190,000	6,980,000	4,220,000
Nov.—Dec., .	3,380,000	9,380,000	6,900,000	3,150,000

It is very remarkable, from this table, how steady the circulation was kept in France during the whole crisis, even at its very worst. Although the specie in the Bank had decreased to less than a half, and the deposits in a still greater proportion—which sufficiently proved the severity of the strain—the circulation and discounts were only reduced, the former by a tenth, the latter by a ninth. This bold and withal judicious conduct must have gone far to mitigate the severity of the pressure, by making use of paper in its true capacity, as a substitute for gold when the precious metals are withdrawn, instead of a representative of them, and, of course, drawn in with their diminution. At the same time, in all comparisons of the monetary system of France with that of this country, the extremely small, and even retail character of the commercial transactions of the former country compared with our own, is to be taken into view. From a careful examination of the elaborate table published by the Bank of France in regard to its transactions, Mr Newmarsh has arrived at the following extremely curious conclusions as to the comparative bill-transactions of the two countries:—

	France.	England.
Bills under discount, . . . . .	£18,000,000	£130,000,000
Bill circulation at one time, . . . . .	23,000,000	180,000,000

But this subject was even less understood at this period in France, by the great body of the people, than it was in England; and everything, rightly or wrongly, was ascribed by the Liberal press to the faults of Government. Unfortunately too, at this time, many circumstances occurred which not merely furnished them with a fair ground for declamation, but with legitimate causes of complaint. The corruption among the public functionaries at this period had become such that it could scarcely be credited, if not attested by the incontrovertible evidence of judicial proceedings and judgments. Every day revealed fresh instances of it, either in the holders of Government situations, or in persons connected with them; and the abuses had become so common that they reached not only the inferior persons, but some of the highest in office and rank, and even some of the Cabinet Ministers were not altogether free from suspicion.

10. For a considerable time the public press had denounced alleged corruptions in various departments of the public service, particularly in the naval arsenals, and even designated the individuals against whom the delinquencies were charged; but the people were so accustomed to accusations of that description, that for long they excited very little attention. At length, however, events occurred which proved, even to the most incredulous, that they had too much foundation. On the 1st August 1845, a great fire broke out in the Arsenal Mourillon, one of the greatest in Toulon, which in a few hours consumed stores to the amount of 3,000,000 francs (£120,000). It was suspected at the time that this conflagration was the work of incendiaries, and intended to conceal the dilapidation which had been going on in the public stores. Nothing transpired, however, which justified the suspicions, but it led to inquiries into other departments of the public service, and more abuses were speedily brought to light, which startled the public by their frequency and long impunity.

An inquiry which was instituted at Rochefort proved that 38 per cent of the grain and other provisions served out to the seamen in the royal navy was composed of adulterations, consisting of substances not of a nutritious kind. No less than six-and-thirty persons were convicted, after a long trial, of this offence, and sentenced to various degrees of imprisonment, at the assizes held at Vienne, on the 13th January 1847. In the course of the inquiries which these discoveries led to, it was ascertained that so frequent had this species of fraud become, and so shamefully was it connived at by the public officers, whose duty it was to detect and check such malversations, that several *employés*, whose salary was from 2000 to 3000 francs a-year (£80 to £120), had, in twenty years, amassed fortunes of 200,000 to 300,000 francs (£8000 to £12,000). M. Sanson, the Comptroller of Marine, declared in his deposition that all the representations which he had addressed to the Minister of the Marine and the prefect at Rochefort on the subject, had remained without effect. The Comptroller of Subsistences then committed suicide, to withdraw himself from inquiries. A similar fraud was discovered in the office of the Comptroller of the supply of grain for the use of the army at Paris, which amounted to 14,000 quintals of wheat, worth 400,000 francs. This case was the more injurious to the Government, that it appeared that the official persons had exerted themselves to stifle inquiry; and the truth was only elicited by the case having been brought before the Chamber of Deputies, and being by their intervention sent to the assizes.

11. The detection of these frauds was soon followed by other revelations which still more nearly affected the character and weight of the Legislature and the Government. On 17th February 1847, M. Drouillard was found guilty of having obtained his election for Quimperlé by bribery, and sentenced to pay a fine of 7400 francs, and to be incapable of holding any civil office during ten years. At this

trial it was proved that 145,000 francs had been expended on this election; a sum inconsiderable indeed compared to what has long been known in England, but which seemed immense in a country so recently initiated into the mysteries of constitutional government as France. This was immediately followed by more formidable charges. M. Emile de Girardin accused the Ministry, in the *Presse* of 12th May, of having sold promises of seats in the Peers for 80,000 francs; and granted a licence for a third Lycée Théâtre, in consideration of a bribe of 100,000 francs; and, for a sum of 1,200,000 francs, engaged to bring forward a law favourable to the interests of some postmasters. For this he was cited before the Chamber of Peers, on the accusation of the Chamber of Deputies; and although that judicature passed to the order of the day on the accusation, and the Deputies did the same by a majority of 225 to 102, yet the public were by no means satisfied that the charges were not well founded. Hardly was the din excited by these proceedings hushed when a still more formidable accusation, implicating the Government directly, arose on a litigation between M. Parmentier and General Cubières, formerly holding office under M. Guizot's administration. It appeared from some of the General's letters relating to a company for working certain salt-mines, that he had expressed himself in terms implying, beyond all dispute, that he considered the Cabinet Ministers themselves as not beyond the reach of corrupt considerations.\* In consequence of this, a royal ordonnance was issued, which directed the accusation, before the Chamber of Peers, of General Cubières; M. Teste,

formerly Minister of Public Works; MM. Parmentier and Pellapra. They were brought to trial on 8th July. On the evening before, M. Teste resigned his situation as Peer of France and President of the Court of Cassation, "in order," as he himself expressed it, "that he might be defended only by his innocence."

12. The crisis came on on the 8th July, and, as might have been expected, where persons of such station and rank were implicated as accused parties, created an immense sensation. The result outstripped even the most sanguine hopes of the opponents of the Government. After a long trial, it came out that the sum of 100,000 francs (£4000) had been given by M. Pellapra to M. Teste to procure his accession to the measures desired by the company in the concession of a mine. It was sworn to by the notary of M. Pellapra that this had been confessed to him in confidence by his client, and this was admitted as evidence *against M. Teste*, contrary to what would have been decided in Great Britain. This statement of the notary, however, was confirmed by two written documents which proved the payment of the money. Upon this M. Teste withdrew his defence, by a letter to the President of the Court of Peers; and the evidence being considered satisfactory against the others, they were all convicted—General Cubières, M. Teste, and M. Parmentier on the evidence, and M. Pellapra, in absence, or *par contumace*. General Cubières and M. Parmentier were found guilty of having bribed a Minister to obtain the concession of a mine from the Government to a company in which they were interested, and sentenced to three years' imprison-

\* January 14, 1842.—"Notre affaire dépendra donc des personnes qui se trouvent maintenant au pouvoir. Il n'y a pas un moment à perdre; il n'y a pas à hésiter sur les moyens de nous créer un appui intéressé au sein même du conseil. J'ai les moyens d'arriver presque à cet appui; c'est à vous d'aviser aux moyens de l'intéresser. N'oubliez pas que le Gouvernement est dans des mains avides et corrompues, que la liberté de la presse court risque d'être étranglée sans bruit un de ces jours, et que jamais le

bon droit n'eût plus besoin de protection." January 26, 1842.—"Je passe ma vie au milieu des disputes. Je vais chez la plupart des Ministres, dont je crois utile au succès de notre affaire de cultiver l'amitié." February 3, 1842.—"La société doit avoir aussi pour objet de fixer le nombre d'actions qui devra être mis à notre disposition pour intéresser sans mise de fonds, les appuis qui seraient indispensables au succès de cette affaire."—*Procès Parmentier*, 72, 75, and REGNAULT, iii. 243, 244; *Presse*, May 2, 1847.

ment, and a fine of 10,000 francs (£400) each, as was M. Pellapra, who surrendered a few days after. M. Teste was found guilty of having, when a minister, in 1842 and 1843, accepted bribes for acts to be done by him in his official capacity, and sentenced to a fine of 94,000 francs (£3760), being the bribe received, and to three years' imprisonment, with civil degradation.

13. These scandalous revelations seemed almost to justify the words of M. de Lamartine: "Yes, a revolution is approaching, and it is the revolution of contempt." But the public attention was soon arrested by a still more terrible event, which involved the Peerage in the opprobrium of a detestable crime. On the morning of the 18th August, Madame the Duchess de Praslin was found murdered in her bedroom in her own hotel in Paris. Suspicion from the very first lighted on the duke her husband, the representative of the ancient and noble house of Choiseul-Praslin, one of the most illustrious in France. The duke was in his forty-second year, and had been made a peer of France in the creation on 6th April 1845. The duchess, three years younger, was the only daughter of Marshal Sébastiani. So suspicious were the circumstances, that, although his privilege as a peer protected M. de Praslin at first from arrest, he was put under the *surveillance* of an officer of police, and detained in his own hotel. At four in the morning of the 18th, the violent ringing of bells had been heard in the apartment of the duchess; the servants, in consternation, hastened to the doors, which they found all locked inside, but they heard the noise of a violent struggle, accompanied by shrieks and calls of assistance from the duchess within. Unable to force the door, they, in an agony of terror, went round by the duke's antechamber, and, to their astonishment, found the door leading from it to the duchess's apartment open. On entering, they found the unhappy victim bathed in blood. Soon after, the duke entered,

coming from his own room, and asked what was the cause of the tumult? Upon being shown the body of the duchess, he said only, "Poor woman! who is the monster who has assassinated her?"

14. The sequel of the tragedy was not less terrible. It appeared that a young lady, named De Luzy, who had been a governess in England, in a family of rank, had entered the duke's family in 1841, to superintend the education of his daughters. She was recommended by Madame de Flahault. Mademoiselle de Luzy, who possessed considerable talents, great address, and no small turn for management and intrigue, ere long acquired the complete command of the duke, while at the same time, by the most respectful demeanour, and the strict observance of all the rules of decorum, she long soothed the feelings and suppressed the jealousy of the duchess. Over the children her influence soon became unbounded; they looked upon her as more than mother. This anomalous state of things continued for several years, chiefly in consequence of the singular prudence and address of Mademoiselle de Luzy; but at length the duchess, seeing herself estranged both from the duke and her children, and reduced to a cipher in her own house, became melancholy and low-spirited, and several violent scenes took place between her and her husband. Her secret griefs exhaled in correspondence with her confidential friends, but external appearances were kept up, and they continued to live together. The duchess, after she had seriously taken the alarm, at first sought distraction in the pleasures of society, but she speedily found that they afforded no consolation to a wounded spirit, and she had recourse to books of religion. At length, on the recommendation of Marshal Sébastiani, Mademoiselle de Luzy, to prevent a separation, left the house, and a sort of forced reconciliation took place between the duke and duchess; but the foreign influence still continued. Mademoiselle de Luzy and he corresponded clandestinely, and

a project of marriage, if the duchess was only out of the way, was entertained between them. Hitherto their friendship, how tender soever, had been entirely Platonic. On the 17th August the duke and duchess returned together with the children from Prasilin to Paris, and separated at the barrier—the duke, with his three daughters, going to visit Mademoiselle de Luzy, from whence they returned in the evening to his hotel. At four in the following morning the catastrophe took place. Presumptive evidence being so decidedly against the duke, an ordinance directing his arrest was signed on the 21st, at the Château d'Eu, and on the same day he was brought before the Chancellor of the Peers, in the Palace of the Luxembourg. "You know," said the Chancellor, "the frightful crime with which you are charged, and the circumstances which appear so strong against you. You need not enter into details; it is enough to say yes or no." He replied: "Great strength is required to say either yes or no. I do not possess enough." He was observed to turn pale, and soon after he was taken violently ill, and breathed his last on the morning of the 24th. He had taken poison immediately after being first arrested, and thus by his death supplied the last link in the evidence of his guilt.

15. It is observed by the able annalist whose narrative has thrown so much light on the last years of the reign of Louis Philippe, that the great difficulty which has been experienced in establishing the parliamentary regime in France, arises from each party directing its efforts to the supplanting a rival from power, without the slightest regard to the public good, or the changes which were likely to advance it. Never had this evil, inherent in all constitutional monarchies in a certain degree, but pre-eminently conspicuous in France, from the absence of any check from a paramount feeling of patriotism, been so widespread and pernicious as it was at this moment. A universal feeling of uneasiness, disquietude, and dissatisfaction prevailed, and each party in the state strove to

augment the discontent thence arising, in hopes to profit by it. The severe scarcity which had prevailed for nearly two years had caused the working classes to feel almost the evils of famine; the monetary crisis, which had followed in its train, had caused the distress to spread to the middle class, for long so prosperous, and with justice esteemed the firmest support of the throne. The foreign policy of M. Guizot had incurred the displeasure of the Liberals, who desired that France should place itself at the head of every revolutionary movement in Europe; the English alliance was a continual subject of complaint to the Imperialists, who had never forgiven Waterloo and the fall of the Empire. The chiefs of all the parties, seeing the minds of men thus disposed, entered into a virtual coalition to push the Government to extremities, by taking advantage of the ill-humours which were afloat; and the common cause on which they were to unite their forces was PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. This topic was chosen for the war-cry, because it was likely, if successful, to lead to a change in the ruling power in the Chamber of Deputies, from which all the three parties, the Republicans, the Royalists, and the Imperialists, hoped, strange to say, to profit. Whether it did so or not, it would at least overturn the common enemy of all, the Citizen King and the bourgeois-elected legislature.

16. To a people thus agitated, and chiefs thus determined, it may easily be figured what a fortunate circumstance the scandals which had come to light regarding the corruption of the electors, and the prostitution of power itself and official persons to venal influences, would immediately prove. Advantage, accordingly, was quickly taken of the unhappy occurrences which have been mentioned to inflame the general discontent into a violent passion. Would you see, said they, what were the influences which operated with even the highest functionaries of Government?—look at the revelations regarding cabinet ministers in the "*Procès Cubières, Teste.*" Would

you know what sort of functionaries they put in situations of trust and emolument, and by what means they had so long secured the support of a corrupt and venal Legislature?—read the evidence in the “*Procès Rochefort*” and the unprosecuted charges in the *Presse* regarding the public sale of honours. The Praslin murder and suicide have sufficiently demonstrated what are the morals even of the highest classes of the aristocracy, and how vain it is to hope for any regeneration of society from its ascendancy. And to what purpose does the King wield the powers of the crown, the forces of the army, the influence of government?—to maintain a system of resistance which is insupportable in an age of advancing intelligence, and uphold a Ministry which, justly obnoxious to the vast majority of the nation, is obstinately set upon holding the reins of power, in order to perpetuate the reign of venality and corruption by which it has so long profited. Strong in the support of the King, the peers, the army, and a decided majority of the deputies, it has hitherto successfully resisted every effort for its overthrow; and it is now sufficiently evident that it can never be removed, or France enjoy the blessings which the Revolution should have brought in its train, till, by a change in the composition of the Chamber of Deputies, a different influence is made to govern the state.

17. What gave the Liberal chiefs the most sanguine hopes of success in their crusade against the Government was the notorious and widespread discontent of the National Guard, especially of Paris. The important share which that numerous and influential body, which numbered fifty thousand armed men in its legions in the metropolis alone, had had in bringing about the Revolution of 1830, and subsequently maintaining the Citizen King on the throne, was fresh in every recollection. And it was equally well known to every historical student that, in every important crisis since 1789, it had failed at the decisive moment, and either by its irresolution ruined the Government, or by its treason overturned it.

Great reliance was placed by the Liberal leaders on the now undisguised discontent of the Parisian National Guard, and it was confidently hoped that, if matters came to extremities, it would either refuse to act against the people, or openly join their ranks. In truth, this important body, which had made the Revolution of 1830, was discontented, as all forgers of revolutions are, when it found that the command of the Government had slipped out of its hands, and got into those of a majority of the Chamber, elected by the proprietors of all France. During the last years of the reign of Louis Philippe, the discontent of these armed Prætorians had become such, in consequence of the incessant action upon them of the revolutionary press, that they considered themselves superior both to the Sovereign and the Legislature. The King did not venture to review them, from apprehension of a public manifestation of those sentiments. To the former pressure, arising from the dread of tumults in the capital, had succeeded the influence, far more dangerous, of an armed force in its bosom, which pretended to substitute its caprices and passions for the deliberate expression of the national will by the Chamber. The electoral returns for Paris, for many years past, proved that the temper of the great majority of the citizens was decidedly Liberal, and that hostility to the Government was very widespread among them. Upon the co-operation of the National Guard in Paris more reliance was placed by the Liberal chiefs than on any other circumstance; and the result proved that their expectations were not overcharged.

18. A ruling and directing power, already organised, existed in Paris for the regulation of the projected movement against the Government. This consisted in a central committee, established in 1845, to direct the elections in the metropolis, which excited great interest at that time, and had never yet been dissolved. M. Odillon Barrot, who was at the head of the movement, solicited their co-operation and support, which was immediately and

willingly promised. A general meeting of all the Liberal chiefs took place, at which there were present M. Thiers, Duvergier de Hauranne, Garnier Pagès, Carnot, Gustave de Beaumont, Pagnerre, Barrot, Recourt, and Labédoyère. The Republicans made no attempt then to conceal their ulterior objects after displacing the Ministry; but such was the anxiety of the constitutional opposition, headed by M. Thiers and Odilon Barrot, to get possession of the government, that they did not hesitate to join with them, on the perfect understanding that they were to adopt legal measures alone, as long as the Ministry remained in power, but that, as soon as this ceased, the alliance was to be understood as closed, and each might pursue its own course, though in direct opposition to the other. This is proved by the testimony of the secretary to the Banquet Committee.\* It was agreed that the war-cry against the Government was to be the demand for parliamentary reform, as the most likely one to unite all parties, seeing the ministerial majority in the elective Chamber was the chief impediment to the gratification of the ambitious designs of the leaders of them all. To further this object, a very able petition to the Chamber of Deputies was drawn up by M. Pagnerre, craving a reform in the electoral law, which is very valuable, as containing an exposition of the grounds on which this important demand was supported by the ablest of the Liberal party in France.† And it was determined to

\* "Il n'y eut de part et d'autre division aucune. Les Radicaux disaient à MM. Odilon Barrot et Duvergier de Hauranne: '*Aujourd'hui notre but unique est de vous faire arriver au pouvoir, et pour cela nous nous maintiendrons dans le cercle légal; mais, après avoir une fois obtenu les réformes qui s'accordent avec notre triomphe, nous nous réservons de demander au delà. Nous ne transigeons avec aucun de nos principes; nous faisons seulement trêve à quelques exigences qui seraient aujourd'hui inopportunes, mais que nous nous promettons de faire valoir plus tard: Notre alliance doit cesser avec notre victoire, alors vous nous retrouverez en face de vous.*' Le pacte fut conclu en ces termes et accepté sans restriction."—ELIE REGNAULT, *Histoire du Gouvernement Provisoire*, p. 21. (Secrétaire du Comité du Banquet).

† "Nous demandons la Réforme de la loi

proceed by speeches at public banquets convened in all parts of France, because, as that species of agitation had not been foreseen, from not having been previously adopted, there were fewer legal restrictions on it than at-

du 19 April 1831, dans ses dispositions électorales et parlementaires:—

- "1. Parcequ'elle, après une expérience de seize années, l'épreuve de six élections générales en ont surabondamment démontré les vices et l'impuissance.
- "2. Parcequ'elle ne s'appuie sur aucun principe; qu'elle les viole tous.
- "3. Parcequ'elle n'a de base suffisamment rationnelle ni sur la population, ni sur le territoire, ni sur la propriété, ni sur les contributions, ni sur l'aptitude politique, ni sur la capacité intellectuelle.
- "4. Parcequ'elle est contraire au principe même du Gouvernement représentatif, qui veut que la majorité des députés soit le produit de la majorité des électeurs, et que la majorité des électeurs soit l'expression de la majorité des citoyens.
- "5. Parcequ'elle a créé une autorité spéciale qui fractionne à l'infini les collèges électoraux, qui constitue entre le plus grand nombre une inégalité choquante, qui donne aux intérêts locaux une prédominance exclusive sur les intérêts généraux et qui enlève à l'élu le caractère de député du pays du département ou même de l'arrondissement, pour en faire le représentant subalterne de quelques groupes d'électeurs.
- "6. Parcequ'elle fait des petits collèges autant de bourgs pourris toujours à la disposition d'un fonctionnaire en crédit, d'une famille bien placée ou d'un gros capitaliste; là, l'électorat n'est plus un mandat politique le premier de tous, que l'électeur, au jour donné, accomplit selon ses convictions, mais un titre permanent, une fonction privilégiée, dont il croit pouvoir sans déshonneur tirer un profit personnel.
- "7. Parcequ'elle tend à reconstituer, ainsi que l'a dit un ministre de la Révolution, une aristocratie intrigante et besogneuse.
- "8. Parcequ'elle méconnaît le principe de l'égalité des droits entre les citoyens; qu'elle viole le principe de l'égalité des droits même entre les électeurs.
- "9. Parcequ'elle ne protège pas suffisamment la grandeur et la liberté des élections, qui presque partout présentent le spectacle scandaleux de misérables intrigues, de petites passions, de luttes personnelles dont l'intérêt national est seul exclu.
- "10. Parcequ'elle a éteint le mouvement politique qui est la vie même des gouvernements constitutionnels.
- "11. Parcequ'en renfermant dans d'étroites limites la liberté du choix des électeurs par le cens d'éligibilité et la gratuité



tempts to excite the people in any other way.

19. Having determined on the banquet agitation, the Liberal chiefs lost no time in putting their designs in execution. The first festival was held on July 10, in a large room usually devoted to dancing-parties at the Château Rouge, near Clignancourt, in the neighbourhood of Paris, where about a thousand persons assembled, the majority being electors, with a considerable number of deputies. M. Ledru-Rollin refused to attend, lest he should be compromised by some act savouring too much of loyalty to the throne. The speeches delivered were abundantly violent, though not nearly so much so as they afterwards became, when the public passions were more strongly excited, and impunity had increased the hardness of the speakers. M. Odillon Barrot said: "Let us not charge against our glorious Revolution the miseries of our actual political situation. They have arrived at the shameful spectacle, which we all feel so afflicting, not by governing according to the principles of our Revolution, but in opposition to them; by falsifying all its professions, and departing from all the conditions which it imposed. Is there any one who now doubts this? Is there any one of any party who has not long since opened his eyes to the consequences of that system which we have never ceased to combat during seventeen years? Are the scandals we have witnessed not great enough? Let us, however, not be unjust. The Government alone is not to blame. Let us

du mandat, elle favorise l'envahissement de la Chambre par les fonctionnaires publics salariés, frappant ainsi du même coup la hiérarchie administrative et l'indépendance de la représentation, et substituant à l'action constitutionnelle du gouvernement parlementaire l'influence du gouvernement personnel.

"12. Parcequ'elle restreint le nombre des députés et celui des électeurs à un chiffre qui n'est pas en rapport avec la population; ouvre une large porte à la corruption, et parceque la nation ne saurait trouver dans le corps électoral tel qu'il est aujourd'hui constitué la représentation sincère de ses opinions, de ses intérêts et de ses droits."

examine our own conduct. Let us not ascribe everything to others, to causes which are not the only, or even the real ones. The root of the evil is to be found in the political indifference, in the code of public morals, in the estrangement which we all have instinctively, and from the old habits of the monarchy, from what is required to satisfy the true conditions of liberty. France is still mistress of her destiny; and every desponding feeling, as every senseless resentment, is a direct injury to her. Permit me, then, while invoking the memories of our Revolution of 1830, of that new, and I trust final, consecration of the national sovereignty, and reviving the sentiments which then animated us all, to propose, 'To the Revolution of July.'" The toast was drank with enthusiasm, the company all standing, and accompanying in chorus the strains of the Marseillaise, performed by a splendid orchestra.

20. M. Duvergier de Hauranne, on the same occasion, said: "Have we any need to prove that, after the lapse of twenty years, the same situation reproduces itself with the same duties and the same dangers? Assuredly, between the Government of the last years of the Restoration, and the existing Government, there are profound differences, but striking resemblances, which must strike the least clear-sighted. The lesson of 1830 has been of some advantage, and men do not twice in twenty years commit the same follies. The Restoration, to arrive at its end, took the high-road, and advanced in a very ostentatious manner. The existing Government, more modest, seeks to reach the same point by bypaths and advancing on tiptoe. In other words, what the Restoration proposed to effect by force and menaces, the existing power endeavours to effect by cunning and corruption. Our institutions are no longer openly broken; they are undermined. Consciences are no longer violated, they are bought. Do you think that is an exchange for the better? I think it is decidedly for the worse. For liberty the danger is

equally great, if not greater; and by the new system, morality is buried in the same grave as freedom. Can you, then, regard as mere accidents all those disorders, all those scandals, which have carried shame and confusion into the breasts of all honourable men? No, gentlemen! These disorders and scandals are not accidents; they are the necessary and inevitable consequence of the perverse policy which governs us—of that policy which, feeling itself too weak to enslave France, is striving to corrupt it. As long as that system endures, the scandal will continue and increase. If that is not clear, nothing in this world is so."

21. At Maçon, a large crowd assembled to listen to the eloquent words of M. de Lamartine, who attended a banquet in that city, for which he was deputy. He openly announced the approaching downfall of the Government. "If," said he, "the Government deceives the hopes which the country has placed, in 1830, less in its nature than in its name—if, in the pride of its constitutional elevation, it seeks to isolate itself—if it fails to incorporate itself entirely with the spirit and legitimate interests of the masses—if it surrounds itself by an electoral aristocracy instead of the entire people—if it distrusts the people organised in the civic militia, and disarms them by degrees as a conquered enemy—if it caresses the military spirit, at once so necessary and so dangerous to civil freedom—if, without attempting openly to violate the rights of the nation, it seeks to corrupt it, and to acquire, under the name of liberty, a despotism so much the more dangerous that it has been purchased under the cloak of freedom—if it has succeeded in making of a nation of citizens a vile band of beggars, who have only inherited liberties purchased by the blood of their fathers to put them up to auction to the highest bidder—if it has caused France to blush for its public functionaries, and has allowed her to descend, as we have seen in a recent trial, in the scale of corruption till it has arrived at its tragedies—if it has permitted the nation to be afflicted, hu-

miliated, by the improbity of those in authority—if it has done these things, royalty will fall, rest assured of that! It will not slip in the blood it has shed, as that of 1789 did, but it will fall into the snare which itself had dug! And after having had the revolution of blood, and the counter-revolution of glory, you will have the revolution of public conscience, and that springing from contempt."

22. The violence of some of these speeches, which were re-echoed from all the chief manufacturing towns, and some of the rural districts of France, excited no small terror in the holders of property, who were more alive than the Government to the point whither things were tending, and to the intimate connection between the overthrow of the present Government and the triumph of Socialist and Communist principles. Aware of the danger of such an idea being generally entertained, and of the damp which it would throw over their efforts in favour of reform and ministerial change merely, M. Thiers and the constitutional opposition laboured assiduously to convince the public that this danger was entirely chimerical, and that the Communists were nothing but a trifling unimportant minority, from whom no risk whatever was to be apprehended. Even M. Marrast, destined ere long to be one of the most dangerous leaders of this heated band of enthusiasts, published, on 20th September, the strongest statement as to the Socialists being "an imperceptible band of extravagants, who were content to have, instead of children, numbered mannikins." In truth, however, the danger was far from imaginary; for, though the numbers of the extreme Radicals were very small, and the persons who attended the banquets put together were only 17,000 in all France, yet they comprehended the most active and dangerous portion of the community, and the one which exercised the most widespread influence over general opinion. The effects of their declamations appeared before the end of autumn, in the increased audacity and undisguised revolutionary character of the

language used at the banquets. At Orléans, M. Marié openly spoke of a Republic; at Limoges, the speakers preached Communism; at Dijon, the red flag was hoisted; at Lille, M. Ledru-Rollin prophetically announced the overflowing of the Nile, "which, in its impetuous course, would sweep away all impurities, and leave in its course the seeds of fertility and new life." Thus though the number of those banded together for extreme measures was small, they professed doctrines of all others the most seductive to the working classes; and the whole question was reduced to this, whether on a crisis the latter would enroll themselves under the banners of chiefs professing these principles.

23. Already it was evident that a serious division had arisen among the Reformers, and that in their united ranks were to be found many who were inclined not to stop short with a change of ministry, or even dynasty, but aimed at an entire subversion and remodelling of society. M. de Lamartine, in particular, who, gifted with splendid genius, and moved by a feeling heart, was utterly ignorant of mankind, and saw everything through the Claude Lorraine atmosphere of his own enthusiastic fancy, cautiously kept aloof from the other reform banquets, and reserved himself for his own at Maçon, when he brought forward, for the first time, the Socialist principles which ere long shook France to its centre when proclaimed from the seat of Government. "What," said he, "do we ask of the Government of July as the condition of rendering it a sincere assistance? The dynasty with no other privilege than the throne; the King's inviolability; *social fraternity in principles and institutions*; a budget commensurate to the liberality which the state should dispense; a minister of public beneficence; a ministry of the people's life-blood. Let the Government enter into these views, and we will support it, whether it is headed by one wearing a crown, a tiara, or a hat." At this time, this celebrated author published what has been justly called

his "*Romance of the History of the Girondists*"—a work which contains more truths than is generally supposed, but so enveloped in the colours of imagination that it has already come to pass in part for fiction. At the time, however, it produced an immense impression, and powerfully contributed to the crisis which was approaching, by representing Revolutionists in the most interesting colours, and making heroes of those whose main object was to overturn the throne. At the same time, in the journal published at Maçon, he openly announced his principles in these words: "Are you factious?—go and conspire in darkness. Are you Communists?—come and applaud at the banquet at Maçon."

24. Notwithstanding this powerful assistance, the agitation produced by the banquets seriously declined before the end of the year 1847. The movement spread, indeed, into the provinces, and every considerable town in France had its meeting; but there was, with the exception of the capital, and one or two great commercial towns, none of the general enthusiasm which bespeaks a great national movement. Curiosity to hear M. Odillon Barrot, M. de Lamartine, or any other celebrated orator who had long been before the public, was the principal inducement which brought the inhabitants of the rural districts to the banquets. "No one can believe," says Regnault, their secretary, "to what an extent the banquet agitation was fictitious and superficial. To appreciate it, one would require to examine the correspondence of the central committee. There would be seen what difficulties the organisation of the provincial banquets presented. The chief magnet which attracted the provincial electors was curiosity to see a distinguished deputy. As M. Odillon Barrot was then filling the journals with his speeches, every provincial town insisted on having him in their turn. But he could not be everywhere at once, and therefore the central committee offered other names of more or less attraction, and measured them out according to the weight and quality of the applicants."

25. The Chamber met on the 28th December, and from the importance of the questions, both foreign and domestic, which were agitating the public mind, the Royal Speech was looked forward to with great anxiety by all parties. It contained, however, even less than is usually to be met with in such state papers, and touched lightly on the matters likely to excite a discussion in the Chambers. With a faltering voice the King said in the LAST speech he ever addressed to the Chamber: "My relations with all foreign powers inspire the hope that the peace of the world is secured. I hope that the progress of general civilisation may be accomplished everywhere by the consent of the Governments among each other, without altering the pacific relations or internal situation of the people. Civil war has disturbed Switzerland. My Government has come to an understanding with those of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to offer to that friendly and neighbouring people a benevolent mediation. Switzerland, I trust, will feel convinced that a respect for the rights of all, and the maintenance of the basis of the Helvetic Confederacy, can alone secure the duration of that happiness and safety which Europe was desirous of securing to her by the existing treaties. In the midst of the agitation which *hostile and blind passions* have fostered, one conviction has animated and supported me; it is, that we possess in the constitutional monarchy, in the union of the three powers of the state, the most effectual means of surmounting all our difficulties, and of providing for all the moral and material interests of our dear country. Let us firmly maintain, in the spirit of the Charter, the social order, and all its conditions. Let us faithfully guarantee, according to the Charter, the public liberties and their developments. Then shall we transmit uninjured to generations yet to come the sacred deposit which has been intrusted to us, and they will bless us for having founded and defended the edifice under the shelter of which they will live prosperous and happy."

26. So strongly were the Liberal chiefs bent on making domestic reform the *cheval de bataille* for the session, that notwithstanding the well-known bent of the nation to objects of foreign interest, and the existing topics which the agitated state of Italy and Switzerland presented, it was determined to have the whole discussion on the part of the speech which referred to domestic affairs. As usual on such occasions in France, and indeed unavoidable with their forms, the debate turned on the retention or rejection of certain words in the Address which was to be an answer to the Speech. An amendment, proposed by M. Desmousseaux de Givré, an old conservative, retained nearly the whole Address, with the words "hostile and blind" applied to the passions of the agitators. The retention or rejection of these words was not in itself very material, but it was selected as the point for the trial of strength against the Government, and the whole force of the Liberals of all shades was put forth in the course of the debate. Each distinguished leader was assigned, like generals in the field, his own part, and the onset of the whole was not a little formidable.

27. The discussion began on the 17th January in the Chamber of Deputies. Another alleged scandal had recently come to light in the appointment of a M. Petit to a Government office at Corbeil, in consideration of a retired allowance of 6000 francs (£240) a-year to the wife of the functionary who withdrew to make way for the appointment. The thing was noways blamable in itself, and is often done by the most upright persons in Great Britain, as the only means of getting quit of an incapable functionary. It was made, however, in the excited feelings of the French at that period, the subject of vehement invective against the Government. "Do you," said M. Odillon Barrot, "call that a trifling affair when you, the chief of the Cabinet, who represent a great and noble country, said to a man, 'We have need of a resignation,' and then conferred upon him a place or a title in exchange for the money promised or deposited? Do you style

base negotiations, disgraceful undertakings, intrigues which will not bear the light going on at your very door, in your Cabinet, under your eyes, mere trifles? Well may it be said, we have no longer any clear understanding on subjects of public morality."

28. M. Thiers opened the attack on the financial state of the country. "Every year," said he, "we are told, and with truth, that the public receipts are increasing; but of what avail is that, when the national expenditure is swelling in a still greater proportion? This is continually going on; never does a budget come out showing an equilibrium between them. The current expenses now are never under 1,600,000,000 francs, and as the receipts are never so considerable, it becomes every year indispensable to cover the deficit by loans in one form or another, or encroachments on the sinking fund. It is only by the most flagrant irregularities that you can conceal a financial embarrassment which is every day becoming more serious. This is not all. To the ordinary and extraordinary budget, which invariably succeeds it, you must add the floating debt, which now has swelled to the enormous amount of 720,000,000 francs. What a situation for a country to be in! To pay off during peace, in order to be able to borrow when the necessities of war recur, has been the invariable policy of the wisest statesmen in all ages and countries. Instead of that, what are we doing? Not only do we pay off nothing, contribute nothing to the sinking-fund during a long peace, but every year we add largely to the floating debt; and already it is proposed to have regular loans, if not every year, at least at very short intervals, in order to provide, at fixed dates, for the liquidation of the new debt contracted every year. Such conduct is nothing less than running directly counter to every principle. And it is no temporary expedient; it has gone on so long, and led to such results, that it has evidently become a fixed part of the policy of Government. To what must finances administered in such a manner lead? To a frightful catastrophe. The ru-

mour of a war, the menace of a revolution, a fresh dearth of subsistence, even lesser misfortunes, may bring all the state creditors upon it at once, and the state would be unable to satisfy their just demands. Matters are even worse than is here presented. The state has borrowed 20,000,000 francs from the savings banks, which, on a crisis, would instantly be demanded. Then the public debt, in exchequer bills, instantly exigible, is no less than 950,000,000 francs. National bankruptcy is inevitable, if any considerable part of these creditors should present their obligations for payment."

29. "The public morals," said M. de Tocqueville, "are degraded, and the private morals have come too closely to resemble the public. The governing class have set the most deplorable example. It possesses the most precious of gifts, that of choosing freely the representatives of the country; and when it is called upon to exercise this right, it degrades it, degrades itself, by prostituting a noble privilege to the most contemptible interests. The feelings of morality have vanished; electors and elected, functionaries high and low, have no other object but the augmentation of their private fortunes. It is a humiliating spectacle! France had exhibited to the world, in the midst of the first Revolution, the principles which she maintained were to regenerate the world; and now Europe, attentive to all the movements of the French mind, asks if these principles were not a dangerous seed; if the fruit they have produced is not the ruin of morals; and if a traditional servitude is not a better state for the conscience than the liberty for which so many sacrifices have been made."

30. "If the spectacle we are exhibiting is calculated to produce such an effect upon Europe, when seen from afar, what effect do you suppose it must produce in France itself upon the classes which are not represented? We are told there is no danger, because there is no insurrection; that, as there is no disorder on the material surface of society, revolutions are still

distant. Doubtless disorder is not as yet in fact, but it is deeply so in thought. Look at those working classes, who, I admit, are tranquil. It is true, they are not tormented by political passions to the extent that they once were; but do you not see that their passions, their political views, have become Social? Do you not see that the opinion is by degrees spreading and taking root among them, that it is necessary to overturn, not this or that law, this or that ministry, this or that government, but to change society itself, and uproot the foundations on which it now rests? And do you not believe that, when such opinions come to be generally diffused among them, and they have descended far into the masses, they will induce, sooner or later—I know not when, I know not how—the most fearful revolutions? Such, gentlemen, is my profound conviction; I believe that we are sleeping even now on the surface of a volcano. Such is my unalterable conviction.”

31. “So notorious,” said M. Billaud, “are these facts, that no one ventures to deny them, or dispute the daily and rapid degeneracy of public morals. All that the ministerial supporters can say is, that it is not their doing, and that they are charged with a responsibility arising from the acts of others. But if it is so, were they not the first to set the example? Have we not seen Cabinet Ministers prosecuted and condemned by the Court of Peers; high functionaries, friends of the Ministers, protected by them or their subordinates, when surprised in disgraceful acts at Paris, Claremont, Rochefort, Gros-Caillou? Have we not heard the editor of a public journal declare that he received five thousand francs a-month to celebrate, in eloquent prose, the merits of the Ministry, and declaim against their adversaries? Have we not seen the privileges of theatres given away for money; public offices made the subject of traffic; Ministers offering other places in lieu of conditional dismissals; deputies deprived of their situations on account of conscientious

votes; others promised high office for complaisant votes; besides innumerable other acts of the same kind, which are only mentioned in whispers because no one ventures to bring them forward publicly? No one is ignorant that the Ministry is the author of all these corruptions; they have been so often proved, that no one thinks of any longer contesting it.”

32. “Turn,” said M. de Lamartine, “to foreign affairs and see whether the Government has more conformed to the national will in them than in domestic government. Has M. Guizot not heard the maledictions, loud and long, of so many noble and generous men now abandoned to the mercy of a ferocious enemy? He has heard them; but what has he done to save them from destruction? Was he ignorant of the ardent sympathies of the French people for the sacred cause of Italian independence? M. Guizot cannot have abandoned his own principles; he cannot in secret approve his own actions. But he is bound hand and foot at the feet of Austria; he groans under the servitude which he has voluntarily incurred, but he cannot shake it off. To bring about what he deemed an advantageous marriage for one of his sons, Louis Philippe broke the alliance which he had contracted, the day following the revolution of 1830, between France and England, the two great constitutional states; he then, for the sake of other alliances, permitted Austria to confiscate the town and territory of Cracow, the last corner in which a great and noble people found a refuge; he even permitted the same power to push forward into the centre of Italy, and occupy the roads leading to Rome, Florence, and Turin. All this proves that the Government of the King has abandoned the secular interests of France, its permanent advantage, even its honour, to the most miserable family advantage—to a dowry, a connection, a pitiful consideration. From the day when you entered into the Spanish alliance, all your foreign acts have been contrary to your real interests. From that day everything has

been adverse to nature. You have been obliged to say that the *Sunderbund* was national in Switzerland, that the Diet was a faction. From that day it was necessary that France, inverting the order of nature, inverting the maxims and traditions of ages, should become Ghibeline at Rome, priest-ridden at Berne, Austrian in Piedmont, Russian at Cracow, nowhere French, everywhere counter-revolutionary."

33. It was no easy matter for any man, be his abilities what they might, to make head against a phalanx of such talent, urging such arguments, now all directed against one single head. Guizot's courage and talents, however, were equal to the trial, and he was ably supported by M. Duchâtel, the Minister of the Interior. "We are told," said the latter, "incessantly of the deficit and the amount of the floating debt. It is no doubt true that the budgets from 1840 to 1843 were made up in part of loans and anticipations—that was the sad bequest of the Ministry of 1840 (M. Thiers's), for whose prodigality we are not responsible. The budgets of 1844 and 1845 added nothing to the public debt in any shape. The same cannot be said of those of 1846 and 1847, but that was because those years were marked by scourges of nature which do not occur twice in any generation. After all, how were these deficits filled up in those disastrous years? With the reserves of the sinking-fund, and they will discharge them all by the year 1849. To apply the sinking-fund, in part, in this way, is not to burden posterity, for the entire sum so applied is drawn from present resources. It is true, it prevents the paying off of debt, but it does nothing to augment it. In a word, in the year 1849 all the charges will be met by ordinary resources and the aid derived from the sinking-fund—a state of things almost identical with what it was in 1839. And with this budget we have increased the effective ranks of the army, enlarged the arsenals, repaired the fortifications of strong places, multiplied tenfold the furnishings for the soldiers

and sailors, conquered a continent, and established a durable colonial possession.

34. "This is what we have done with the ordinary budget. There remains, it is true, the extraordinary budget; but in regard to that, is it not just that posterity should bear the principal part of those burdens which are to benefit it more than the present generation? It is on that principle that the extraordinary budget is founded, which constitutes the chief part of the floating debt which is now represented as so alarming, and which has arisen principally from the great expenditure on the public works which have been set on foot. How were those extraordinary undertakings to be met? Could any objection have been made to such projects, the burden of which is instant, while their benefit is future, being executed by means of loans? And is it more open to exception, because, instead of doing so, it was determined to meet it by the reserves of the sinking-fund not required for the ordinary budget, and in the mean time to provide for it by means of *exchequer bills*? The apprehensions so strongly felt on this subject are greatly exaggerated, if not entirely imaginary. The floating debt has by no means attained the gigantic proportions which are assigned to it. In order to magnify its amount, as in the end of 1848, M. Thiers has added to it the whole additional credits opened down to that period, and put to the charge of the extraordinary budget. But the credits thus successively opened to meet these extraordinary budgets have not been entirely exhausted at the end of the year for which they were destined; they even run into the next year, and thus figure, in part at least, twice in M. Thiers's estimate. In addition to this, these credits were, for the most part, opened to carry on public works, many of which have become productive, and no account is taken of the amount of these reimbursements. If these deductions are made, it will be found that the amount of the floating debt in the end of 1847 is about 620,000,000 francs. It is true this

will receive an addition of 150,000,000 during the course of 1848, but it will be entirely indemnified for this increase by the loan and various reimbursements, which will leave the floating debt at the end of 1848 not greater than it was at the close of the preceding year; and there is every prospect of its amount being still further diminished in succeeding years, from the reserve of the sinking-fund being applied to its liquidation, instead of the public works now in course of construction.

35. "We are constantly told of the corrupting influence of power, but every one must see that in a free state the real influence is on the side of the Opposition. It is it which, from day to day, directs public opinion. Power is a besieged army, doomed to the most arduous of duties, that of exhibiting courage in defence, and which, by the mere force of things, sees its resources daily diminishing. The Opposition, on the contrary, is a besieging army, in possession of the open country, which is constantly provisioned by complaints, recruited by passions, and which advances to the combat with the feelings of soldiers who are marching to an assured victory. This is the state of things in all constitutional monarchies. But with us the case is much worse. We have lived for ages under a despotic authority, and have contracted the habit of regarding power as the exclusive right of a few, opposition as the patrimony of all. Under a despotic government, the Opposition, when it first arises, attracts all sympathies, because power is awful, and is its enemy, and silences arguments by bastilles. But with us all this is changed: the Opposition has become the real power; but it still enjoys the sympathies which it awakened when it wielded only the sword of honour. Thus is it doubly armed, for it has at once the strength of a free country, and the sympathies of one whose freedom is only commencing its career.

36. "This then is the enormous, the perilous power of which we hear so much; and you tell us that the public morals are corrupted by it. Is

it, then, by accident that the people do not read your journals? Is it by accident they do not read your books? Is it by chance that they do not listen to your words in preference to ours? *If the morals are corrupted, it is you who have corrupted them.* Are we the persons who are every day publishing books in which religion is treated as an old prejudice—where the laws of family are set at nought, property treated as an abuse, where history is dressed up in the garb of imagination, where civic crowns are placed on the most guilty heads, where is resuscitated to influence the public passions the maxim so much blamed in former times, that the end will justify the means? I cannot comprehend how the moderate party of the Opposition, men laying claim at least to some degree of prudence and foresight, can render themselves the auxiliaries of a party actuated by nothing but the most extreme revolutionary tactics. In our first political assemblies the authors of this system were its first victims. The melancholy return which we witness to such extreme measures should disgust all parties. In a free country there is no more decisive proof of public immorality than the indulgence at the tribune in words of hatred and animosity.

37. "The complaints made on the foreign conduct of Government are, if possible, still more unfounded. It has always been a fundamental principle with the King's Government to cause the neutrality of Switzerland to be respected; but the first condition of such a neutrality is that it should be respected by the Swiss themselves. The inviolability of Helvetia, so precious for the peace of Europe, becomes dangerous to all as soon as the Swiss themselves begin to abuse it. Inviolability is not impunity. When the great powers guaranteed the inviolability of the Swiss territory, they had no intention of establishing a volcano from whence anarchy and disorder were to be incessantly vomited forth upon the neighbouring states. No one can deny that Switzerland has been the central point of all the factions,



the refuge of all the revolutionists, the workshop of all the conspiracies, directed against the peace of Europe. M. Thiers himself has well characterised it; for after the attempted assassination of Alibaud in 1836, he said: 'The event of the 25th March gives us additional reason to demand the expulsion of the refugees. France no more than Europe can consent that Switzerland should become the rallying-point of all revolutionists, alike prepared for murder or invasion, with an armed force. If the gentlemen of Berne choose to engage in such follies, France will not support them, but abandon them as lost reprobates.'

38. "As to Italy, the Government of the King has never ceased to endeavour, with an affectionate solicitude, to aid the efforts of the Italian princes who laboured for the regeneration of their country. No sooner was the intelligence received of the Pope's amnesty, than M. Guizot hastened to convey to his holiness the common thanks of Christendom. He declared that he regarded that noble act as the prelude to and pledge for others, which might satisfy public opinion without weakening the authority of the sovereign; and he never ceased to urge the adoption of those reforms, the principle of which had now been adopted. At Florence, as at Rome, he held the same language, that the French Government had no desire to intermeddle with the internal affairs of Italy; but that it was their anxious wish that the Italian governments should themselves set on foot those moderate reforms which the social condition of their people demanded, and which would confirm power by resting it on a wider basis. When Ferrara was occupied by the Imperial troops, M. Guizot did not lose an instant in demanding from the Imperial Government the re-establishment of the *statu quo*; and it was the influence of France which accelerated the pacific solution of that question. If the Roman and Tuscan people have obtained favourable conditions, and the arms necessary for their national guards, it is from France that they have received

them. The uniform language of M. Guizot was that he accepted the Italian revolutions as accomplished facts, but that he would consider himself culpable if he impelled the Italians any farther on the fatal descent on which the revolutionists would drive them—prophetic words! of which the world is even now beginning to feel the truth."

39. But whatever face the Finance Minister might put upon the situation of the French finances, the official budgets proved that they were in the most deplorable condition, and that whatever merit the Government of the Citizen King and the bourgeoisie may have possessed, economy was not to be reckoned among the number. Before the debate on the Address was concluded this was decisively proved. The budget brought forward by the Finance Minister, on 3d January 1848, presented a total of expenditure of 1,518,000,000 francs, while the income was only estimated at 1,192,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 326,000,000 francs (£13,000,000); and the utmost economy contemplated for 1849 only proposed to reduce this deficit by 38,000,000 francs. This was more than double the deficit existing in 1789, when the Revolution began, which was 100,000,000 francs yearly.

40. Such was the keenness on both sides, and the ardour which the Liberals evinced in the attack on the Government, that the debate was prolonged for twenty days, and only terminated on 7th February. Several divisions took place, in all of which the Ministry had the majority, though it was by no means so considerable as it had been on former occasions. The amendment on the Address, proposed by the Liberals, was rejected by a majority of 33, the numbers being 222 to 189. Another amendment, proposed by M. Desmoussieux de Givré, was rejected by 228 to 185. The ministerial majority was, on a scrutiny, declared to be 43. These majorities could not be considered as very large, considering that the whole strength of the Government was put forth on the occasion, and that the division

was felt on all sides to be a vital one. In closing the debate M. Guizot announced that, as soon as the entire Conservative party concurred in demanding reform, he would concede it, but that assuredly that day had not yet arrived. The Liberals, however, felt the division as a decisive defeat, so far as the legislature was concerned, and they determined on abandoning all attempts to move the Chamber, and to agitate out of doors for a revolution. "The war of words," said the *National* on February 9th, "is at an end; that of deeds is now to commence."

41. Determined on vigorous and revolutionary action, the Liberal chiefs resolved on forcing on a banquet for the 12th arrondissement of Paris, which had been originally fixed for the 19th January, and postponed in consequence of an interdiction by the police. This strong step was based on an old law passed on 24th August 1790, which had never been carried into execution excepting during the Empire, but seemed to contain words which justified such an interposition of authority. This interdict was at first acquiesced in; but on the day following the rejection of the amendment on the Address, the Liberal deputies met and determined to persevere in their design, holding the old law referred to as either inapplicable to the banquet proposed, or gone into desuetude. This determination, however, was not taken without very considerable difficulty; only 94 deputies voted for it in the meeting on the subject, though the whole strength of the Opposition was assembled on the occasion. This was a great falling-off from the 189 who had supported the amendment to the Address; and it indicated on what dangerous ground they were adventuring when they announced their resolution openly to brave the authority of Government.\*

\* The Radicals had enough to do to keep together their troops, who were not a little shaken. The prodigious agitation of men's minds kept at a distance the timid, and caused the audacious themselves to hesitate.  
—REGNAULT, *Hist. du Gouv. Prov.*, 34.

They remitted to a committee, accordingly, to prepare an address to the public, announcing their determination to go on with the proposed banquet, which was fixed for the 22d February, and published in all the Opposition journals on the 14th of that month.\*

42. Having thus resolved openly to

\* "Une réunion de plus de cent députés appartenant aux diverses fonctions de l'opposition a eu lieu ce matin, pour décider en commun quelle ligne de conduite il convient de suivre après le vote du dernier paragraphe de l'adresse.

"La réunion s'est d'abord occupée de la situation politique que lui fait ce paragraphe. Elle a reconnu que l'adresse qui a été votée, constitue, de la part de la majorité, une violation flagrante, audacieuse des droits de la minorité, et que le Ministère, en entraînant son parti dans un acte aussi exorbitant, a tout à la fois méconnu un des principes les plus sacrés de la constitution, violé dans la personne de leurs représentants l'un des droits les plus essentiels des citoyens, et, par une mesure de salut ministérielle, jeté dans le pays de funestes ferments de division et de désordre. Dans de telles circonstances, il lui a paru que ses devoirs devenaient plus graves, plus impérieux, et qu'au milieu des événements qui agitent l'Europe et qui préoccupent la France il ne lui était pas permis d'abandonner un seul instant la garde et la défense des intérêts nationaux. L'opposition restera à son poste, pour surveiller et combattre constamment la politique contre-révolutionnaire dont les entreprises inquiètent aujourd'hui le pays tout entier.

"Quant au droit de réunion des citoyens, droit que les ministres prétend subordonner à son bon plaisir et confisquer à son profit, l'assemblée unanimement convaincue que ce droit, inhérent à toute constitution libre, est d'ailleurs formellement établi par nos lois, a résolu d'en poursuivre le maintien et la conservation par tous les moyens légaux et constitutionnels. En conséquence, une commission a été nommée pour s'entendre avec les électeurs de Paris et pour régler de concert le concours des députés au banquet qui se prépare à titre de protestation contre les prétentions de l'arbitraire.

"Cette décision a été prise sans préjudice des appels que, sous d'autres formes, les députés de l'opposition se réservent d'adresser au corps électoral et à l'opinion publique. La réunion a pensé enfin que le cabinet, en dénaturant le véritable caractère du discours de la couronne et de l'adresse, pour en faire un acte attentatoire aux droits des députés, mettait l'opposition dans la nécessité d'exprimer, en toute occasion, sa réproubation contre un tel excès de pouvoir. Elle a donc résolu à l'unanimité, qu'aucun de ses membres, même ceux que le sort désignerait pour faire partie de la grande députation, ne participerait à la présentation de l'adresse."—*Journal des Débats*, 14th February 1840.

defy the Government, the Radicals immediately began to increase the agitation by sounding the alarm in all their journals in the strongest terms. That object was soon gained. Terror spread immediately, and ere long became universal. All business was suspended. Before two days were over, every one whispered to his neighbour, "They will soon be fighting in the streets." The *Journal des Débats*, which had become the organ of the conservative section of the Opposition, upon this strongly counselled moderation to both parties, and even went so far as to announce that a conciliatory policy would be adopted by Government, and concessions made sufficient to satisfy all reasonable demands of the Opposition. But matters had now gone too far for the counsels of moderation to be heard on either side; and the King, in particular, whose obstinacy, when danger was approaching, had increased as much as his resolution, when it was present, had diminished, was determined against any concession. "Every one," said he, "appears to be for reform; some demand it, others promise it. For my own part, I will never be a party to such weakness. Reform is another word for the advent of the Opposition to power, and that is another word for war; it is the beginning of the end. When the Opposition succeed to power, I shall take my departure."

43. Unfortunately, the King, during this the most critical period of his life, was deprived of the intrepid counsellor who had, by her resolution and abilities, so often brought him in safety through the most perilous crises of his fate. The Princess Adelaide, his sister, who had long been in a declining state of health, expired at Paris on 31st December 1847. No bereavement could at this moment have been more calamitous to the King. To more than masculine intrepidity and firmness she united the still rarer qualities of strong sagacity and sound sense, with a practical knowledge of men surprising in one born in so elevated a sphere. Probably she owed it to the ex-

traordinary vicissitudes of her own and her brother's career, which had brought her into contact with classes the most distant, changes the most surprising, catastrophes the most terrible. It was mainly owing to her moral courage that the vacillation was surmounted which led him so long to hesitate in accepting the proffered crown. Had she lived two months longer, there would probably have been no exhibition of the irresolution which caused him to lose it.

44. Meanwhile the committee to whom it had been remitted to choose a site for the proposed banquet, without having as yet selected a place, fixed upon the 22d February for the day. Shortly after, a situation was discovered in a street nearly deserted, in the Champs Elysées, named the *Chemin de Versailles*. This was a large open space enclosed by four walls, over which, as over the Roman amphitheatres, it was proposed to stretch a huge canvass covering, so as to convert it into an apartment capable of holding 6000 persons at table. This space was hired by the committee on the 20th, and on the 21st the preparations for stretching the canvass were commenced. But meanwhile the leaders of the Opposition, seeing matters approaching a crisis, felt anxious to avoid a collision, and gladly lent an ear to a compromise proposed by the Government, which promised the means of bringing matters to a judicial determination, without running the fearful risks of a conflict between the people and the military. The arrangement proposed was, that the company were all to be allowed to assemble without impediment or molestation in the place fixed on for the banquet, but that when there, they were to be invited to disperse by the officers of police, and the president M. Boissel, with M. Odillon Barrot and a few of the other leaders, should be summoned before the law-courts to answer for the alleged breach of the interdiction. This proposal, it is true, would render abortive the whole objects for which the banquet had been projected, but such was the sense of

responsibility entertained by the leaders of the movement, and the general consciousness of the impending danger if the banquet were either dispersed by force, or permitted to go on without impediment, that it was agreed to by the leaders of the Opposition, and M. Duchâtel on the part of the Government, and it was fondly hoped that the crisis had been surmounted.

45. This compromise was gladly accepted by the great body of the Liberals, and in particular those who desired a change of ministry, but not of the dynasty on the throne. But it was violently condemned by the ultras on both sides. The King and a part of the courtiers objected to it as an unworthy concession to popular violence, and an acknowledgment that the Government declined a combat. The extreme Radicals, led by M. Marrast and M. Ledru-Rollin, declaimed against it as a disgraceful abandonment of the rights of the people. The compromise, however, was carried through, and a sub-committee drew up a proclamation, in which it was announced that the meeting would take place, but the banquet would not follow, as it had been interdicted by the Government. To render the demonstration, however, without the banquet, as imposing as possible, it was announced that the procession was to take place on the largest possible scale. It was to extend along the boulevards from the Place of the Bastille to the Madeleine; the National Guards were invited to attend in their uniforms, but without their arms; and all the students and scholars at the military schools shared in the invitation. The utmost order and regularity were enjoined upon all persons forming part of the cortège, or witnessing it, and it was thought that a hundred thousand persons would appear in its ranks.

46. The Government was seized with the utmost apprehensions when this programme appeared in the Opposition journals. The danger appeared more imminent than ever, now that the banquet was converted into a procession. It was not the after-

dinner speeches, but a collision in the streets which was the real object of alarm. M. Guizot declared in a Cabinet council held on the subject, that all authority was lost when Government entered into terms with its enemies. M. Duchâtel urged that the opportunity should be seized of re-establishing the shaken authority of the Crown. M. Jacqueminot protested that the troops should be brought forward to stop the procession. On their side the Liberal chiefs were hardly less embarrassed, for it had become apparent that the substitution of a procession for the banquet had only augmented the danger, by bringing it into the public streets, and into the presence of the people. The party was divided on the subject. Impressed with these ideas, they agreed to publish an explanatory address, in which it should be announced that they had no intention of convoking the National Guard, or usurping the powers of Government. A draft of the proposed note was written out and submitted to M. Duchâtel; but the Ministers declined to agree to it, and the Chamber met at five in the afternoon, without anything being decided on the subject. Explanations were then made on both sides, but without leading to any amicable result. M. Duchâtel declared that no impediment would be thrown in the way of any who chose going to the banquet individually, but that any attempt to form a procession on the public streets would be prevented. M. Barrot replied that there was no intention of disturbing the public peace, that perfect order would be observed in the procession, and that, if the Government took a step which was virtually declaring Paris in a state of siege, they were provoking the breach of the peace which they professed so much anxiety to avoid. These explanations led to no result, and the Chamber separated without anything being determined or agreed to on the subject. But in the evening it was settled by a majority of the Liberal deputies that they should not attend the procession.

47. Later still at night, a final

meeting of the more decided Liberals took place in the office of the *Réforme*, to determine what should be done in regard to the procession on the following day. Opinions, even in that extreme section of the party, were divided on the subject. M. Lagrange strongly urged the adoption of decided measures. "Yes!" said he, "let the Democracy hoist its standard, and descend boldly into the field of battle for Progress. Humanity in a mass has its eyes upon you; our standard will rally around us the whole warlike and fraternal cohorts. What more are we waiting for?" Loud applause followed these words, and it seemed as if the entire meeting was about to declare for war, when M. Louis Blanc rose and said: "After the Opposition deputies have agitated the country to its very entrails, they recoil. I feel my blood boil within my bosom at such conduct; and if I listened only to my indignation, I would say in presence of such baseness, 'Let us raise our war-cry and advance.' But humanity restrains me. I ask if you are entitled to dispose of the blood of a generous people, without any prospect of advantage to the cause of Democracy? If the Patriots commence the conflict to-morrow, abandoned by the leaders who have hitherto put themselves at the head of the movement, they will infallibly be crushed, and the Democracy will be drowned in blood. That will be the result of to-morrow's struggle. And do not deceive yourselves. The National Guard, which has gone in uniform from banquet to banquet, will to-morrow, in the same uniform, mow down the Patriots with grape-shot alongside of the soldiers. Determine on insurrection if you please; but for my part, if you adopt such a decision, I shall retire to my home to cover myself with crape, and mourn over the ruin of Democracy." Ledru-Rollin soon after added: "During the first Revolution, when our fathers had fixed on a field-day, they had prepared for it before. Are we in a similar situation? Have we arms, ammunition, combatants

ready? The Government is thoroughly prepared. The army only awaits the signal to crush us. My opinion is, that to run into a conflict in such circumstances, is an act of madness." These opinions were so obviously well-founded that they at length came to prevail with the majority of the meeting. It was agreed at the eleventh hour that the proposed procession on the day following should be abandoned, and a formal impeachment of the Ministers before the Chamber of Peers substituted in its room. On the day following, a double set of placards appeared on all the walls of Paris—the first, from the Prefect of Police, interdicting any assembly on the public streets; the second,\* from the Banquet

\* "En ajournant ainsi l'exercice d'un droit, l'opposition prend l'engagement de faire prévaloir ce droit par toutes les voix constitutionnelles. Elle ne manquera pas à ce devoir; elle poursuivra, avec plus de persévérance et plus d'énergie que jamais, la lutte qu'elle a entreprise contre une politique corruptrice, violente, et antinationale. En ne se rendant pas au banquet, l'opposition accomplit un grand acte de modération et d'humanité; elle sait qu'il lui reste à accomplir un grand acte de fermeté et de justice."—*National*, 22d February 1848.

The indictment against the Government promised in the last paragraph, was at the same time drawn up and signed.

- "1. D'avoir trahi au dehors l'honneur et les intérêts de la France.
- "2. D'avoir faussé les principes de la constitution, la garantie de la liberté, et attenté aux droits des citoyens.
- "3. D'avoir, par une corruption systématique, tenté de substituer à l'expression de l'opinion publique les calculs d'intérêt privé, et de pervertir ainsi le gouvernement représentatif.
- "4. D'avoir trafiqué, dans un intérêt ministériel, des fonctions publiques ainsi que de tous les attributs et privilèges du pouvoir.
- "5. D'avoir, dans le même but, ruiné les finances de l'état et compromis ainsi les forces et la grandeur nationale.
- "6. D'avoir violemment dépouillé les citoyens d'un droit essentiel à toute constitution libre et dont l'exercice leur avait été garanti par la charte, par les lois, et par les précédents.
- "7. D'avoir enfin, par une politique ouvertement contre-révolutionnaire, remis en question toutes les conquêtes de nos deux révolutions et jeté le pays dans une agitation profonde."—*Réforme*, 22d February 1848; REGNAULT, iii. 395, 397.

Committee, recommending the people not to attempt to form any procession.

48. Shortly before, an article had appeared in the *National* from the pen of M. Marrast, which pointed to the proposed demonstration as a great moral movement, which was to crush the Government by the simple exhibition of public opinion, without any physical collision. "Do not," said he, addressing the Minister, "reckon on a disturbance. If you wish it, rely upon it you shall not have it. What we are more anxious for is a demonstration of which the calmness may terrify you, while its magnitude may indicate the firm determination of the people. We wish that the deputies, the electors, the officers and soldiers of the National Guard, with all the citizens who have a resolute spirit, should meet you in a pacific mass, unarmed, immense, and whose all-powerful voice may indicate the respect in which they hold you. It is order which constitutes our strength—it is the voice of opinion which will pass over your battalions to crush you. The movement will be the more terrible for you from its very tranquillity. You shall have neither troubles nor disorders, nor a bloody collision. The people of Paris have no need of a battle to conquer—it is enough for them to show themselves." And now, when they were, as they conceived, discreditably abandoned by the leaders of the "dynastic Opposition," they again addressed the people in the *Réforme*, dissuading them from any collision with the military, and promising them ulterior measures at a future time. "Men of the people," said M. Flocon in that journal, "beware of any rash excess to-morrow. Do not furnish the Government with the opportunity so much desired of a bloody success. Do not give the dynastic Opposition, which abandons at once you and itself, a pretext of which it would willingly avail itself, to throw a veil over its weakness. You now see what are the consequences of allowing the initiative to be taken by those who are not our own. Patience yet a while! When it

*shall seem good to the democratic party to take the lead in its turn, it will be seen whether it will retire when it has once advanced."*

49. A very curious and valuable account exists, from the pen of one who was initiated into all their secrets, of the strength of the secret societies in France at this period, which embraced all who were decided Republicans. "The Republican party," says Lucien de la Hodde, "was, in February 1848, composed of the following persons:—4000 subscribers to the *National*, of whom only one-half were Republicans, the other belonging to the dynastic Opposition, led by Garnier Pagès and Carnot. Of these 2000 there were not more than 600 in Paris, and of these only 200 could be relied on in an actual conflict. The *Réforme* had 2000 subscribers, of whom 500 were in Paris, and they would turn out to a man. The two societies, '*des Saisons*' and '*la Société Dissidente*,' promised 1000 combatants, though it was doubtful if they could muster 600, though the latter embraced all the Communists in Paris. To these we must add 400 or 500 veteran conspirators, whom the first musket-shot would recall to their old standards; and 1500 Polish, Italian, and Spanish refugees, who would probably do the same, from the idea that it would advance the cause of revolution in their own countries. In all, 4000 in Paris, and that was the very utmost that could be relied on in the capital. In the provinces there was only one real secret society, which was at Lyons: Marseilles, Toulouse, and two or three other great towns, professed to have such, but no reliance could be placed on them. On the whole, there might be 15,000 or 16,000 Republicans in the departments, and 4000 in Paris. In all, 19,000 or 20,000 out of 17,000,000 of male inhabitants—a proportion so infinitely small, that it is evident they could never have overturned a strong government."

50. On the other hand, the forces of the Administration were much more considerable, and such as, if properly

directed and supported by the National Guard, must have secured them an easy victory in any contest which might be approaching. The regular soldiers in Paris were 25,000 strong; and they might in six hours be doubled by the troops in the neighbouring towns. Versailles had a powerful reserve of cavalry, Vincennes of artillery. In a Cabinet council held on the afternoon of the 21st, when it was first known that the Banquet Committee had resolved to go on with the procession, it was determined to prevent it by force; and orders were given to have the whole military posts of the capital strongly occupied at seven on the following morning. Had this resolution been adhered to, the demonstration might have been prevented, and the family of Orléans at this moment seated on the throne of France. But, unfortunately, in the course of the evening intelligence arrived of the Opposition deputies having declined to take part in the procession, and published an address, dissuading others from doing so, which appeared in the evening papers. This was immediately communicated to the Government, and they, deeming the crisis over, thought it advisable to do nothing which might provoke a fresh collision, and accordingly determined to countermand the troops. Orders to this effect were despatched in all directions from the Tuileries at eleven at night on the 21st; and, accordingly, on the morning of the 22d not a soldier was to be seen in the streets.

51. The consequences of this unfortunate step were soon apparent. The people, who were for the most part ignorant of the resolution come to at the eleventh hour by the Liberal committees to countermand the procession, and of the counter-orders in consequence given to the troops, assembled in great numbers in the principal streets at daybreak on the 22d, and seeing no attempts made to interrupt them, deemed it certain that the demonstration was to go on, and that the cause of reform had triumphed. They were not shaken in this belief

by the addresses already given, which appeared in the morning newspapers of the same day, inviting the people not to attempt a demonstration. They still remained calm and motionless, in great crowds, in the Boulevard de la Madeleine, the Place de la Concorde, and the Champs Elysées, awaiting the course of events, and convinced that, before nightfall, something decisive would take place. The emissaries from the *Réforme* and the *National* gave this advice, which was implicitly obeyed. Meanwhile, the name of M. Guizot was in every mouth, and generally with the same execrations as that of M. de Polignac had been in July 1830. As the afternoon approached, some bands of students began to traverse the streets, singing the Marseillaise, and shouting, "Vive la Réforme!—à bas M. Guizot!" Still, however, there was no actual rioting till late in the evening, when, in consequence of the crowds which still thronged the streets, some bodies of cavalry were stationed in the Rue de Rivoli, St Honoré, and the boulevards. They were pelted with stones in some places by the mob, and in the centre of the city some attempts were made to erect barricades. In consequence of this circumstance, it was resolved to occupy Paris in a military manner on the following morning, and according to constant usage since 1830, by *joint detachments of the regular troops and the National Guard*. Orders to assemble the latter force were accordingly sent out late at night on the 22d, and at seven in the morning of the 23d the *générale* beat in all the streets of Paris, and the National Guard, in uniform, were everywhere to be seen hastening to their rallying-points. To this resolution the fall of the monarchy is beyond all question to be ascribed.

52. The principal officers of the great civic force in Paris, which for ten years had been worked upon by the Liberal press, and which had become extremely discontented in consequence of its will not having in all cases been implicitly obeyed by the Government, had a meeting at nine

at night, on the 22d, in the office of the *Sicde*, to deliberate on the course which they should pursue in the crisis which was approaching. It was there resolved unanimously that they should take up arms and appear in their battalions with or without the orders of Government on the following day. They were to assume such an attitude as should convince every one that, however determined to displace the Ministry, they would not permit the overthrow of the Government. In a word, they were to interpose between the contending parties in such a way as should at once prevent the effusion of blood, force reform upon the Government, and hinder the throne being shaken. For this purpose they were to place themselves everywhere between the soldiers and multitude, and compel both to desist from conflict, while at the same time their voice and attitude should force a change of men and measures on the Executive. This plan of operations was openly expounded in a petition drawn up by the officers of the 4th Legion, and to which nearly all the others gave in their adhesion. Thus the National Guard of Paris assumed the functions of the Legislature, and aspired, like the Prætorians of Rome, not merely to give, as they had done, a monarch to the throne, but to impose a policy on his Government. Meanwhile their commander, General Jacqueminot, was so ignorant of its real disposition, that he assured the Council that, with the exception of a few battalions which were ill-disposed and known, the loyalty of the whole civic force might with confidence be relied on.

53. It soon appeared how far the anticipations of General Jacqueminot were correct, and what support, in its last agony, the monarchy of July was to receive from the National Guard. The 23d February opened upon a city agitated but undecided, ready to obey the strongest impulse, to surrender the direction to whoever had the courage to seize it. The presence of the military in all the principal quarters sufficiently revealed the apprehensions of Government—the conduct of the civic

force too clearly evinced to which side it would incline. At ten, M. Flocon, a determined Revolutionist, entered in haste the office of the *Réforme*, and exclaimed, “Quick, all clothe yourselves in the uniform of the National Guard: never mind whether they are your own or not: intimate to all Patriots to do the same. As soon as you are dressed, hasten to the mayor’s, calling out ‘Vive la Réforme!’ Directly you are there, put yourselves at the head of the detachments as they arrive, and interpose them between the soldiers and the people. Quick, quick! the Republic is to be had for the taking.” These directions, emanating from the headquarters of the movement, were too faithfully adopted; and the National Guard, timid, desirous to avoid a collision and avert the shedding of blood, were in general too happy to follow them. The orders of Government being that all the posts should be occupied by the troops of the line and the civic forces jointly, the latter were everywhere on the spot with the soldiers, and, in conformity with their injunction, they constantly interposed between the military and the populace, so as to render any attempt to disperse the assemblages impossible, as no officer would incur the responsibility of engaging in a conflict with the National Guard of the capital.\* Several of the legions openly joined the people, at least in words, and traversed the streets, crying out, “Vive la Réforme!” The military, condemned to inactivity by this skilful policy, remained passive spectators of the increasing tumult; and the fact of their nowhere acting, spread abroad

\* “La Garde Nationale, appelée en effet le matin du 24 pour s’interposer entre le peuple et la troupe de ligne, répondait lentement et mollement à l’appel. Elle voyait dans le mouvement prolongé du peuple une manifestation anti-ministérielle, une *pétition armée* en faveur de la réforme électorale qu’elle était loin de désapprouver. Elle y souriait en secret. Elle ne s’alarmait pas trop de voir ce peuple voter à coup de fusil contre le système usé du Roi. Ce Prince avait vieilli dans le cœur de la Garde Nationale, comme le chiffre de ses années. La sagesse paraissait aux Parisiens pétrifiée en obstination.”—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, i. 71, 72.



the belief that they too had become traitors, and that the whole military force of the capital was on the side of the Liberals. The revolutionary leaders were not slow in taking advantage of this auspicious state of things. Orders were immediately sent to the secret societies everywhere to come forth, and bring with them the strength of the faubourgs. The agitation rose to its highest point when these formidable bands, which recalled the worst days of the first Revolution, began to appear at noon in the Rue St Honoré; and in the centre of the city barricades were hastily run up, and the gunsmiths' shops began to be pillaged.

54. Great was the consternation at the Tuileries when intelligence of these events arrived, and successive messengers brought in the news that the detachments of the National Guard were shouting "*Vive la Réforme!*" as they traversed the streets; that they were everywhere interposing between the military and the mob, and in some cases had actually formed line with fixed bayonets against the cavalry who had orders to clear the streets. To every one who came in the King put the question, "Is it possible that the National Guard is taking part with the Reformers—that it is following in the wake of the *National* and the *Réforme!*" From all he received the same answer, or the consternation painted on their visages told it too plainly. The imminence of the danger was at once perceived. By thrusting themselves in this dubious manner between the regulars and the mob, the civic force was serving the cause of revolution far more effectually than if they had openly joined it; for, had they done so, the united strength of the National Guards and insurgents would have been quickly defeated by the regular soldiers, who were all steady; but now the insurgents were every hour gathering strength, from the passive attitude of the troops in presence of rapidly-increasing danger. The scales fell from all eyes; the fatal truth had become apparent; the Citizen King, the creation of the National

Guard, was about to be destroyed by the power which had erected his throne. Yet how was the danger to be averted—how was the demon of their own creation to be exorcised?

55. In this extremity a council was hastily summoned in the King's cabinet, in the Tuileries, which the Queen was invited to attend. M. Guizot was, from a feeling of delicacy, absent. The first words she uttered were: "If M. Guizot has the slightest feeling of devotion to the King and to France, he will not remain an hour longer in power—he is ruining the King." "Madame," replied M. Duchâtel, "M. Guizot is determined, like all his colleagues, to defend to the last extremely, if necessary, the King and the monarchy, but he has no intention, any more than ourselves, of forcing himself on the Crown." "Do not say such things," interrupted the King; "if M. Guizot knew—" "I desire nothing more than that he should know," resumed the Queen: "I would say it to himself. I esteem him sufficiently for that; he is a man of honour, and will understand me." Upon this, M. Duchâtel broke up the conference by going to bring in M. Guizot; but, as he was leaving the room, the Duke de Montpensier strongly supported the opinion of the Queen, and insisted on a message being immediately sent to the Chambers, announcing the concession of Parliamentary Reform; to which M. Duchâtel said, as a man of honour, he could not accede. When M. Duchâtel returned with M. Guizot, the King, who was still in his cabinet, with the Queen and the princes, without pretending to be insensible to the dangers of his situation, expressed the greatest repugnance at the idea of separating from his Minister. "I would rather abdicate," said he. "You cannot do that, my friend," said the Queen; "you belong to France, not to yourself." "True," replied the King, with a mournful accent, "I am more to be pitied than my Ministers—I cannot resign." Then turning to M. Guizot, he said, "Do you believe, my dear President, that the Cabinet is in a situation to make head against the storm, and to triumph over it?"

"Sire!" replied M. Guizot, "when the King proposes such a question, he himself answers it. The Cabinet may be in a condition to gain the victory in the streets, but it cannot conquer at the same time the royal family and the Crown. To throw a doubt on its support in the Tuileries is to destroy it in the exercise of power. The Cabinet has no alternative but to retire." The King then consulted his Ministers for a few minutes as to who should be sent for to construct a new Ministry, and Count Molé was mentioned. The King then, shedding tears, embraced his Ministers, who were not less affected. "You will always remain the friends of the King," said the Queen: "you will support him." "How happy you are!" said the King, as they took their leave—"you depart with honour, I remain with shame."

56. No sooner was the retirement of M. Guizot determined on, than he himself announced the intelligence with much dignity to the Chamber. The Opposition immediately broke forth into the most indecent acclamations; and the news, rapidly communicated to the streets, spread almost with the swiftness of the electric telegraph over all Paris. Opinions were much divided on the subject. The National Guard and "dynastic Opposition" were in transports; theirs was the triumph; they had interposed between the Crown and revolution, and saved the monarchy. The Conservatives were in dismay; again, as in 1789, the Crown was receding before the populace, shrinking from an encounter; already it was whispered in the streets, "The King is betraying us." But the effect upon the extreme Liberals was still more serious. In an instant, like a demon suddenly unchained, the spirit of revolution stalked abroad. "All," says the annalist, "who were in debt, all who had anything to gain by disturbance—the galley-slaves, the robbers, the burglars, the assassins—combined in one hideous *mêlée*. Some hoped for rapine and blood, others for disorder and confusion,—all for selfish benefit from convulsion." At meetings hastily called at the offices of the *Ré-*

*forme* and the *National*, opinions were much divided as to the course which they should pursue. MM. Marrast and Flocon strongly counselled immediate insurrection; MM. Etienne Arago and Louis Blanc knew not what to advise, but recommended awaiting the course of events. To the latter opinion M. Ledru-Rollin adhered, deeming it too hazardous as yet openly to attack the monarchy. Meanwhile the National Guard, regarding the victory as gained, and themselves the heroes who had won it, returned joyfully chanting songs of triumph to their homes, and gave vent to the general enthusiasm with which they were seized by the spontaneous illumination of their windows.

57. But the expectations on both sides were destined to disappointment; and the night which began amidst the blaze of illumination was the last of anything like freedom—the last of the monarchy in France. While the National Guards, who had virtually betrayed their oaths, were returning to their homes rejoicing in the success of their defection, crowds of ardent, decided revolutionists were forming in the central parts of the city, prepared to turn to the best account the unlooked-for prospects of success which it had opened to them. One of these bands was formed at the door of the office of the *Réforme*, and headed by the most determined of its contributors; a second came from the door of the *National*, which marched towards the Boulevard Italien, shouting "Vive la Réforme!—à bas les Ministres!" A third, more squalid in appearance, more ragged in dress, more ferocious in expression, came up from the Boulevard de la Bastille. At its head was a savage-looking man, said to be M. Charles Lagrange, whose pale visage, restless eye, and quivering lip, revealed a desperate intent. These three columns united in front of the Café Tortoni, on the Boulevard Italien, and a vast crowd of idlers, expecting something, soon assembled around it. Ere long their expectations were realised. A small detachment, armed with sabres and pikes, broke off from the main body on the boulevard, and moved to-

wards the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, occupied by M. Guizot, in front of which a battalion of infantry was stationed, in consequence of its having been already attacked that evening. A red flag waved over the forest of pikes which the crowd bore along, and shone bright in the glare of the torches by which it was surrounded. The crowd halted at the line of bayonets which barred the street, and the horse of the commander reared and fell backward into the line, which closed and surrounded its chief. At this moment, when the battalion was standing with their loaded pieces in their hands, a pistol-shot was discharged by Lagrange towards the soldiers; and they, deeming themselves attacked, replied by a volley which at once brought down fifty of the mob, killed or wounded. Never did great effects more closely follow a comparatively inconsiderable event; in the excited state of men's minds, Lagrange's stray shot overturned the monarchy.

58. The premeditation and design with which this calamitous collision between the mob and regular troops had been provoked was immediately seen from what ensued. Hardly had the unhappy persons who were killed or wounded fallen, than as many of them as it could contain were placed in a large waggon, apparently brought up with the crowd for the occasion. On it they were skilfully arranged with artistic talent for theatrical effect, the bloody wounds being carefully exposed to the view, and the whole surmounted by a female figure, half naked, who unfortunately had fallen in the affray. When the hideous mass was thoroughly arranged, the cry was raised, "To the *National!*" and thither they went, surrounded by a crowd, every instant increasing, in the highest state of excitement. After waiting a few minutes at this centre of the insurrection, in the Rue Lepelletier, they moved off, and, crossing the Quartier of Montmartre, again halted at the doors of the *Réforme*, where they arrived at midnight. There the crowd was harangued by the leaders, who represented them as the bodies of those who had

fallen under the stroke of a cruel and vindictive tyranny. No one suspected, what was the truth, that the conflict had been got up, without a thought of its victims, to add to the excitement and fury of the people. From the office of the *Réforme* the procession continued its course all night by torchlight through Paris, surrounded by a dense crowd, in a frantic state of excitement, shouting and howling aloud, and spreading consternation and the thirst for vengeance wherever they went.\*

59. During this eventful night, big with the fate of France and of Europe, the greatest embarrassment prevailed at the Tuileries. In pursuance of the advice of M. Guizot and M. Duchâtel, M. Molé had been sent for on the preceding day, and had had a conference with the King, but nothing definitive had been agreed upon. Towards evening the increasing agitation evinced too clearly that the time for half-measures had gone past, and that no alternative remained but strenuous resistance or unlimited concession. When intelligence arrived of the melancholy catastrophe in front of the Foreign Office, and the only question was a battle in the street or democratic government, the King, by advice of M. Guizot, who still, though out of office, remained in the Tuileries, sent for M. Thiers, who received the royal summons at midnight, and immediately repaired to the palace. At the same time the command of the entire military, regular and National Guard, was withdrawn from Generals Sébastiani and Jacqueminot,

\* It is a curious proof of the difference of national character, and of the different temper of the public mind in Great Britain and France at this period, that a few days after this frightful theatrical exhibition had been got up with such effect in Paris—viz., on March 6, 1848—on occasion of the Radical riots in Glasgow, stimulated by the success of the French movement, a similar attempt, apparently suggested by the first, was made to enhance the excitement, by parading the body of one of the unfortunate persons who had been slain by the military, through the crowded streets. But in Scotland the effect was just the reverse of what it had been in France, and it contributed more than anything else to quell the insurrection, for it showed that the military would do their duty, and what the consequences of resisting them might be.

and bestowed on Marshal Bugeaud, whose high character and deserved popularity with the soldiers, as well as his long career of victory, pointed him out as the most appropriate person to surmount such a crisis. M. Thiers, on his arrival, asked to see the military plans of Marshal Bugeaud, of which, upon examination, he approved; but he declared at the same time that he could not, in the circumstances, form a cabinet without the assistance of M. Odillon Barrot. The King manifested the greatest repugnance to this proposal; it was the announcement, not of a change of men, but of measures. To admit M. Odillon Barrot into the Cabinet was to abandon the whole policy of his reign, capitulate to the reformers, and accept democracy as the ruling power in the state. But the urgency of the circumstances would admit of no compromise; and at length the repugnance of the monarch was overcome, and M. Odillon Barrot was sent for and intrusted with the arduous duties of Minister of the Interior. The long-wished-for and entire change of Ministry was immediately announced by placards over all the streets of Paris, with the appointment of General Lamoricière to the command of the National Guard.

60. Meanwhile the agitation in Paris had everywhere become excessive, and in the crowded parts of the city reached a height which threatened an immediate convulsion. The insurgents, now relieved of all resistance by the dispersion of the National Guard and the paralysis of Government, got possession of the principal churches; and the dismal clang of the tocsin, which was rung all night, recalled to the few who yet survived, the terrible night which preceded the 10th of August 1792. Roused by the mournful and ceaseless sound, the inhabitants of Paris were all astir before daylight; few eyes were closed during the whole night. Under cloud of darkness, barricades were hastily run up in the central parts of the city, waggons and omnibuses overturned, pavement torn up, and every preparation made for a desperate defence. Already the gun-

smiths' shops were broken open, and armed defenders were to be seen on the summit of the defences. At the same time, the few remaining leaders of the constitutional Opposition, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, M. Remusat, Marshal Gérard, and General Lamoricière, hastened to the Tuileries to offer, in its last extremity, to the Government of the monarchy, the aid of their counsels or the support of their arms.

61. But how urgent soever affairs may have appeared, or really have been, during the night, Marshal Bugeaud's vigour and capacity were equal to the crisis. No sooner did the veteran soldier receive his appointment as commander-in-chief than he hastened, at two in the morning of the 24th, to the King, received his last instructions from him in person, and went forth with them to the military headquarters in the city. He found everything in confusion, very few officers or aides-de-camp in attendance, and no one knowing who was to command and who obey. His vigour and capacity, however, soon gave a new direction to affairs; never was seen more clearly what a master-mind is, and what vigour and capacity can do in a crisis. Instantly, as if by enchantment, everything was changed; order succeeded to chaos, consecutive movement to vacillating direction. Orders were despatched in every direction, the bearers of which, in the obscurity of the night, were unobserved, and all reached their destination. By five in the morning the whole columns were in motion, and rapidly advancing to the important strategic points assigned to them in the city. They were four in number, and all commanded by officers of vigour and experience. The first was to advance to the Hôtel de Ville along the quay of the city, the same direction which the columns took which, on the 9th Thermidor, overthrew Robespierre; the second, which was commanded by General Bedeau, was to move by the boulevards to the Place of the Bastille; the third, to penetrate through the heart of Paris between the two others, so as to be able to aid either, if required;

the fourth was to march to the Pantheon, and occupy it in force. The orders of the whole were to advance rapidly forward and destroy all barricades on their passage, and await further orders when they had reached the point to which they were directed to advance. Such was the vigour employed in the movements, that by seven in the morning (24th February) the whole columns had reached their points of destination except the second, which was a little behind, owing to General Bedeau having, instead of forcing his way, engaged in a conference with the commander of a body of national guards which opposed his progress. The Hôtel de Ville, Pantheon, and whole centre of the city, were strongly occupied, without the troops left at the Tuileries and Palais Royal being weakened. Twenty-five thousand men, who had advanced in the four columns, had done the whole, and done it by the mere force of an advance, without firing a shot. The barricades had all been surmounted and levelled, the important posts occupied, Paris was militarily won, the victory gained, the horrors of revolution averted. At this moment Marshal Bugeaud received an order, signed by M. Thiers and Odillon Barrot, *to cease the combat and withdraw the troops!* He refused at first to obey it unless accompanied by an order under the sign-manual of the King; but soon one signed by the Duke de Nemours compelled submission.

62. The secret of this extraordinary and most calamitous change, when decisive success had already been obtained over the insurgents, was that M. Thiers and Odillon Barrot, who, with Duvergier de Hauranne, formed the new Ministry, thinking that the time for resistance was past, and that nothing but conciliation and concession could either avert the dangers from the monarchy or consolidate their newly-acquired power, had come to a resolution not only to terminate the conflict by submission, but to withdraw the troops from all the positions they had won in the city. A proclamation to this effect was at six

in the morning drawn up and signed, and immediately placarded over all Paris.\* It was received with shouts of triumph by the revolutionists, with profound indignation by the troops, with dismay by the dynastic Opposition and National Guard. All saw that the victory was renounced just when it had been gained—that the Ministers in the moment of triumph had capitulated for the monarchy. Such was the indignation of the soldiers, as they marched back through the barricades which they had just won at the bayonet's point, that many of the officers broke their swords and left them on the pavement, and numbers of the soldiers threw away their muskets. Then was seen the peril of that intermixture, on a crisis, of civil and military authority, and the wisdom of the Romans, who in war intrusted the supreme civil as well as military authority to the consuls, and in times of great danger vested absolute power of every kind in the hands of a dictator taken from the military ranks. Had Marshal Bugeaud been appointed dictator on the night of the 23d February 1848, instead of being subordinate to M. Thiers, beyond all doubt the Orléans family would at this moment have been seated on the throne of France.

63. The consequences of this capitulation to a body of insurgents and a dubious oscillating National Guard, proved exactly what might have been anticipated by any one in the least acquainted with the march of events in a revolution. The insurgents, still few in number, instead of being pacified, were only the more excited by the concession which had been made; the vacillating and selfish in crowds joined their ranks, from the belief they were likely to prove victorious;

\* "Citoyens de Paris!—L'ordre est donné de suspendre le feu. Nous venons d'être chargés par le Roi de proposer un Ministère. La Chambre va être dissoute. Le Général Lamoricière est nommé Commandant-en-chef de la Garde Nationale de Paris. MM. Odillon Barrot, Thiers, Lamoricière, et Duvergier de Hauranne, sont ministres. Le but—Ordre, Union, Réforme.—ODILLON BARROT, THIERS." —*Moniteur*, 25th February 1848.

the brave and loyal retired in despair from a conflict which its leaders had already abandoned. Surrounded by mobs which incessantly shouted in the triumph of victory, the soldiers, in the deepest dejection, slowly wended their way back to the vicinity of the Tuileries and the Palais Royal, where they were massed in still formidable bodies around the last asylum of Government and order. But, broken in spirit and paralysed in strength by the orders of Government, they were incapable of opposing any effective barrier against the torrent of revolution which now rolled impetuously forward from all quarters, and surged violently against the motionless barrier of steel which still environed the royal dwelling. From a window in the Tuileries, M. Guizot, in vain impotence, beheld the fall of the monarchy; he saw it in bitterness, but not regret. "Strong minds," says M. de Lamartine, "may be broken, but they never repent."

64. It was a small consolation to find, amidst this universal crash, that the authors of it in no degree profited by the ruin they had occasioned. The proclamation announcing the withdrawal of the troops from the combat was placarded at eight in the morning; and the excitement consequent upon it, and the retreat of the military, was such, that by ten M. Thiers felt he could no longer direct the Government; and he was obliged to entreat the King to substitute M. Odillon Barrot in his room, which was accordingly done. But it was of very little importance who was made Prime Minister; the march of events, in consequence of the concession which had been made, was so rapid that all administrations, and soon the monarchy itself, were swept before it. The troops, paralysed by the order not to fire, and already foreseeing the change of government which was approaching, knew not what to do, and could oppose no resistance to the armed multitude which surrounded them. After a slight struggle they abandoned the Palais Royal, and retired across the inner court to the military post of the Château d'Eu,

already filled with wounded Municipal Guards, who had with mournful resolution resisted in it to the last. The mob, seeing the Palais Royal deserted, broke in, and speedily spread themselves over every part of the august edifice. In the twinkling of an eye it was all filled by a hideous multitude, and sacked and plundered from top to bottom. Its beautiful pictures, splendid statues, and gorgeous furniture, were pierced with bayonets, thrown down, or cast into the flames; in less than half an hour the magnificent apartments presented nothing but a mass of broken and destroyed splendour. Markworthy circumstance! The Palais Royal, the cradle of the Revolution, where Camille Desmoulins had sixty years before cut down the green boughs in the interior garden, and distributed them to the insurgents,—where, eighteen years before, a fresh revolt was organised, and a new dynasty placed on the throne—was the first victim of the passions it had called forth, and the treason it had organised. The judgments of God were coming upon the earth.

65. The King took breakfast—his last meal in the palace of his ancestors—on that morning, surrounded by his family and yet remaining officers, in the gallery of Diana in the Tuileries. After breakfast they retired into the royal cabinet—the room of deliberation successively of Louis XVI., Napoleon, Louis XVIII., and Charles X. The Queen, the Duchesses of Orléans and Montpensier, Marshals Soult and Gérard, M. Thiers, M. de Remusat, M. Cousin, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, were around him. General Lamoricière was in the court of the Carrousel, haranguing the mob; they heard him respectfully, but continued advancing, while the loud shouts upon the capture of the Palais Royal, and the appearance of articles of plunder in the hands of the victorious insurgents issuing from its walls, both stimulated the passions of the aggressors, and told the trembling inmates of the palace what fate awaited them. The royal circle and cabinet were in

that state of anxious uncertainty which is of all others the least calculated to resist revolutionary aggression, when MM. Remusat and Duvergier de Hauranne, who had just gone out, re-entered, and asked to speak to the King's sons in private. The princes rose from table, where they were at breakfast, and went with them to one of the windows. The anxiety of the King and Queen led them to join the group. "Sire," said M. de Remusat, "it is necessary that the King should know the truth; to conceal it at this moment would be to render ourselves implicated in all that may follow. Your feeling of security proves that you are deceived. Three hundred feet from this, the dragoons are exchanging their sabres and the soldiers their muskets with the people."—"It is impossible!" cried the King, stepping back with astonishment. "Sire," said M. de l'Aubospère, an officer in attendance, "I have seen it." Upon this all the company rose from table, and the King went up-stairs, and soon came down with the Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier, dressed in uniform. "Go," said the Queen, who had the feelings of Maria-Theresa and Marie-Antoinette in her heart, "show yourself to the discouraged troops, to the wavering National Guard: I will come out on the balcony with my grandchildren and the princesses, and I will see you die in a way worthy of yourself, your throne, and your misfortunes." The King descended the stairs, still hoping to arrest the movement, while the Queen and princesses went to the balcony. It was of sinister augury; Marie-Antoinette had stood there on 10th August 1792.

66. The reception of the King by the troops and the National Guard, on the Place of the Carrousel, as seen from a distance, was sufficiently encouraging. The Queen and princesses saw the waving of sabres in the air in the distance as the King passed along the lines, and heard the remote sound of cries, without being able to distinguish the words used. They thought that the reception had been enthusias-

tic, that the approach of the crisis had restored the loyalty of the troops, and they re-entered into the palace with joy in their hearts. But it was of short duration. The King returned from the inspection with despair engraven on his mind. He had seen the National Guard, heard the cry of "Vive la Réforme!—à bas les Ministres!" issue from their ranks, and witnessed the impassible motionless attitude of the troops of the line, utterly alienated by the retreat to which they had been doomed, and the inactivity forced upon them. He re-entered the royal apartments with a pale visage, on which consternation and despair were as clearly painted as they had been on that of Louis XVI. when he came into the same room, after a similar review, on the morning of the 10th August 1792. The whole persons in the apartment were now thrown into the utmost alarm; the agitation of the princesses was so great that they wept aloud; and such was the mournful character of the scene, that the eyes of the soldiers and National Guard on duty in the apartment were filled with tears, and they entreated the officers that they might be removed from the spectacle of the last agony of kings. At this terrible moment, while dropping shots on the Place Carrousel told that the final struggle was approaching, M. Emile de Girardin, formerly a deputy, now editor of the *Presse* newspaper, a decided Republican, and of an ardent character, entered the apartment, and having approached the King, told him, in a few short and decided sentences, that ministerial changes were now inadequate to tranquillise the public mind, and that "nothing short of ABDICATION would suffice." The King, who was at that moment writing out a list of new ministers still more Radical than Odillon Barrot and Duvergier de Hauranne, let the pen fall from his hand when he heard the fatal word, and earnestly inquired of Emile de Girardin whether there was no other alternative. "Sire!" replied he, "the abdication of the King, or the abdication of the monarchy—that

is all that remains; there is not a minute to choose an intermediate path." The monarch still hesitated before taking the decisive step, when the Duke de Montpensier interposed, and urged instant abdication with a rudeness both of words and gesture which, even at a moment of such extreme distress, struck the bystanders as unfeeling and indecorous in the highest degree.\* Thus pressed on all sides, and incapable, from the tumult, of coming to a rational decision, the King took up the pen to sign his abdication. "Sign not," said M. Piscatory; "abdication is the republic in an hour." Marshal Bugeaud hastened in at the report of an abdication. "Never abdicate," said the old soldier; "such an act will disarm the troops; the insurrection approaches; nothing remains but to combat it." The King again hesitated; but the din in the Place Carrousel was every instant increasing, the shots were more nearly approaching the windows of the palace, and breathless messengers came in every minute announcing that all was lost, and that abdication alone could save the lives of any of the royal family. The Duke de Montpensier upon this renewed his instances with frantic energy; and the aged monarch, overcome by emotion, and hardly a free agent, signed the fatal instrument which terminated his reign.†

67. While these momentous scenes, in which was terminated the rule of the Bourbons in France, were passing in the palace of the Tuileries, the generals in the Place de Carrousel

\* "Le Roi hésitait. Le Duc de Montpensier son fils, entraîné sans doute par l'expression énergique de la physionomie, du geste et des paroles de M. de Girardin, pressait son père avec plus de précipitation peut-être que la royauté, l'âge, et l'infortune ne le permettaient au respect d'un fils. La plume fût présentée, le règne arraché par une impatience qui n'attendait pas la pleine et libre conviction du Roi."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, i. 126.

† "J'abdique cette couronne que je tenais de la voix de la nation, et que je n'avais acceptée que pour amener la paix et la concordie parmi les Français.

"Me trouvant dans l'impossibilité d'accomplir cette tâche, je la lègue à mon petit-

were vainly endeavouring to restrain the onward pressure of the insurgents, or to prevent a conflict beginning between them and the soldiers, who, in the deepest dejection, still barred the approach to the last refuge of the monarchy. Marshal Bugeaud, on hearing the first musket-shots, mounted on horseback, and went between the combatants. An hundred voices called on him to retire, and not expose himself; but the intrepid veteran went on regardless of the danger, as he had been of the balls of the Moors in Africa. General Lamoricière followed in his footsteps; his horse was killed, and he himself wounded, as he was haranguing the advanced posts. He was carried into a neighbouring house to have his wound dressed. It was all in vain. The troops, sullen and dejected, remained motionless. The insurgents, inflamed by the prospect of victory, were deaf to any other counsels but those of passion. Rapidly closing in after the retiring columns, they already almost touched the Tuileries, where the King, now nearly deserted by all except his own family, was still left. The Queen retained her courageous demeanour; the princesses were in tears. The discrowned monarch was strongly urged to declare the Duchess of Orléans regent, but he positively refused. "Others," said he, "may do so if they deem it necessary, but I will not. It would be contrary to law; and since, thank God, I have never yet been guilty of violating it, I will not begin to do so at this moment." "What then!" said the Duchess of Orléans; "will you leave me here without relations, without friends, without counsel? What would you wish me to do?" "My dear Helen," replied the

filis le Comte de Paris. Puisse-t-il être plus heureux que moi.—LOUIS PHILIPPE."

The following proclamation was immediately placarded over Paris:—

"ABDICATION DU ROI.  
DISSOLUTION DE LA CHAMBRE.  
AMNISTIE GÉNÉRALE."

By a strange omission, this placard, though genuine and emanating from authority, was unsigned.—*Moniteur*, 25th February 1847; *Ann. Hist.*, 1848, p. 267.



King, "the dynasty and the crown of your son are at stake ; remain, then, to save the crown for him." With those words the King, with the Queen and princesses, set out to leave the palace, and the Duchess of Orléans retired into her own apartments.

68. But for the precautions taken by the Duke de Nemours to secure the means of escape to the royal family, it would have been no easy matter for them to have got away, for the Tuileries was surrounded on all sides by frantic multitudes thirsting for pillage, and little disposed to spare those whom they had been taught to consider as their titled oppressors. The royal family traversed on foot, happily without being known, the broad central avenue of the Tuileries, passed the wicket of the Pont Tournant, and reached the foot of the Obelisk in the Place de la Concorde at one o'clock in the afternoon. Here, however, a disappointment all but fatal awaited them. The royal carriages, which had been directed to meet them there, were not to be seen ; they had been seized and burnt or knocked to pieces by the populace. Fortunately two humble cabriolets were disengaged on the quay, which was still free, and into them the august fugitives were hastily thrust, after having been rudely jostled by the mob. The carriages set off at a quick trot by the Quai de Billy, under the escort of a squadron of cuirassiers and a detachment of cavalry of the National Guard, and soon got out of Paris, taking the road to Saint Cloud, the King's design at this time being to make for the Château d'Eu, where he hoped to arrive two days after, and from which the passage was easy to England. And thus, amidst defeat and disgrace, departed the Citizen King from Paris, and abandoned the throne of France.

69. There remained to prop up the falling dynasty the infant Count of Paris, in whose favour the King had resigned, the Duke de Nemours his legal, and the Princess Helen, his mother and natural guardian. The former, though a prudent and sensible man, had none of the qualities fitted

to struggle with the terrible crisis in which his family had become involved ; but the latter, of heroic character, was well fitted for the task, and might, had she been supported with the same courage which she evinced herself, have, even at the eleventh hour, saved the throne for her son. Calm, retiring, and unobtrusive, she had, since the death of her husband, been entirely devoted to her maternal duties ; but under this placid demeanour was concealed the soul of a heroine, which now prompted to noble deeds. She was soon called into action. As the troops, after the departure of the King, were retiring through the Tuileries from the Place of the Carrousel, and three cannon-shot, the last discharged on that day, fired at the mob rushing from the quay into the square, were shaking the windows of her apartment, M. Dupin entered the room. "What are you about to tell me, sir?" exclaimed the princess. "I have come to tell you," replied Dupin, with a look of hope on his countenance, "that perhaps the rôle of Maria-Theresa is reserved for you." "Lead the way," said the princess ; "my life belongs to France and to my children." "Then there is not a moment to lose ; let us go instantly to the Chamber of Deputies." They set out accordingly, the princess leading her eldest son by the hand ; the second, who was not able to walk, being carried by an aide-de-camp. A faithful valet named Herbert was their sole escort. No sooner had they left the Tuileries for the hall of the legislative body, than an impetuous mob, now wholly unresisted by the soldiers and officers on guard, broke into the palace, tore down from the walls the ensigns of royalty, and with loud shouts proclaimed a republic.

70. Meanwhile the princess, with her scanty attendants, but soon followed by a noisy crowd, pursued her way to the Chamber. All was there uncertainty and trepidation ; the departure of the King was known, but nothing more ; the leaders were not to be seen ; M. Thiers was absent, M. Lamartine had not yet arrived ; and

every one, in anxiety and terror, was waiting for some person to take the lead. At this moment, when the ablest and first men in France were reeling under the stroke of fate, the folding-doors were thrown open, and the Duchess of Orléans appeared, leading her eldest son, the Count of Paris, in her right hand, and her second, the Duke of Chartres, in her left. Calm and serene, the heroic princess gazed on the scene around her: with no support but her infant children and her own courage, she faced a nation in arms. The scene and her appearance must be painted in the eloquent words of an eyewitness—himself, as the event proved, the worst enemy of the princess and her race. “A respectful silence immediately ensued; the deputies in deep anxiety crowded round the august princess, the strangers in the galleries leant over in hopes of catching a word which fell from her lips. She herself was dressed in mourning; her veil, half raised, partly disclosed a countenance, the emotion and melancholy of which enhanced the charms of youth and beauty. Her pale cheeks were marked by the tears of the widow, the anxieties of the mother. No man could look on her countenance without being moved. Every feeling of resentment against the monarchy faded away before the spectacle. The blue eyes of the princess wandered over the hall, as if to implore aid, and were a moment dazzled. Her slight and fragile form inclined before the sound of the applause with which she was greeted. A slight blush, the mark of the revival of hope in her bosom, tinged her cheeks; the smile of gratitude was already on her lips. She felt she was surrounded by friends. In her right hand she held the young king, in her left the Duke de Chartres; children to whom their own catastrophe was a spectacle. They were both dressed in a short black vestment. A white little collar was turned down the neck of each on his dark dress—living portraits of Vandyck, as if they had stepped out of the canvass of the children of Charles I.”

71. There was a time when such a spectacle as this—that of a young and heroic mother pleading the cause of her innocent children for the throne—would have spoken to the heart of every man in France; when every sword would have leapt from its scabbard, and, like the Hungarians of old, every voice would have exclaimed, “*Moriamur pro regenostro Maria-Theresa.*” But Burke had said on a similar occasion, not less truly than eloquently, “The age of chivalry is past; that of sophists, economists, and calculators has succeeded.” At first indeed appearances seemed all in her favour. M. Dupin, ascending the tribune, declared that the King had abdicated and transmitted his rights to his grandson, and to the Duchess as regent. This was not the case, as the Duke de Nemours was Regent; but M. Dupin rightly judged that when the throne itself was in jeopardy, the most popular regent was the one most likely to render success probable. Loud applause from all sides followed M. Dupin’s announcement; and on his motion, the Chamber declared, by acclamation and with enthusiasm, that in respect of the resignation of the King, they declared the Count of Paris King, and his mother the Duchess Regent. Loud acclamations followed this announcement, and the throne seemed saved.

72. By a little courage and loyalty on the part of the popular leaders at this time, it probably might have been so. But M. de Lamartine, who had just before come up to take his seat in the assembly, was at the critical moment interrupted at the entrance of the building by a group of Republicans, fresh from the offices of the *National* and the *Réforme*, who strongly appealed to the vanity which, unfortunately, not less than enthusiasm and generosity, formed a leading feature in his character. They persuaded him that the days of royalty were past, that a republic was inevitable, and that the people all looked to him to be the founder of the new order of things. Unhappily for France and for his own reputation, he yielded to their seduc-

tions and the whisperings of his own ambition, and agreed to support a republic. "There is but one way," said he to those who addressed him, "to save the people from the danger which a revolution in our present social state threatens instantly to introduce, and that is to trust ourselves to the force of the people themselves, to their reason, their interest, their arms. It is a REPUBLIC which we require! Yes!" (with increased energy), "it is a republic which can alone save us from anarchy, civil war, foreign war, spoliation, the scaffold, destruction of property, the overthrow of society, the invasion of the stranger. The remedy is heroic. I know it; but there are occasions, such as those in which we live, when the only safe policy is that which is grand and audacious as the crisis itself."

73. M. Thiers entered shortly after, with consternation painted on his visage, and in the utmost agitation. "The tide is ascending," said he, raising his hat above his head; and with these words, which, coming from the Prime Minister, increased the general alarm, he disappeared in the crowd. M. Dupin's motion to declare the Count of Paris King, and his mother Regent, had been carried by acclamation; but when he proposed to register the names of the members present, in order to prevent any from drawing back, the acclamations were not so loud. At this critical moment, one of the doors of the Chamber was opened, and immediately a crowd rushed in, armed with pikes and muskets, and filled all the passages of the hall. Encouraged by the presence of these noisy supporters, the Republicans assumed bolder language; and though still only a small fraction of the assembly, they succeeded in drowning the voice of the majority. The princess said with a tremulous voice, "I have come with all I have dear in the world," but here the noise became such that her words were inaudible. M. Lamartine said, with hypocritical expressions, "M. President, I demand that the sitting should be suspended, from the double motive, on the one

hand, of respect for the national representation; on the other, for the august princess whom we see before us." The Duchess, however, who was aware that her sole chance of success consisted in remaining where she was, hesitated to withdraw. But the danger from the ferocious figures around her, a fresh band of whom had just burst in, was so instant that she was soon in a manner forced from the place where she sat, by the Duke de Nemours, Marshal Oudinot, and the officers around her, to a higher part of the benches, near the door by which she had entered. Hardly had she moved, when M. Marie exclaimed—"You cannot create a new regency to-day; the law forbids it. I demand a PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, which may take the subject into consideration along with the Chambers." M. Crémieux concurred in this demand. M. Ledru-Rollin exclaimed: "You cannot create a regency in the house of the people; I protest against such an usurpation of the rights of all. Nothing can be done without it. I demand a Provisional Government, and the immediate convocation of a *convention*." M. de Lamartine began his speech by professing a chivalrous devotion for the princess; but he concluded with these words: "I demand in the name of the public peace, of the blood which has been shed, of the people famished amidst their glorious labours, that you should appoint a Provisional Government." Loud applause, especially from the mob in the passages, followed these words, and the most audacious among them, ascending the benches, levelled their muskets at the head of the princess. A scene of indescribable confusion now ensued; clamour and cries were heard on all sides; the whole Chamber in the utmost agitation rose up, the president disappeared from the chair; and the attendants of the princess, in an agony of terror for her life, in a manner forced her out of the hall.

74. No sooner was the princess gone than, amidst loud cries and vociferations, the nomination of the members

of the Provisional Government commenced. In this important task the Chambers were reduced to absolute nullity. Everything was determined by the cries and the gesticulations of the ferocious band of Republicans who had entered the hall, under the command of Captain Dunoyer, and Lagrange, who had made himself so conspicuous the evening before at the head of the insurgents. Amidst indescribable tumult and confusion certain names were proposed to the crowd, and received with acclamations or hisses, according to the fancy of the moment or the popularity of the party proposed. M. de Lamartine, who was still in the tribune, sent down names to the persons intrusted with this taking of the votes, and named himself, MM. Marie, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, and Garnier Pagès. As these names were read out they were variously received with loud acclamations, or groans and hisses; but upon the whole they seemed to have the voices of the majority in the hall, and they accordingly were accepted as the Provisional Government at the Chamber of Deputies.\*

75. But while one band of insurgents was thus disposing of the government in the Chamber of Deputies, another and still more determined body was already in possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where they had proclaimed, amidst if possible still greater tumult, *another Provisional Government*, of still more Radical elements, consisting of M. Marrast, M. Flocon, M. Louis Blanc, and M. Albert, the last being a common workman and the representative of that class in Paris. It was necessary, therefore, to dispossess, and that without a moment's delay, this

rival authority, for in an hour it might get the ascendancy and obtain the government of France. To the Hôtel de Ville, therefore, the first Provisional Government immediately went, surrounded by an immense crowd, and with as much parade as the circumstances would admit. When they arrived, however, they did not find their rivals disposed to yield up their newly acquired power, and a violent altercation ensued between the opposite leaders, which was on the point of coming to blows, and actually did so among their followers in the passages and stairs. Meanwhile the dense multitude which thronged the Place de Grève, outside the building, was loudly howling out for a government, and threatened instantly to break in and sack the building if the Republic was not at once proclaimed and the Provisional Government announced. Under the influence of this violent pressure from without, and in mutual terror, a compromise took place between the rival candidates for power, a mixed Provisional Government was nominated, composed of the leaders of both; and M. de Lamartine, from the top of the stair, called out the names and formally announced the Republic.\* This declaration had the effect of, in some degree, calming the populace, who, as darkness now came on, gradually dispersed, leaving the Provisional Government, as now remodelled, in possession of the Hôtel de Ville and supreme authority. They had, however, a rude assault to sustain from a band of still more violent Republicans, who commenced an attack at midnight on the building. They were very near being forced and dispossessed of power. It was only by a strenuous

\* The following was the manner in which the vote was taken for the Provisional Government:—

"Dupont de l'Eure.—'Oui, oui!' Arago.—'Oui, oui!' Lamartine.—'Oui, oui!' Ledru-Rollin.—'Oui, oui!' Garnier Pagès.—'Oui, oui!—Non.' Marie.—'Oui!—Non!' Crémieux.—'Oui, oui!' Une voix dans la foule.—'Crémieux, mais pas Garnier Pagès.' 'Si, si!—Non!' M. Ledru-Rollin.—'Que ceux qui ne veulent pas l'évent la main?' 'Non, non!—Si, si!'"—DE LA HODDE, *Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes*, p. 484.

\* The Provisional Government, as arranged by this compromise at the Hôtel de Ville, was as follows:—

"President of the Council, M. Dupont de l'Eure; Foreign Affairs, M. de Lamartine; Interior, M. Ledru-Rollin; Justice, M. Crémieux; Finance, M. Godechaux; War, M. Bedeau; Commerce, M. Marie; Public Works, M. Bethmont; Marine, M. Arago (Etienne); Public Instruction, M. Carnot; Telegraph, M. Flocon; Police, M. Caussidière; Mayor of Paris, M. Garnier Pagès."—*Ann. Hist.*, xxx. 94, 95.

exertion of personal strength that they were able to keep their ground against the assailants; and the first duty to which the rulers of France were called was the humble one of barricading the doors of the Hotel, and putting their shoulders to the doors to keep out the mob, composed of their own followers. They did do so, however, and after a violent struggle, with success; and early next morning the Provisional Government was announced by the telegraph and the *Moniteur* to the whole country.

76. Such was the termination of the reign of the Citizen King, and the rule of the *bourgeoisie* in France. Begun by the defection of the army and the revolt of the middle class, it ended in the treachery of the National Guard, and the ascendant of the very lowest and most abandoned of the people. Their portrait has been drawn by the graphic hand of one who knew them well, who has left the following picture of the associates for whom he overturned the throne, and by whom he was for a brief period elevated to power. "They were in part composed," says Lamartine, "of galley-slaves, who had no political ideas in their heads, nor social chimeras in their hearts, but who accepted a revolution as the condition of the disorder it was to perpetuate, the blood it was to shed, the terror it was to inspire. They contained also a part of that ragged scum of the population of great cities which public commotions cause to ascend to the surface, before it falls back into the common sewers from whence it had arisen; men who floated between the fumes of intoxication and the thirst for blood; who sniffed carnage while issuing from the fumes of debauchery; who never ceased to besiege the ears of the people till they got a victim thrown to them to devour. They were the scourings of the galleys and the dungeons."

77. The Duchess of Orléans, whom M. de Lamartine had abandoned for these supporters, was rudely jostled by the crowd, and ran no small personal danger in leaving the Chamber of Deputies. Surrounded by a few faithful

and courageous friends, among whom M. de Morny was the most resolute, she was with difficulty rescued from the insults and pressure of the mob; but being closely veiled, when she got to a little distance from the Chamber, she ceased to be known, and passed for one of the numerous fugitives who were flying across the streets in every direction. She was separated, however, both from the Duke de Nemours and her two sons in the throng; and the elder of the two last, being recognised, was seized by the throat by a gigantic assassin, who appeared about to strangle him, when he was torn from his grasp by a brave National Guard, and carried to the princess, who burst into tears as she embraced him. The Duke de Chartres, however, was still missing; in vain his unhappy mother called aloud for her child, and climbed up to the windows of the room into which she had been carried, to endeavour to catch a glimpse of him amidst the agitated multitude. At length she saw him from afar, and he was brought to her arms, almost fainting, for he had been thrown down in the crowd on the stair of the Chamber, and trampled under foot. The Duke de Nemours soon after joined them, having changed his dress, and assumed that of a bourgeois, in the interval. Favoured by the darkness, the royal fugitives escaped on foot, and having met with a stray carriage in the Champs Elysées, they succeeded in prevailing on the driver to take them up, and got off. Meanwhile, the King and Queen, with the rest of the royal family, hastening through Saint Cloud, passed the first night at Dreux, one of the country-seats of the Orléans family. They continued their journey next day with all the expedition possible, by Verneuil to Evreux, where, under a feigned name, and unknown, they were hospitably entertained by a farmer on the royal forest. The day following, they continued their flight in a berlin, drawn by two cart-horses; but fresh difficulties and dangers awaited them from the peril of being recognised in the towns lying on the road;

and the King was without money, having left 350,000 francs (£14,000), in bank-notes, on his bureau by mistake in the haste of departure. The Provisional Government, however, had the humanity to send him a considerable sum to facilitate his escape; and at length, after undergoing many adventures, and performing part of the journey on foot, the King and Queen embarked at Honfleur on the 2d March, under the modest name of "*Mr and Mrs Smith*."\* From thence they sailed, still unknown, to Havre, from whence, on the 3d, they embarked on board the Express, and landed the same day at Newhaven, on the English coast. On the day following, the whole royal family was united at Claremont, in Middlesex, in the common asylum of European misfortune.

78. Two causes stand prominently forward as having been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the Revolution of 1848, and the overthrow of Louis Philippe in France. These are, the defection of the National Guard, and the want of firmness in M. Thiers and the King, when Marshal Bugeaud, whose courage was equal to the emergency,† had placed decisive success within their grasp. Had either of these events not occurred, the insurrection would with ease have been put down. But although these immense

\* The royal party arrived at Honfleur from Evreux on the 26th, and took refuge in the house of M. de Perthuis, in the neighbourhood. A vain attempt was made to get them off from Trouville in a fishing-boat. The tide did not serve, and the boat could not get away. They returned to M. de Perthuis's house, and remained concealed there till the 2d March.

† "Le Maréchal, qui avait eu des graves dissensions avec le Général Lamoricière en Afrique, s'avancait vers lui et lui tendait la main. 'J'espère,' lui avait-il dit, 'mon cher Lieutenant, que nous avons laissé nos différends en Afrique, et que nous n'avons ici que notre estime mutuelle et notre dévouement à nos devoirs de soldats.' Lamoricière, digne de comprendre de telles paroles, était ému jusqu'aux larmes."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Révolution*, i. 136. "Il y a déjà longtemps que j'ai prévu la crise actuelle. Je ferai mon devoir; pour moi, j'ai brûlé mes vaisseaux."—MARECHAL BUGEAUD à M. THIERS, February 23, 1848; CASSAGNAC, i. 274.

faults were the immediate cause of the catastrophe, yet we should err if we supposed that they were the remote and ultimate causes. The disaffection and treachery of the National Guard were the consequence of the incessant abuse which, during the whole course of his reign, the Liberal press had vomited forth upon Louis Philippe and his Government. This had at length come to such a pitch, that it had caused them to forget the whole real advantages they had derived from his rule, and to regard it as synonymous with everything that was base, oppressive, and corrupt among mankind. It is to the excessive violence of the Liberal press of all shades in France, during the eighteen years of his pacific and prosperous reign, that is to be ascribed the overthrow of his dynasty, and with it of the semblance even of real freedom in France.

79. But this violence of the Liberal press, which paralysed the National Guard in the decisive moment, was itself the effect of a more general preceding cause. This cause is to be found in the nature of its origin, and the crimes by which its early triumphs had been obtained. They now, in their natural results, brought about a deserved but terrible retribution. It was the constant complaint of the Liberals during his whole reign, that Louis Philippe's Government was a continual denial of its origin—a shameful dereliction of its principles. That was undoubtedly true; but it was so only because that origin and those principles could never be made the foundation of a durable government. It was based on corruption, and supported by venality, because it had no other foundation on which to rest; because, having lost "the unbought loyalty of men, the cheap defence of nations," it had no resource but to appeal to their selfish desires. It maintained an immense military establishment, and was ruinously expensive, because its defiant attitude, both to the legitimate powers of Europe and its internal enemies, imperatively required a state of constant preparation. Erected amidst the smoke of the Bar-

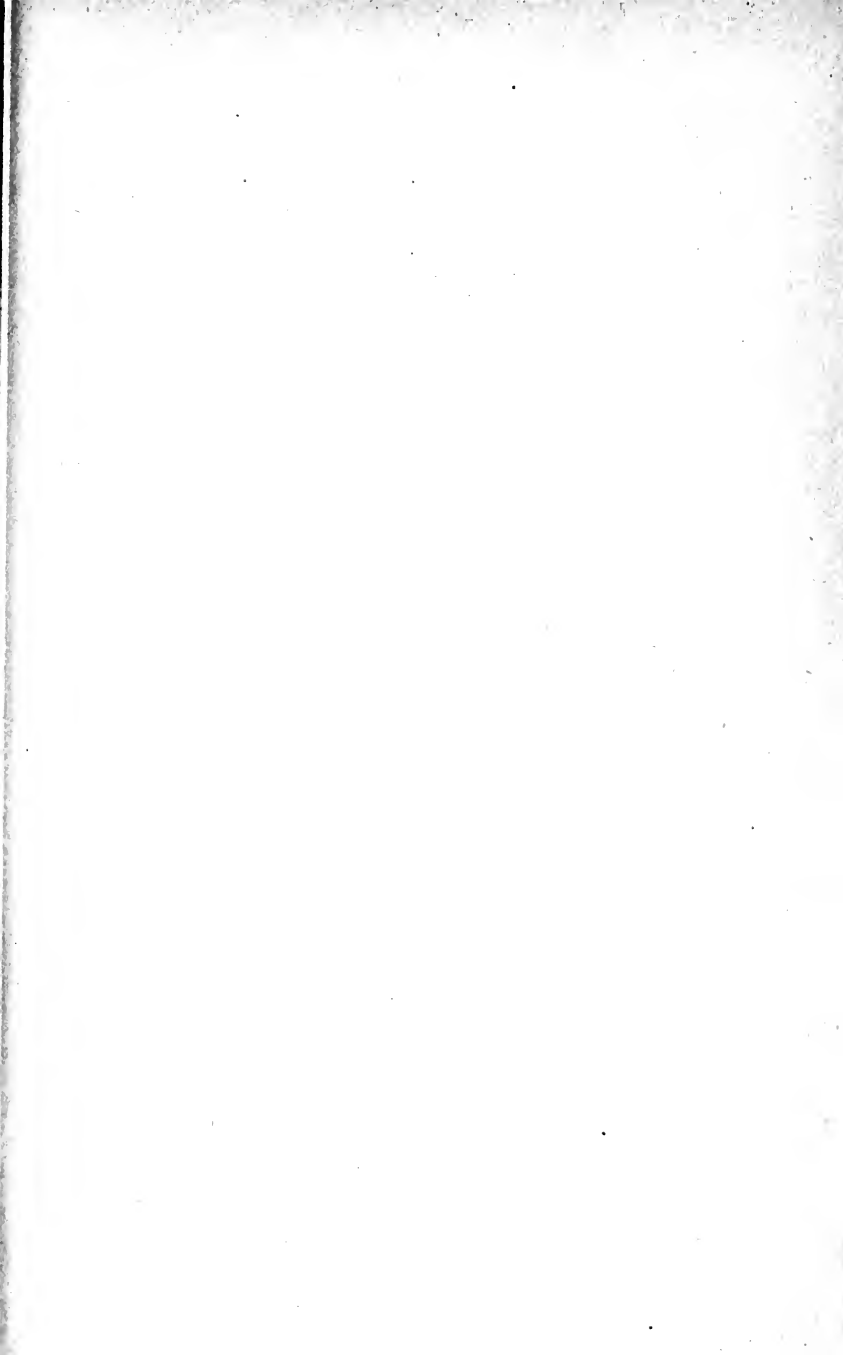
ricades, supported by the bayonets of the revolted National Guard, the first necessity imposed upon the Citizen King, as upon all revolutionary governments, was to coerce the passions by which his elevation had been produced. To go on indulging and fanning them would at once have landed the nation in the horrors which immediately succeeded his dethronement. Thence the system of resistance and coercion, which was from the first pursued, and which, by adding the bitterness of disappointment to the fervour of revolution, produced the extraordinary violence and enduring hatred of the extreme Liberals, which at length brought about his fall. Thence also the inability of the King to resist the revolt, which finally over-

threw his throne. The Citizen King could not withstand the insurrection of the citizens; the monarch of the Barricades could not enjoin the storming of the Barricades. His last weakness was the consequence of his first strength: he endured in the end what he had in the beginning made others more innocent endure. Cradled in treachery and treason, his throne was overturned by treachery and treason. He had driven his lawful sovereign, his generous benefactor, into exile, and sent him, a discrowned wanderer, into foreign lands; and he himself was, by the consequence of his own acts, driven into exile, and sent, a discrowned and discredited fugitive, across the melancholy main, to the shores of the stranger.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.









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